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The American Historical Review

THE INTERNATIONAL STATE OF THE MIDDLE AGES: SOME REASONS FOR ITS FAILURE¹

SO much has been said during the last few years about an international organization which shall bring peace and order to the people of the world and so little about previous efforts of society to achieve the same result that it seems not inappropriate to sketch again the outlines of one of the most successful of those attempts.

It might appear rather rash, certainly visionary, to propose that the League of Nations, or Conference on the Limitation of Armament (new style), be empowered not only to administer territories gained by joint conquest, but, also, to recruit armies and levy taxes directly from the people, without the intermediation of national governments; to act as a supreme court, with original jurisdiction in cases arising between nations or against rulers of nations, and with appellate jurisdiction in all cases whether of nations or individuals; and to execute its judgments whether against individuals or against states, even to the extent of making war upon an obstinate state. That would seem a very dangerous array of powers, indeed, and yet, you will agree, this is but a sober summary of the powers actually exercised by such an international authority through nearly two centuries of medieval history.

Of the various attempts to achieve international control in the Middle Ages only one need receive our serious attention, however high the hopes and ambitions of the others. This is the one headed by the papacy in the days from Gregory VII. to Boniface VIII. It has been customary to trace its development in the evolution of papal theories and policies of temporal power reaching back all the way to Roman days. That path, however, is a rather tortuous one, like an old and abandoned road through the northern forest. Seldom smooth,

¹ This paper was read at the St. Louis meeting of the American Historical Association, Dec. 28, 1921.

it is often lost altogether in a morass of local Roman politics, while the intervals of solid footing afforded by a Gregory I., Nicholas I., Benedict IX., Sylvester II., Leo IX. are so few and the stretches of morass so long as to raise a legitimate doubt about the existence of any such road.

But there is a detour to the development of that international control which is continuous, is relatively free from depressions, and leads to the goal. This starts at the opening of the tenth century in southern and southeastern France. It begins not in ecclesiastical theory, but in a joint effort of churchmen and laymen, society in short, to re-establish peace and decency out of the brutal chaos into which Europe had been thrown by the civil wars of Charlemagne's descendants and the simultaneous raids of Northman, Saracen, Hungarian, and Slav. Under the cover of local defense which these calamities had necessitated had arisen a menace of indiscriminate and almost universal private warfare which continued after the external danger had subsided. For this, however, there was no justification except the selfish desire of armed men to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the unarmed or each other. Destruction of crops and means of sustenance, constant danger of life and limb to non-combatants, and unscrupulous appropriation of common property and livings for private use—all this was too heavy a burden to bear without protest.

This protest was first effectively voiced in southern and eastern France, probably because this region was a sheltered one, and, having suffered least from the foreign raids, was soonest free from them. The people could expect no help from the papacy, for the papacy was submerged in the mire of Roman party strife, nor from other secular clergy, most of whom were similarly mired in the welter of feudal competition. Nor could they look for any help from kings whose power did not extend beyond their petty feudal domain. Their chief hope must rest in themselves, in their local co-operation, their own activity as a self-determining society.

Perhaps the first advance in this direction was the rehabilitation of monasticism through the founding of Cluny. That Cluny became an international force was the result of circumstances, not the least of which was its remarkable series of abbots. But there were others as well. Its location on one of the main highways to Rome advertised its virtues more widely than was the usual lot even of good monasteries. Most of all, however, Cluny represented a general desire. As requests came for its monks to establish similar houses elsewhere or to reform existing monasteries, the abbots laid down

certain stipulations to guard against the relapses so general among religious communities. Related monasteries were to be subsidiary—their heads, priors trained at Cluny and subject to annual inspection—in short, the “congregation” of Cluny. Every house added to the Congregation meant just that much more subtracted from the mailed fist of feudalism and private warfare. It meant much more than this, for nearly all the extensions of the Congregation were at the request of the lay community and this evidenced the growth of a more peaceful public opinion. With the spread of the Congregation this public was given an effective organization through which flagging localities could derive not only spiritual but often material reinforcement as well. Before the eleventh century ended it had already become international, penetrating Italy, Spain, the Empire, as well as all of France. In this area it not only served as a medium of intercommunication for the opposition to feudal violence, but even more as an agency for arousing such opposition. It was the Committee on Public Information, the bureau of propaganda in this cause, and it was also a political machine, better disciplined and more intelligently managed than some which, in more enlightened days, have served to terrorize communities.²

The same region which produced Cluny at the beginning of the tenth century invented the Peace of God before the opening of the eleventh. Lay historians have not dealt kindly with this institution. Gibbon, in cynical mood, dismissed it with a very incidental mention. Milman, after describing it at some length, warns the reader in a foot-note not to take it seriously, by saying, “history hardly recalls a single instance of its observance.” Bury, in his revision of Gibbon, is more curt in his dismissal of it. These have been followed by our text-books, and, though they all mention it, they do so in a spirit of lofty contempt, as one of those colorful incidents of the past whose apparent naïveté is so flattering to our sense of superior attainment. It is difficult to resist a speculation as to the treatment which future historians will accord our Naval Holiday and 5-5-3 ratio. The Peace of God and its early elaboration, the Truce of God, are viewed much more seriously by the legal historians. Maitland goes so far as to deem it the most important preliminary to the development of modern criminal law. The opinions of Luchaire and Haskins are scarcely less favorable. Mr. Wells would have done better to have followed the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* than the text-books in this instance.

² Cf. the position and relations of Hirschau in Germany and of Camaldoli in Italy.

Without entering into the controversy further, certain features of these two institutions should be cited. The first Peace of God was a modest enactment against "*infractores ecclesiarum, res pauperum diripientes et clericorum percussores*". The first Truce of God set aside the period from Saturday until Monday as sacred from the profanation of private warfare. Both met with speedy favor and were enacted by church councils outside of southern France in an ever-widening circle until they were taken up by the papacy and proclaimed for all Christendom. They were re-enacted again and again, but—this has been usually overlooked—not as mere re-enactments. They were being constantly expanded and becoming more specific in their application. Before the thirteenth century was very old the modest and general indictment of Charroux had become a specific exemption of all ecclesiastical buildings and their environs, all clerks, merchants, women, and peasants, as well as orchards, seeds, cattle, and agricultural implements, from the violence of private feudal warfare. The Truce of God had been extended sometimes to a period of several months and regularly included all days from Thursday to Monday and all festival days, besides certain special occasions, which left all told less than a fourth of a year to the unabated practice of feudal warfare.

It has usually been assumed that these institutions lacked enforcement and that the tortures of the damned were punishments too remote to deter the brutal and easily aroused passion for private warfare. That they were repeatedly violated, too, cannot be denied. Possibly, however, historians have judged too hastily from the violation. Practically from the beginning these institutions were given the full support of the Congregation of Cluny. Its monks were prominent in the councils at which they were enacted. In some districts all Christians at the age of fifteen and over were to take solemn oath for their observance. At the Council of Clermont it was prescribed that all men, whether noble, burgess, villain, or serf, above the age of twelve, should take the oath of adherence to the Truce every three years. And long before this, it should be remembered, it had become customary in certain localities to exact from the candidate for knighthood an oath to maintain the Peace of God. The so-called Code of Chivalry which became generally recognized in the twelfth century is a compound of feudal allegiance and the Peace of God. Progress such as this cannot be dismissed as a total failure.

The enforcement of these two institutions was not limited to this development of spiritual inhibitions alone. Their champions, even the purely ecclesiastical, showed an astonishing amount of practical wisdom. It was early discovered that the vast majority of offenses

and violations arose from the material ambitions of petty knights and vassals. The greater lords had less to gain and more to lose by the incessant practice of violence. At least, they could afford to scorn the temptation to pillage mere peasants, small merchants, and priests. Their own dangers came chiefly from their lesser vassals, who did yield only too frequently to such petty temptations. This cleavage among the promoters of private warfare was easily seized upon and the greater lords, especially the kings, were invited to lend their material support to the measure. What a boon to these! To have the non-combatant productive population thus welded together in the support of the Peace of God would furnish them an anvil upon which they could hammer out the flaming ambitions of their troublesome vassals into some degree of obedience. Some of the great nobles saw the light very quickly, others were helped to it by the sage counsel of the abbot of Cluny or other churchmen. The pious Robert of France was able to recommend the measure most heartily and so, too, the equally pious Henry II. of Germany. In the excess of their zeal at Mouzon, these two monarchs solemnly discussed the project of bringing peace to all Europe by this means. The idea appealed powerfully to Henry II. and, though he may have forgotten the ideal of universal peace, it cannot be said of him that he overlooked the possibility of incurring eternal reward in the enhancement of his own power. Promotion of the Peace of God and the other aims of Cluny proved his most effective means to this end. Other nobles took up the idea and lent their indorsement to the proclamations of the Peace. The hot-headed vassal who so far forgot himself as to risk the more remote danger of eternal damnation might cool somewhat more rapidly at the prospect of such an immediate foretaste, and if Huberti's contention that the separate proclamations of peace by lay rulers arose from its proclamation by the Church is sustained, this constitutes a most eloquent testimonial to the success of the Peace and Truce of God.

The next step forward in the cause of peace was the capture of the papal office from the clutches of the feudal factions of Rome. Cluny and the organized public opinion which it represented had made various efforts to accomplish this. The support of Benedict IX., the brief régime of Sylvester II., and the abortive attempt of Gregory VI. might be cited among the more striking of these. But what they had failed to accomplish as yet by pure moral force they were now enabled to achieve with the help of Henry III. at Sutri. The threat in the election of Leo IX., that this victory did not mean merely a transfer of vassalage from Roman nobles to German king,

was carried out fully after Henry's death. By that time the moral forces skillfully directed by Hildebrand, himself a disciple of Cluny, were strong enough to hold the office against feudal assault. The significance of the Investiture struggle which followed, in this approach to the formation of the international state, lay in the freedom thereby gained by the papacy from the violence of temporal interference. Where Cluny was in 910 the papacy was two centuries later. The parallel might be carried further. The remarkable succession of abbots of Cluny during that time was equalled by the sustained standards of the papacy at least as far as Innocent III., and to the "Congregation" idea of Cluny might be compared the effective organization of the secular and regular Church under the control of the papacy.

With the support of the papacy the cause of peace and order could hope for larger results. The peace which had already been so largely won from the petty lordlings could now be wrested from the greater lords and kings as well. The task remaining was twofold: to find an effective substitute for war in the solution of disputes, and to devise a temporal weapon to control the great lords whom it might now be necessary to discipline. The first was at hand in the law, both canon and civil, whose study was so rapidly promoted during the twelfth century by the help of Gratian and Irnerius. The second was more difficult. The Investiture struggle had proven that just as the kings could be called upon to suppress the violence of the lesser nobility, so conversely could the nobility be used to bring effective pressure upon refractory kings. But this was a doubtful resource, a sowing of dragon's teeth, whose consequences would be but a small blessing to society, as Central Europe learned to its sorrow. A less dangerous weapon appeared in the success of the First Crusade.

No one, I presume, would seriously urge that the Crusades were instituted as a war to end war, a means to universal peace. And yet this thought was a factor even in the First Crusade. The first act of the Council was to proclaim the Truce of God. It was also this Council which provided for the triennial renewal of the oath by all men of all classes for the observance of the Truce. And every one of the chroniclers who recorded the speech of Urban included in it the pope's lament at the spectacle of Christian shedding Christian blood, when salvation might be obtained by turning their weapons to the conquest of the Holy Land. The slogan, "If you must fight, go fight the Infidel," proved a powerful deterrent to private warfare as early as the First Crusade, and was so used throughout the next two centuries. It served to paralyze the petty noble who saw an oppor-

tunity to add to his possessions or privileges at the expense of his overlord or neighbor, and equally to halt powerful kings in the midst of their struggles. The five-year truce won from the outraged Richard and the crafty Philip, and the voluntary exile of Henry the Lion were but examples of a frequent practice, while at the very end of the thirteenth century the need of another crusade was still the most powerful argument Boniface VIII. could urge to compel mediation in the dispute between Edward I. and Philip IV. King and noble and commoner alike were compelled to stay their violence against the possessions or family of those who had marked themselves with the Cross. However legitimate might be the complaints against such as these, they must be settled in the courts of the Church or stayed until the Cross was removed. And thus, though blood was shed in quantities in the East, to Europe the Crusades meant peace.

One other purpose the crusade served. When the troops led by Robert of Normandy arrived at Rome on their way to the East, they stopped a little while to exchange blows with Urban's enemies at Rome. This lesson was not lost upon the popes, but it remained for Innocent III. to demonstrate the full possibilities of the Crusades as a weapon against incorrigibles in the West. Usually the mere threat of a crusade was sufficient to bring kings to terms. Frederick II. required the actual execution of the project, and in the fate of his successors was demonstrated the full power of the weapon.

By the time of Innocent the Church with the papacy at its head had become an international state. It had everything that a state has—and more. It could raise funds by direct taxation and raise armies equally directly. It could bring offenders to the courts of justice, and it had the means of executing its judgments. It applied its laws equally to peasant and king and it executed judgments against both. It controlled education, controlled the agencies of publicity, and controlled the courts. The social cares of charity and public health were in its hands. And on top of all this, it wielded the awful power of eternal life or death. Never in history have the moral forces of so vast a society been so thoroughly concentrated and so effective. As an experiment in practical idealism, it is still without equal.

Viewed solely in the West, the progress of the papacy was ever upward to the time of Innocent. The advance was accompanied by constant struggles, but in practically every struggle the papacy appeared as the champion of the common needs and desires of society against the selfish interests of individuals or groups. The popes displayed a willingness to undergo discomforts and dangers in behalf of

the justice of their cause and society rewarded them by ever increased confidence and delegations of power. Under Innocent the full extent of this power was displayed for the first time, and his successors maintained it at that pitch for a century before it began to decline noticeably.

I do not desire to deceive you or myself with the thought that this reaction against feudal warfare was the sole cause and explanation of the international state of the Middle Ages. Other causes were operating to the same end. But the theory that this structure was erected solely upon the ignorance and credulity of society by a combination of supernatural inspiration and unscrupulous fabrication of documents leaves too much to be explained. The more or less conscious acquiescence of society in the arrangement was absolutely necessary. Such acquiescence was obtained through the promise of peace held out by the Church, and society was receiving its *quid pro quo*.

And now for the opposite side of this picture, the causes for the collapse of this international power. The chief causes are usually found in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and are too well known to require elaboration here. The greatest of these, however, the rise of the national states, deserves some consideration—not because they functioned as political organizations, for Innocent III. had clearly shown that the papacy had ample resources to cope with organizations of that scope, but because the national state built up a moral force opposed to the papacy. This is the most significant factor in the struggle between the popes and the kings and it is the factor which has been least well explained.

Possibly the papacy itself was in some measure responsible for this untoward development. In its management of the great military expeditions of the Crusades it apparently failed to realize the necessity of undivided leadership. Only the First Crusade revealed any real degree of unification through the efforts of the papal representative, the effects of which were apparent long after that representative had died. The Second and Third Crusades failed notoriously, chiefly because of their divided command. The leaders were more or less rivals and they were able to unify the natural friction among their followers as a national force which was kept alive long after the expeditions by the growth of tradition and literature designed for self-justification. Thus the kings dodged the responsibility for their selfish ambitions and rivalry, while in the long run the repeated failures of crusading expeditions must necessarily weaken the papacy which preached them. In view of the resources of military leadership afforded by the Templars and Hospitallers and the immense moral

force of the papacy this unfortunate result would seem to have been avoidable.

The loss of support from the growing commercial interest was likewise a factor in the downfall of the international state. Trade grew rapidly with the spread of peace in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It attained international proportions and had an international organization even before the thirteenth century. *A priori* a close alliance between the business elements interested in international trade and the international state of the Church would seem inevitable. And yet such was not the case. Whether the ecclesiastical nature of the Church state imposed limits upon it incompatible with or hostile to close co-operation with international trade or whether the constitutional aversion of the Church to new social movements (for such the growth of trade undoubtedly was in the twelfth century) led to hostility, is beyond the limit of this paper to decide. The fact remains that in England and France the greater commercial interests cast in their lot with the kings even against the Church, while in Germany, where the king was impotent, they sought safety and protection in leagues among themselves rather than in the Church. As early as the Second and much more clearly in the Fourth Crusade these commercial elements appear in hostility to papal plans. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they are often found harboring the chief opponents of the papacy. This loss of support to the papacy was all the more serious because these commercial interests had a wide-spread organization capable of influencing public opinion powerfully, while their wealth thrown to the support of kings constituted no mean item in the success of the latter.

Perhaps an even more serious fault in papal management was that revealed by the condition of the Church in the Holy Land when the kings of Jerusalem began to weaken. Through circumstances doubtless more than through policy the various important ecclesiastical establishments in the Holy Land had been taken under the direct jurisdiction of the popes. The fact that the devotion of countless pilgrims had showered upon them properties located over all Christendom might have necessitated such action. Its effect however was to subtract these establishments from the authority of the local prelates. Even the cathedral chapter of the Holy Sepulchre had its separate agent at Rome, while the important monasteries, *e.g.* Mary of Josaphat, military orders, Templars and Hospitallers, and secular establishments like Bethlehem, Hebron, and Nazareth all had independent access to the papacy. In the Holy Land, each was jealous of its own independence and after 1163 their actions seemed to be governed

much more by fear of encroachments upon that independence than by the necessity of united action against the foe. The secular prelates had long watched this diminution of their authority with disfavor and were particularly resentful toward the Templars and Hospitallers, whose activities recognized no diocesan limitations. As early as the middle of the twelfth century the patriarch Foucher, with an imposing retinue of archbishops and bishops, took his way to Rome to complain to the Holy Father against these military orders, only to find that they were stronger in the papal favor than he and his bishops. This repulse left him in no happier frame of mind, while it strengthened the pretensions of all independent elements against him. As a consequence, when the kings of Jerusalem failed and the direct responsibility for the conduct of affairs might have been assumed by the patriarch, there arose instead an endless wrangle among the various ecclesiastical and secular leaders, which doubtless hastened, if it did not cause, the downfall of Jerusalem in 1087.

In the West this weakness, so fatal in the Latin East, did not appear until the thirteenth century. It is true that there had been some friction between the White Monks of Clairvaux and the Black Monks of Cluny and some between the seculars and regulars in the twelfth century. But on the whole this mutual criticism had been helpful rather than hurtful and had in general redounded to the power of the international state through the improvement of its agencies. But in the thirteenth century, when the two orders of friars were founded and the military orders were gradually forced out of the Holy Land back upon Europe, trouble grew apace. The papal register became crowded with complaints of seculars against regulars and of regulars against each other. In general these cases were decided by the papacy in favor of the universal clergy as against the local clergy and in favor of one or another order depending upon the peculiar affiliations of the particular pope. To the papacy the multiplication of these cases on the papal docket might have seemed a flattering and concrete evidence of the unity and power of the Church centralized in itself. The disappointed litigants, however, left the papal court with the sting of rebuke rankling in their hearts and not a whit more kindly disposed toward their opponents than before. Thus what may have seemed unity to the head of the Church was chaos to its lay members, for society now found its direct moral leaders divided among themselves. So bitter was the friction between the seculars and regulars or between the various regulars that it was a poor cause indeed even against the papacy which could not

command the support of a considerable portion of the clergy, as witness the *Defensor Pacis* in behalf of Ludwig of Bavaria.

That the kings would be restive under the restraints imposed by the papacy for keeping the peace had been only too evident. They had lent their support to the building of the international state as long as that process had conduced to their own increased power. In return the Church had lent nearly all its resources to strengthen the power of the kings. It had hedged their thrones about with a certain divinity, it had lent its officers to mould public opinion in behalf of the kings against the lesser nobility. It had done much to substitute respect for law in the place of violence as the proper solvent of disputes. It had developed law and trained lawyers. In France and England, where the kings had, on the whole, been obedient until the end of the thirteenth century, the powers of local nobles had been effectually clipped beyond hope of speedy revival; in the Empire, whose rulers had been more troublesome, the powers of local nobles had been retained as a counterweight. But everywhere, as late as the thirteenth century, the moral forces had still been effectively centred in the Church.

Now, however, those moral forces were divided and the kings felt themselves in a position to further their selfish ambitions by violence. In vain did Boniface VIII. seek to restrain them. Able lawyers trained by the Church enabled the kings to meet every move of the pope, even to the extent of gaining church money with which to carry on very unholy wars. By supporting the claims of the local churchmen against the encroachments of the central authority the kings gained the neutrality, if not always the active support, of the local clergy in their struggle against the papacy. The right of asylum, such a boon to society in the days of local warfare, was now made to appear as a refuge for criminals and scoundrels. Even the attack upon the benefit of clergy was given the support of some of the local churchmen. Papal revenues for the maintenance of the international organization were attacked as unwarranted exactions for which society had no return and even the appeals to papal courts were denounced as venal devices. The kings contended that they maintained the peace, that they could offer impartial and speedy justice to all, and that there was no need to pay both papacy and kings for this service. This contention was supported in France and England before the end of the thirteenth century by the financial aid of the greater business interests and by the moral support of many of the local clergy. The Model Parliament of 1296 and the Estates-General of 1302 will serve as concrete examples. And when, after 1305, the Babylonish Cap-

tivity of the papacy made it seemingly subservient to the French crown, the international control by the papacy was practically gone and the era of unrestrained national warfare begun. The plight of the papacy during the next two centuries—first in Captivity, then in Schism, and after that again under the baneful influence of local Italian factions—rendered the re-establishment of the international state difficult, while with the success of the Protestant revolt, it became impossible.

Now that six centuries have convinced society that unrestrained national warfare is just as devastating and destructive and scarcely less direct than the neighborhood warfare of feudal times, we see it again groping toward some form of international control. The Balance of Power, the Holy Alliance, the Hague Tribunal, the League of Nations, and the Conference on the Limitation of Armament are all attempts in this direction, not unlike those which preceded the achievement of international control in the Middle Ages. The parallel is so striking as to give added point to the study of this medieval experiment, but such study should include a greater consideration of the influence of public opinion and the organization of the moral forces of society than has hitherto been given.

AUGUST C. KREY.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, 1768-1782

A COMPARISON of the list of offices included in a modern British cabinet with a similar list of 1760 shows that the number of secretaries of state has increased from two to five. This growth in numbers, however, has not altered the theory that there is but one secretariat, that new secretarial portfolios are not, in the eyes of the law and the constitution, new, and that each secretary of state has the full power and authority inherent in the secretarial seals and may perform any of the duties of his brother secretaries. This theory may be briefly summarized: although there is but one secretariat, there may be as many secretaries as the business of state demands, each of whom may exercise the full powers of the secretariat. This constitutional fiction has been so consistently adopted in the nineteenth century to meet the exigencies of an expanding government—and possibly to avoid the inconveniences and prohibitions of the Act of Settlement and the Place Acts of Anne—that it may not be amiss to call attention to a series of incidents which, had they attained their purpose, would have stopped this subdivision of the secretariat and thus would have altered the form and appearance of the cabinet. At the same time this brief survey will serve to call attention to an office which has never received sufficient study—the office of secretary of state for the colonies, 1768-1782.

The particular problem with which this paper is concerned may be illustrated by an incident in the debate which foreshadowed the end of the colonial secretaryship. The first clause of Burke's Establishment Bill as presented in the House of Commons in 1780 provided for the abolition of "the office commonly called or known by the name of third secretary of state or secretary of state for the colonies". Governor Pownall suggested that the only description necessary was "third secretary of state", but Lord George Germain, who held the office in question, objected to any qualifying terms, for the reason that he was neither third secretary of state nor secretary of state for the colonies, but "one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state"¹—a position he had taken in a previous session when he had described himself as "secretary of state at large".² "He wished most sincerely," however, "if the committee should determine to

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, XXI. 193-194.

² *Id.*, XX. 266.

abolish any one of the three offices, that it might be the one he had the honour to fill.”³ This protest availed nothing; the original wording was retained in the final bill, passed in 1782.⁴ The issue is fairly joined: Was the colonial secretary a secretary “at large”; did he have the full power and authority of the secretarial seals; was he of equal rank with the two secretaries on the older foundations?

The establishment of a colonial secretaryship was imminent in the days when Halifax presided at the Board of Trade,⁵ it was advocated by Thomas Pownall in his well-known *Administration of the Colonies*, it was made the condition on which Dartmouth was willing to continue office in 1766, it was contemplated by Pitt in the same year,⁶ and it was finally accomplished as a part of the Grafton-Bedford bargain in January, 1768, when the Earl of Hillsborough, who had twice been president of the Board of Trade, received a commission as one of his Majesty’s principal secretaries of state. This commission was in the same form as the usual secretarial commission, except for the insertion of a preamble which stated, “Whereas the public business of our colonies and plantations increasing, it seemeth expedient to us to appoint one other principal secretary of state besides our two ancient secretaries. . . .”⁷ Was this preamble intended as a limitation on the powers of the new office, or was it simply an explanation of its main interests? No such limitation or explanation was necessary in the commissions of the other secretaries, custom having prescribed their immediate functions without having confined their power to the exercise of those functions: either secretary could, if need were, perform the duties of both. If the new secretary did not have the same right, then he was not, in fact, a real secretary of state. There was no doubt, however, in regard to the purpose of the new department. The colonial business heretofore transacted by the secretary of state for the southern department (Shelburne) was taken over by Hillsborough, while the change in the Board of Trade in July, 1768, by which he became the active head, rather than a formal ex officio member of the Board, and the order to the colonial governors directing them to correspond only with the new secretary and to discontinue the practice of sending duplicates of their letters to the Board,⁸ mark the complete identification of the new department with the colonies.

³ Note 1.

⁴ 22 George III., c. 82.

⁵ Especially in 1757, when Newcastle definitely promised Halifax the seals, but was prevented by Pitt from carrying out his promise.

⁶ Williams, *Earl of Chatham*, II. 214, note.

⁷ Public Record Office, Patent Rolls, 8 George III., pt. 2, memb. 8.

⁸ Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 241, July 4, 1768.

The close connection between the Board of Trade and the secretary of state for the colonies confused the situation for contemporaries and obscures many points of detail for historians. The Board of Trade, founded by royal commission in 1696, had become the medium of communication between the government and the colonies and was the body in England most familiar with all colonial affairs. It had never had executive power, however, and at the time of the establishment of the colonial secretaryship in 1768 it had become "a board of advice and council upon such points only as shall be referred to it";⁹ the correspondence with colonial governors was monopolized by the secretary for the southern department, the governors sending only duplicates to the Board; the nomination of colonial officers—a privilege exercised by Halifax—had been lost in 1761; the power to make reports and representations on its own initiative had been taken away. From August, 1766, to January, 1768, the Board of Trade was in a less commanding position than it had been for many years, and colonial affairs were directly under the authority of the southern secretary. This gave the long-needed unity, but it also put overwhelming power in the hands of one man, who had authority over home affairs, Ireland, and foreign negotiations with the powers of southern Europe. For reasons of policy or politics or jealousy,¹⁰ Grafton, as prime minister, determined to create a separate American department; the Board of Trade simply transferred its business from the southern department to the new colonial department, and made its reports to Hillsborough rather than to Shelburne. Thus far the story is simple; the next step brings in an element of confusion.

The Board of Trade was composed of eight regular members, with the great officers of state as *ex officio* members. When Hillsborough became secretary of state in January no change was made in the commission of the Board, except that Hillsborough was added as an *ex officio* member; in July, however, the then president of the Board, Lord Clare, was dropped from the commission, leaving only seven regular members, and Hillsborough was ordered to attend regularly at the meetings of the Board. This was the reversal of the process advocated by Halifax. He wished the presidency of the Board to be raised to a secretaryship; Hillsborough as secretary became, for all practical purposes, the president of the Board. The greater office was not added to the lesser, but the greater absorbed the lesser, which, for a time, entirely disappeared. This chronological sequence of events has been generally overlooked, while William Knox, a keen if

⁹ Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 216, Hillsborough to Shelburne.

¹⁰ Fitzmaurice, *Shelburne*, I. 327 ff.

not unprejudiced observer, is authority for the statement that Hillsborough's colleagues looked upon him simply as first lord of trade (president of the Board) with seals and cabinet¹¹—an opinion that was to make it hard for Hillsborough and his successors to obtain a position equal to that of the other secretaries of state.

This dual position of the secretary makes it sometimes difficult to determine exactly in what capacity he was acting—whether as first lord of trade or as secretary of state. The Journals of the Board record the presence of "one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state" immediately below the names of the other members in attendance, thus emphasizing the secretarial character. In 1779 Germain said that he was no more a member of the Board of Trade than the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he gave himself away when he added that he sometimes attended as first lord.¹² A few months later, however, Germain was ready to insist upon his position as first lord in a matter of petty patronage, with the result that the Board recorded a minute that "the presence of the secretary of state for the American department being made indispensable by the terms of his Majesty's commission . . . the privileges annexed to the first lord of trade for the time being should and ought to devolve upon the secretary of state."¹³ This particular problem was solved in November, 1779, by a return to the old system of a regularly appointed first lord commissioner of trade and the separation of the Board from the colonial department.¹⁴ According to the king this would place Germain "in every respect on the same line as the two antient Secretaries",¹⁵ but the king's idea was to placate Germain for having lost a position at the Board rather than to relieve him of the suspicion of inferiority which that position entailed, or had entailed for his predecessors. Whatever may be our final conclusion in respect of the place of the colonial secretaries in the government, it is certain that they were more than first lords commissioners of trade with seals and seat in cabinet.

The appointment of Hillsborough and the establishment of a colonial department seem to have been opposed in the House of

¹¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Various Collections*, VI. 256 (Knox MSS.).

¹² *Parl. Hist.*, XX. 263, 266. Germain here falls into a curious error; he was certainly an ex officio member along with the other great officers of state: they were excused from attendance; he was not. Moreover the archbishop was not even an ex officio member, as was the Bishop of London. His interpretation of "occasionally" is also interesting; Germain missed only 17 out of 179 meetings of the Board in four years.

¹³ Public Record Office, C. O. 391: 86, pp. 139-140.

¹⁴ See the author's note, "The Earl of Carlisle and the Board of Trade, 1779", in this *Review*, XXII. 334-339.

¹⁵ Donne, *The Correspondence of George III. with Lord North*, II. 283.

Lords,¹⁶ but the extent of Hillsborough's jurisdiction seems never to have been brought into question. That there was jealousy and friction is shown, however, in connection with the appointment of his successor. On his resignation the vacant post was offered to Weymouth, who declined it on the ground that he had opposed the establishment in 1768, and that he thought it not a real secretaryship, because the form of its commission limited its efficiency to the colonies.¹⁷ This is based evidently on the preamble and indicates an informed contemporary interpretation of that preamble. The faction in the ministry opposed to North—Gower, Suffolk, and Rochford—was more than willing to discontinue the office, in which case the direction of the colonies would be given to the Board of Trade and the patronage would be once more in the hands of the southern secretary.¹⁸ The reluctant acceptance of the seals by the Earl of Dartmouth prevented such a return to the old scheme of divided authority. The delimiting, or explanatory, clauses were retained in his commission, but certain changes, suggested by the king himself, were made in matters of administrative detail in order to prevent conflict between the colonial and southern departments.¹⁹ The older secretaries, however, seemed determined to curtail Dartmouth's powers. They particularly denied his right to give orders to the Admiralty and to the secretary at war; these important functions were saved only by the persistence of John Pownall, who was able to find precedents to uphold Dartmouth's claims.²⁰ Ultimately a working agreement was made whereby Dartmouth should direct the movement of troops within the colonies and should give orders to the Admiralty in connection with the return of the troops from them, while all orders to the secretary at war or the Admiralty concerning the sending of troops thither should come from the older departments.²¹ Thus it would appear that very definite attempts were made to interfere with the freedom of action which by right belonged to a *bona fide* secretary

¹⁶ See below.

¹⁷ Walpole, *Last Journals*, I. 127; Knox MSS., *op. cit.*, 256.

¹⁸ Knox MSS., *op. cit.*, p. 256; p. 107, Pownall to Knox, August 1, 1777. Pownall thought both direction and patronage might be given to the Board, but this seems unlikely in view of the wish of Rochford to obtain the appointment to two colonial patent offices which were about to fall in.

¹⁹ George III. to North, Aug. 9, 1772, Donne, *op. cit.*, I. 107. What these changes were does not appear.

²⁰ John Pownall, secretary of the Board of Trade and under-secretary of state. Knox was his colleague in the latter position.

²¹ Public Record Office, St. Pap. Dom., M 1, 26. *Cal. St. P. Home Office*, IV. no. 79.

of state, and that it was only by the exercise of considerable adroitness that even routine business was performed by the Colonial Office.

Dartmouth was not the kind of man to carry on such constant bickering as was necessary, and in fact he made little impression either upon the Council or upon the Board of Trade. Pownall complained to his colleague, Knox, that Bamber Gascoyne²² was "minister for America at the board and Lord Suffolk at the council office, all councils for American business being in Lord Gower's absence held by Lord Suffolk. . . . Lord North's blindness, or rather indolence, in respect to the arts that are practised to ruin and disgrace our department, and ultimately himself, is astonishing and unpardonable".²³ Dartmouth was too trustful and lacking in force, North was too good-natured to deal with the aggressive faction in the cabinet. The fact that these two men were step-brothers and had long lived on terms of intimacy did not save the American department from cutting a "most pitiful figure" or prevent Suffolk from getting so much American business in his hands that Pownall complained that William Eden, Suffolk's under-secretary, knew more about the colonies than he did.²⁴ When we remember that these years, 1772-1775, were the most critical in all the history of the American colonies, we can understand how important were these internal divisions and jealousies.

The resignation of Dartmouth in November, 1775, due to his unwillingness to direct hostilities against the colonies then in actual revolt, furnished an opportunity for the ambitious Suffolk to increase his power in the cabinet. The government was but a patched-up affair: Gower was the leader of the old Bedford group, Suffolk of the disrupted Grenvillites, and both hoped to displace the premier. The changes made in 1775 were designed to satisfy all factions: Dartmouth took the Privy Seal, Rochford gave way to Weymouth, a Bedfordite, and Lord George Germain, a Grenvillite, succeeded Dartmouth. The accession of Germain added strength, or at least aggressiveness, to the government; his military experience, unfortunate as it had been, was presumed to fit him to direct the campaign in America, and his ability as a speaker aided the government in the Commons, where its leadership was lamentably weak. It was Suffolk, however, who hoped to profit most from Germain's appointment: without giving up any of the business he had usurped and without recognizing Germain as a secretary of state with full power,

²² A member of the Board of Trade.

²³ Knox MSS., *op. cit.*, p. 110, July 23, 1773, Pownall to Knox.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122, Oct. 10, 1775, Pownall to Knox.

he would gain a colleague who would support him in his intrigues against North.

Suffolk's plan miscarried. The commission issued to Hillsborough and Dartmouth, as we have seen, was different from the commissions to the other secretaries of state only in the matter of the preamble; so long as this was retained, however, the interpretation might be made that this commission created a new office; if this were true, Germain, as a commoner, could not, according to the Place Acts of Anne, hold such an office. Hillsborough and Dartmouth as peers had naturally not been affected by this consideration. The only recourse, therefore, was to issue a warrant and commission in such form as those issued to the other secretaries of state; in other words, the preamble should be omitted. Were this done, then certainly one of the main arguments in favor of a distinction between the powers of the old and new departments would be gone—and Suffolk would gain nothing.

The first thought seemed to be to fall back upon the argument that a third secretary of state could not be legally created. In the Auckland MSS., in the papers dealing with this affair and among the letters of Eden and Wedderburn, there is an unsigned and undated summary of a "debate which arose at the end of the session in which Lord H[illsborough] was appointed secretary".²⁵ The arguments were wholly against the legality or expediency of a third secretary of state. Such an office is illegal, it was said, because (1) of the custom of the constitution, there having been only two secretaries since the time of Henry VIII., the exception of a Scottish secretary not being germane,²⁶ (2) of the provisions of the Regency Act, which provided for only two secretaries and thus implied the impossibility of a third, (3) of the Place Acts of Anne, and (4) if a third secretaryship of state could be created, so could a fourth and a fifth, and, likewise, all the great offices of state might be multiplied; furthermore such an office is inexpedient because of "the impropriety of making America a distinct department, separating it still more from Great Britain by erecting a peculiar office for affairs there"; it is improper because of the Board of Trade, which

could not be an office of government, for the government of the colonies must be carried on by the king in council; there could not be two

²⁵ British Museum, Add. MSS. 34,412, ff. 393-395. This manuscript is undoubtedly in the handwriting of Wedderburn. If he believed in the validity of the case as here presented, he did not let that fact influence his conduct, as will soon appear.

²⁶ The manuscript points out that after the debate was over, it was learned that there was a third secretary in the reign of Edward VI.—a point in favor of the constitutionality.

councils, and it was more improper to make the first commissioner of trade a secretary for the colonies than any other of the king's servants, because having a board to support him, he would naturally assume to decide where his province only was to report,²⁷ and must, by degrees raise, if he could, his board above the council and hold himself without control in his new made department.

Although this purports to be a summary of a debate held some nine years before, nevertheless it must have been the basis upon which Suffolk and his friends hoped to rest their case.

When the time came for Germain, along with Weymouth (the successor of Rochford), to take his oath of office, the question in respect both of the legality of his office and the form of his commission was still unsettled. The story at this point may best be told in the words of William Knox:

A difficulty in giving Lord George Germain such a commission, 'twas apprehended, would be made by Lord Weymouth and Lord Suffolk. Lord Suffolk, we supposed, would acquiesce for the sake of his plan and with him the Solicitor General would concur. The Attorney General²⁸ and Lord Weymouth were supposed to object together. The King by one of those minute strokes for which he is so eminent, removed all the difficulty. When the Council was met to swear in the new officers, Lord Gower, being Lord President, moved the King, of course, that Lord Weymouth might be sworn Secretary of State. The King replied, "there are two secretaries to be sworn; let them be sworn together", which was done accordingly.²⁹

This decisive action on the part of the king ought to have put a definite end to the whole intrigue. Not so: the commission had to be drawn up in Suffolk's office,³⁰ and thus Suffolk and Eden were given an opportunity for more bickering.

Germain, as was customary, entered upon the duties of his office without waiting for the enrolment of his formal commission, and immediately trouble-makers appeared. Germain's friends, it was alleged, desired "to raise his department"³¹ above the other two,

²⁷ It is interesting to note in this connection the reason for the resignation of Hillsborough as secretary of state. The council refused to adopt the policy recommended by the Board of Trade in connection with the Ohio grants. Hillsborough was, of course, responsible for the proposals of the Board. Thus it was because his policy at the Board rather than his policy as secretary of state was defeated that he resigned.

²⁸ The solicitor general was Wedderburn; the attorney general, Thurlow.

²⁹ Knox MSS., *op. cit.*, p. 256.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

³¹ Add. MSS. 34,412, f. 390, Eden to [Wedderburn], Dec. 16, 1775. Eden seems to have been sincerely worried, for he wrote: ". . . in the meantime I know that, what you cannot know or conceive, if the American department is

while Eden and Suffolk were determined to prevent any such possibility, or even the appearance of an equality among the three departments, by drawing up a "barrier treaty" between Cleveland Row and Whitehall.³² Eden drew up such a "barrier treaty", duplicates of which were to be signed at the top and bottom by the king³³ and were to be sent to each one of the three secretaries; this document was drawn up in the first person as from the king, and recited that orders had been given for a warrant to Germain "in the same form and manner" as for the northern and southern secretaries, but that it was necessary in order to obviate any inconveniences which might arise in the course of business that the form of the warrant and commission should make

no difference with regard to the duties of the third Secretary of State who is always to be considered as separate from the other two; and that the ministers filling the Northern and Southern departments shall in all events be considered . . . as the two principal Secretaries of State at whatever period they may be appointed. And farther, it is my pleasure that my Secretaries for the Northern and Southern departments shall exclusively as heretofore transact all business respecting the interior of Great Britain, or any other parts of my domain, and all other matters which have been executed within the said departments subsequent to Lord Hillsborough and Lord Dartmouth being made Secretaries of State. And it is equally my pleasure that my Secretary of State for the Colonies shall transact all matters in his department in the same manner as has been hitherto done by his predecessors therein.³⁴

This proposed sign-manual instruction was shown to Wedderburn, who had gradually drawn away from Suffolk and had become the to be blended with them in the manner that you wish and propose, it will be the only honorable one of the three; the others will become irksome and inconvenient and will end in being insignificant and disgraceful. . . . Why will not Lord George's advocates *since* he came into office speak out when they counteract those who were his most active friends before he came into office. They intimate that they wish to alter the form of the appointment without changing the functions. 'Be it so', we say, 'let the appointment differ from his predecessors, but let the functions remain the same'. 'No', they say, 'that line is dangerous, and we cannot advise him to be guided by it without misleading him from his honour and his interest'".

³² *Ibid.*, f. 397, Dec. 17, 1775. The colonial department was in Whitehall—Downing street; Suffolk's office was in Cleveland Row.

³³ In other words, this document was in the form of a sign-manual instruction.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 392–393. This draft is in Eden's hand. He wrote Wedderburn that Suffolk approved it. In so far as this draft throws any light upon the conduct of the colonial department under Hillsborough and Dartmouth, it would appear that neither of these men were regarded as of equal rank or authority with the other secretaries; that the preamble of their commissions was looked upon as definitely limiting their power to the colonies. All the other evidence seems to point in the same direction, and we may therefore conclude that neither Hillsborough nor Dartmouth possessed the full and extensive power of the secretarial seals.

friend and adviser of Germain. Wedderburn not only refused to show Germain this proposal, but said that he would advise him to resign rather than to

submit to an explanation not called for, not attempted on two former occasions, and that can only be proposed . . . to make him submit in the first place to an indignity and afterwards hold the exercise of his office at the discretion of the other offices and at his own risque; for to give as a fixed rule the usage of seven or eight years is only establishing a rule the extent of which is to be disputed in every case and which by the power of two to one will be decided for his office when the act is troublesome, against it when it is unpleasant.³⁵

Eden insisted, nevertheless, that "some barrier treaty must subsist between the departments in the very nature of their establishment", and believed that his scheme, "unless Lord George much misapprehends it", ought to be satisfactory, both because Germain "knows enough of this kind of business to know that some line ought to be drawn", and because "his mind is too honorable not to feel that the terms used in describing that line ought to be general and indefinite that they may be liberally interpreted for the care and advantage of the public service". In the meantime Eden had talked with John Pownall. "If he (Pownall) can have the same success with his principal (Germain) I shall hope to see this silly story put an end to tomorrow", wrote Eden. He was all the more willing to stop his intrigues because of bad news which had just arrived from America, and which made him indisposed to stick at punctilios of office or to do anything for private reasons to "clog and embarrass the wheels of government".³⁶ Evidently Pownall had no success with his chief, because nothing more is heard of this astounding proposal. In fact the commission was duly made out and enrolled, with the preamble left out.³⁷ Germain was, therefore, technically on the same plane with the other secretaries; his commission was the same; his continuance in office as a commoner signified that the colonial secretaryship was not regarded as a *new* office for which, according to the Place Acts, a commoner would be ineligible.³⁸

³⁵ Add. MSS. 34,412, f. 398, Wedderburn to Eden, Dec. 18, 1775.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 397.

³⁷ Public Record Office, Patent Rolls, 16 George III., pt. 2, memb. 4. The patent for Germain's successor, Welbore Ellis—the last colonial secretary of this period—is in the same form: Patent Rolls, 22 George III., memb. 10.

³⁸ Germain had one more skirmish in connection with this whole matter. In 1779 Sir Joseph Mawbey raised the question of Germain's eligibility to sit in the Commons, on the ground that he occupied an office established after October, 1705. The stock arguments were used, to which Germain replied that he had gone into the matter at the time of his appointment, that he had understood that

Although this whole discussion is inconclusive, several things stand out so prominently as to throw some light on the development of the secretariat. In the first place, the query in respect of the constitutionality of a third secretaryship was answered by the mere fact of the creation and continuance of the office. In the second place, it seems certain that Hillsborough and Dartmouth were considered as and acted only as *colonial* secretaries; without the ulterior question being raised as to their general powers, they accepted an informal restriction upon the theoretically all-embracing power of the secretarial seal. In the third place, and most interesting of all, the question arises: what if Eden's barrier treaty had been accepted? The theory of the secretariat which was laid down at the beginning of this paper would have received a rude blow, and one of the main lines of the development of the cabinet might well have been blocked. Although his contention received no recognition in the wording of Burke's bill which disestablished the old colonial secretaryship, Germain was fighting a battle for the future when he insisted that he was not a *third* secretary or a secretary for the *colonies*, but one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state.

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his office was not a new one, and that he had complied with the Place Acts by standing for re-election. The house divided, but only one member supported Mawbey and his second. *Parl. Hist.*, XX. 250-266.

THE AMERICAN GRAIN TRADE TO THE SPANISH PENINSULA, 1810-1814

ENGLAND'S dependency upon American food supplies is by no means of recent date. Colonial and Revolutionary times abound with evidences of British demand for wheat and flour from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. The importance, however, of American grain in English history presented itself for the first time during the Napoleonic era.¹ In 1807 Murray, United States consul at Liverpool, remarked in a consular despatch that "such quantities of wheat and flour from the United States have lately poured into this market that prices have declined. . . ."² A year later Mr. Cropper, a leading corn merchant of London, testified before a parliamentary committee that the trade of that city had decreased considerably since the passage of the American Embargo.³ Several years later, Brougham declared in Parliament in the course of his speech on the economic distress of England, ". . . Sire, have you not taken away the only remedy for this scarcity; the only relief to which we can now look under a bad harvest—by closing the corn market of America."⁴

What was true of England was equally true of her numerous possessions and colonies. In no place was the dependency upon

¹ Prior to the Napoleonic era, the grain trade to England had never assumed great importance. The closing up of Europe by reason of the war with France compelled the English to seek supplies in the United States. The following table discloses the growth of American exports of grain and flour to England:

	Bushels		Bushels
1800	725,527	1808	105,654
1801	2,977,201	1809	1,383,028
1802	646,554	1810	786,889
1803	878,654	1811	144,779
1804	34,808	1812	92,189
1805	107,806	1813	8,742
1806	639,248	1814	12
1807	2,006,920		

Of this wheat and flour amounted to 88 per cent., Indian corn to 7 per cent., beans, pease, barley, rye, and oats to 5 per cent. *Parl. Papers*, 1825-1826, no. 227. In the British source, quantities are given in "quarters", a quarter equalling eight bushels. I have merely reduced the quarters to bushels.

² Consular Despatches, Liverpool, July 23, 1807, State Department, Washington, D.C.

³ *Parl. Pap.*, 1808, no. 118, pp. 70-71; *Parl. Debates*, XII. 35, 376, 780; *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, Feb. 19, 1809.

⁴ *Parl. Debates*, XXIII. 492, 496; see also XXII. 435, 438, 1095.

American grain more pronounced than among the British forces stationed in Spain and Portugal. In consequence of the occupation of the Peninsula by British troops grain exports from the United States to Spain grew by leaps and bounds.⁵ Prices, frequently double those which were offered in American or English markets, spurred the American farmer and merchant to greater and still greater efforts. "Letters from Lisbon", reported Josiah Faxon of Virginia to his client Andrew Clopper of Boston, "of a recent date quote it [flour] at \$12.50 per barrel and advancing. This advance has caused a considerable advance in prices here. It could this evening be bought for \$7.50 cash."⁶

Throughout the summer and fall of 1810 and 1811, unprecedented quantities of wheat and flour were shipped to the Peninsula. The greater share of these supplies was intended for the English armies.⁷ British agents openly purchased grain and flour in the United States for direct shipment to Spain and Portugal.⁸ Early in 1812, Foster, the British minister at Washington, received from Stuart, English commissary officer at Lisbon, £304,881 for the purchase of corn and flour.⁹

⁵ Flour (barrels):

	Spain	Portugal		Spain	Portugal
1800	2,550	5,333	1808	30,449	41,761
1801	11,079	43,612	1809	40,047	65,149
1802	59,409	85,784	1810	144,436	88,696
1803	144,935	122,410	1811	306,074	529,105
1804	109,906	54,648	1812	381,726	557,218
1805	103,646	22,633	1813	430,101	542,399
1806	19,196	91,273	1814	221	4,141
1807	39,842	76,352	1815	67,866	47,163

Timothy Pitkin, *A Statistical View of the Commerce of the United States* (New Haven, 1835), pp. 119, 120.

⁶ Faxon Letter Book, May 18, 1810, Faxon Letter Books, MS., New York Public Library. Josiah Faxon was an important grain merchant of Virginia.

⁷ "The flour now shipping goes to supply the British armies", Faxon to Clopper, June 13, 1810.

⁸ The Original Précis Books of Marquis Wellesley, his secret and official correspondence with the American government when foreign secretary (2 vols., MS., New York Public Library), May 9, 1811. Out of 759 ships that entered Lisbon from June 30 to Dec. 31, 1811, 284 were American, laden chiefly with grain and flour from Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, Alexandria, and New York; see Board of Trade Papers, 1: 62, Stuart's Report on Imports into Lisbon, June 30 to Dec. 31, 1811. See also B.T. 1: 79, Castlereagh to the Board of Trade, July 7, 1813.

⁹ Foreign Office Papers, 95: 31, Foster to Castlereagh, Feb. 27, 1812. These purchases were temporarily checked by the Embargo, but at a later date completed; F.O. 95: 31, Foster to Castlereagh, Apr. 23, 1812, Baker to Castlereagh, Dec. 18, 1812.

It was the usual practice of American shippers to load their produce in New England bottoms and order them direct to Lisbon or Cadiz. When the fortune of war closed these ports, other cities were designated either in the Peninsula or in the British Isles. The supercargo, who acted as the agent for the shipper, obtained in payment British governmental bills, which he handed over to some respectable business house of London or Liverpool to be placed to the credit of the American shipper. This method is admirably disclosed in the following letter of the Virginian firm of Lawarson and Foule to Captain Lawarson:

We have shipped you on board the Schooner *Susan* under your command, 481 barrels flour addressed to Messers Gould Brothers of Lisbon, which you will deliver to them agreeable to the bill of lading. But should it so happen that the French is in possession of Lisbon and you can not enter there you will proceed to Cadiz and if that also should be in the possession of the French you will go to Gibraltar, and at either place should you be prevented from going into Lisbon, you will dispose of the flour on the best terms you can and remit the proceeds in Government Bills only, to Henry Higgenson, Esq. of London to be placed to the credit and subject to the order of Samuel Smith Esq. of Boston. In the event of your not being able to go to either places named, you will have to proceed to Liverpool in which case you advise with Mr. Higgenson respecting the sale of flour.¹⁰

So extensive did this trade become that Foster was of the opinion that the American government would ultimately be forced to revoke the Non-Importation Act "as the middle states are obtaining very great profit on their flour in Portugal and Spain, which always brings them a great importation of bullion from the British domain in exchange for their produce".¹¹ It is possible that Foster hoped by such a statement to temper the belligerent attitude of his government toward America, and thus pave the way for an amicable settlement of the problems then confronting both nations. There is no evidence, however, to indicate that Madison ever contemplated the repeal of the Non-Importation Act for the reason suggested by Foster. And even had the act been withdrawn it is extremely doubtful whether it would have altered the foreign policies of either nation. Relations between the two were steadily becoming more and more critical. Continued short-sightedness on the part of the English, as well as a lack of willingness on the part of the American to understand the Englishman's point of view, produced at length a serious crisis. By the spring of 1812, war appeared inevitable.

¹⁰ Lawarson and Foule to Capt. Lawarson, Mar. 6, 1811; see also their letter to Capt. Davidson, July 20, 1811. Lawarson and Foule Letter Books, MS., New York Public Library.

¹¹ Précis Books, July 7, 1811.

At once a mad scramble ensued among the shippers to clear American harbors before either an embargo or a war was declared. On the very day that Madison's proposal for an embargo reached Congress, Lawarson and Foule addressed their client Rich: "We are loading the *Huntress* as fast as possible, shall not break off tonight. Whether we can effect our object is very uncertain as the doors of Congress are now closed upon the Embargo question, and it is supposed will pass. We yet hope there is a sufficiency of honest men in the House to defeat the infamous intention of the present governing party."¹² To another client, they wrote, "We have had no rest for 28 hours, and are completely worn out. Have got all our vessels away, the last the Ship *Huntress* with 5,000 barrels sailed a few hours since."¹³

The opposition on the part of the farmer and grain merchant, as expressed in these letters, to the foreign policy of the administration was most pronounced. At Washington their cause was warmly championed by John Randolph, who bitterly condemned the government for suggesting an embargo, so injurious to the farmers and so productive of great speculations. Further, he openly accused Madison of having yielded to French influence and insisted that ". . . to his certain knowledge . . . the French Minister, M. Serrurier, ever since his arrival here, had been pressing our Government to prohibit the exportation of our products to the Peninsula".¹⁴ In spite of this and other speeches of protest the Embargo passed and was followed a few days later by a declaration of war against Great Britain.

Disappointed, but by no means discouraged, over the unfortunate turn in events, the American shipper viewed the future with less apprehension than might have been expected. Previous experience with British orders and American embargoes had impressed upon him the fact that there existed numerous methods whereby the restrictive

¹² Lawarson and Foule to Rich, Apr. 1, 1812.

¹³ Lawarson and Foule to Smith, Apr. 6, 1812; Foster reported that "almost incredible expedition" had been used, over 140 vessels having left New York with supplies for the Peninsula in one week, while 20,000 barrels of flour had left Richmond for the same place during a similar space of time; F.O. 95: 31, Foster to Castlereagh, Apr. 23, 1812. See also *Boston Gazette*, Apr. 20, 1812.

¹⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 1 sess., pt. 2, p. 1590. Nothing has been found in the *Letters and other Writings of James Madison* (Philadelphia, 1865), the Madison MSS. in the New York Public Library, or the numerous contemporary sources used in this article, to substantiate Randolph's accusation. It is very likely that Serrurier may have attempted to influence Madison to check the Spanish trade. Writing to Castlereagh, May 4, 1812, Foster reported that it had been clearly ascertained that the motive prompting the Embargo had been the desire to produce distress in the Peninsula. F.O. 95: 31. See also *Providence Gazette*, Feb. 23, 1811.

features of these measures might be evaded. In former times British licenses and Jeffersonian certificates had protected his goods and had gained for him handsome profits. It was, therefore, not unusual for Lawarson and Foule to receive numerous inquiries from their patrons relative to the existence of British licenses.¹⁵ At once, Foule visited the British minister. Although Foster possessed no definite information, he believed that it was very "probable that some arrangement will yet be made".¹⁶ Crowding this interesting information came more valuable news to the effect that several firms were loading vessels for southern Europe. What assurance these concerns possessed that their ships would be immune from capture, Lawarson and Foule were unable to ascertain. It was rumored that the entire grain fleet would be convoyed—by whom, no one knew. Another informant declared that the English government would protect all vessels flying the Portuguese or Spanish flags.¹⁷ Determined to probe the matter still further, Foule personally visited the Spanish consul who informed him "that he was authorized to purchase provisions on government account, or in other words if the property was transferred to him or a Spanish subject, he would grant such papers as would protect the property from capture by the British".¹⁸ Here then was a definite offer, and Foule lost no time in forwarding this welcome news to his clients for their consideration.

Close upon the heels of this, came the more welcome intelligence that the British government had issued licenses for an unlimited trade to southern Europe.¹⁹ Immediately American harbors swarmed with vessels seeking cargoes for Spain and Portugal. The effect on the grain market was most pronounced. In July, flour had sold for \$6.25 a barrel; by August the price had advanced to \$8.00, and by the close of September it had reached the height of \$10.50. This is to be explained, in part, by the drought of the summer. A more important cause, however, existed in the sudden increased demand made upon

¹⁵ Lawarson and Foule to Rich, June 29, 1812; see their letter to Rollins, June 22, 1812.

¹⁶ Lawarson and Foule to Rich and Rollins, June 29, 1812.

¹⁷ Lawarson and Foule to Pearson, Crowensfield, and Rich, July 2, 4, and 8, 1812, respectively.

¹⁸ Lawarson and Foule to Goodwin and 16 others, July 24, 1812. There is evidence to prove that Spanish licenses were issued and used, but the British government held them to be of no legal effect; see B.T. 5: 22, Apr. 12, 1813, and the letter from Stuart to the Foreign Office, Nov. 14, 1812, enclosed in a communication from the Foreign Office, Dec. 2, 1812, to the Privy Council, to be found among the Unbound Papers in the Privy Council Office, Whitehall.

¹⁹ Lawarson and Foule to Baker, Sept. 4, 1812; see also Faxon to Baxter, Sept. 4, 1812.

the market by reason of the commonly accepted rumor of a British license trade. On the other hand, there seems to have been some doubt on the part of a few merchants as to whether these licenses were going to be issued after all. Faxon, writing to Baxter, September 30, 1812, stated: "We are yet in doubt about the British protecting . . . any vessels bound to or from Cadiz or Lisbon. Probably it may be so."

Indeed it was so. Hardly had the news reached England that America had declared war, when several commercial houses petitioned the Board of Trade for licenses to engage in the grain trade between the United States and the Peninsula.²⁰ On the same day that this information was forwarded to America, the Privy Council instructed the advocate general to prepare the draft of a license protecting American vessels proceeding from the United States with grain and flour to Cadiz or Lisbon, and returning in ballast to any unblockaded port of the United States.²¹ That these were straightway issued is evidenced from the following: "The licenses which I recently stated had been applied for to protect vessels with provisions from the United States to Lisbon or Cadiz have been granted for the term of nine months."²² It is possible that some licenses were issued before this, as an Order in Council, July 31, 1812, exempted from capture only such American vessels "as may be furnished with British licenses, which vessels are allowed to proceed according to the tenor of the said licenses".²³ It is more probable, however, that this order had been issued with a view to regulate the American trade in general, or possibly it had reference to the licenses granted by Foster, whose action the government may have anticipated.

In any event, prior to the above-mentioned order, Foster on his own responsibility, while still in America, had undertaken to license the grain trade to the Peninsula. His motive in doing this was to insure the satisfactory completion of the instructions sent him, shortly

²⁰ Department of State, Consular Despatches, London, Aug. 3, 1812.

²¹ Privy Council Unbound Papers, Aug. 3, 1812. At a later date American ships were permitted to return to any unblockaded port in America with cargoes of lawful merchandise of the Peninsula. This policy was adopted for a threefold reason: first, to encourage the shipment of grain; secondly, to aid the merchants of the Peninsula; and thirdly, to prevent the payment in specie, which, it will be recalled, was a very important problem then facing the English government; see Order in Council, Oct. 13, 1812; B.T. 1: 71, Stuart to Castlereagh, Nov. 21, 1812; also B.T. 5: 22, Dec. 8, 1812, and B.T. 5: 21, Oct. 12, 1812.

²² Consular Despatches, London, Aug. 14, 1812; see also B.T. 5: 21, Aug. 21, 1812, and London *Daily Times*, Aug. 12, 1812.

²³ All references to Orders in Council in this article are to be found in the Privy Council Register, Public Record Office, London.

before, by Stuart.²⁴ Accordingly, upon his departure in June, 1812, 180 licenses duly numbered, together with five others that had been granted to particular individuals, were left in the hands of Baker, Foster's assistant, who was to remain for a short time in Washington. Information relative to these licenses was forwarded to Stuart so as to anticipate any misunderstandings; while Admiral Sawyer, similarly advised, agreed not to molest any vessels so licensed.²⁵ These Foster licenses protected ships sailing under the American, Portuguese, Swedish, or Spanish flags.²⁶

Neither the authority nor the practice of the Board of Trade in issuing licenses was disputed. There was, however, considerable doubt as to whether Foster possessed this right or power. That he had issued these certificates was not questioned; their validity, however, was questioned. American ships possessing these licenses were captured by both American and British privateers, the latter doubting the reliability of the licenses.²⁷ To obviate further capture by English vessels, the British government issued an Order in Council in which it expressly approved of and gave authority to all licenses granted by Foster for the Spanish trade.²⁸

In addition to the Foster licenses, the "Sidmouths", and "Prince Regents", as those of the Board of Trade were termed, there appeared still another species in the form of certificates issued in America by Admiral Sawyer, Consul Allen of Boston and New York,

²⁴ See *ante*, p. 25.

²⁵ Admiral Sawyer was in command of the British squadron stationed at Halifax. Among the Privy Council Unbound Papers there is a letter from the Foreign Office, Aug. 25, 1812, enclosing Foster's letter to Castlereagh, dated London, Aug. 25, 1812. In addition Foster stated that he had issued 30 passports for the West Indies, and 18 others for cargoes of pitch, pine, and timber for Liverpool.

²⁶ By the middle of July, 60 Foster licenses had been issued, probably to Messrs. Sampayo and Wood, who were under contract to supply the British troops in the Peninsula. Later 19 more were issued, and two were destroyed as useless; none appear to have been issued after Dec. 18, 1812 (see B.T. 5: 21, Aug. 21, 1812; F.O. 95: 31, Baker to Castlereagh, Bermuda, Mar. 22, 1813). Stuart reported early in 1813 that out of a total of 693 ships that had entered Lisbon for the last half of 1812, 235 were American vessels laden with corn and flour; of these, 21 were under foreign flags, 18 Portuguese, 2 Spanish, and 1 Papenburger. B.T. 1: 73.

²⁷ Boston *Independent Chronicle*, July 30, 1812; *National Intelligencer*, July 28, 1812.

²⁸ This order does not appear in the *London Gazette*, but is to be found in the Privy Council Register, Oct. 13, 1812. Foster's action was warmly indorsed by Wellington, see *Despatches of Wellington*, IX. 395. The Board of Trade stated that it did not presume "to convey the slightest degree of censure", on the contrary thought him "entitled to commendation", B.T. 5: 21, Aug. 21, 1812.

and Consul Stewart of New London. Those granted by Admiral Sawyer appear to have been few in number and to have permitted American ships to transport grain and flour from the United States to the Peninsula. Immunity from capture was limited by these licenses to vessels stopped by one of Sawyer's own squadron. They did not prevent any other British ship from seizing the same as lawful prize.²⁹ This was a manifest inconsistency, and the Privy Council hastened to declare by order, October 26, 1812, that any American vessel possessing a Sawyer license was exempt from capture by any or all of His Majesty's navy. In addition the order extended the immunity enjoyed by the license to the voyage from America to the Peninsula and back.³⁰

Before this measure had made its appearance the British consul Allen had written Sawyer, July 19, 1812, with a view of obtaining his approval for the issuing of licenses in New York for the Spanish and West Indian trade. Sawyer's answer permitted Allen, under his consular seal, to license vessels for the Spanish trade on the same terms as stated in his own licenses.³¹ Allen, accordingly, proceeded to grant protection not only from Sawyer's squadron but from any British vessel—an immunity which was extended to the voyage going and returning. This in itself was an illegal departure from the instructions that he had received from Sawyer, a departure that was held valid, at a later date, by the Admiralty.³²

Before the Admiralty had taken this position, the *Hope*, bound from Philadelphia to Corunna with a cargo of grain, protected by a Sawyer-Allen license, was captured on the high seas and brought into port for trial. The decision in this case was rendered by Sir William Scott. Scott maintained: first, that neither Sawyer nor Allen possessed any power to grant licenses; but, secondly, that the British government had indorsed their actions by the Orders in Council of October 13 and 26, 1812; and thirdly, that in view of these orders, the ship and its cargo should be returned to the owner, subject to the

²⁹ Sawyer informed Croker, secretary to the Admiralty, Aug. 6, 1812, that he had granted 20 papers to Mr. Robert Elwell of Boston for the Peninsular trade. Privy Council Unbound Papers, letter from the Admiralty, Oct. 24, 1812; see also Admiralty Papers, 1: 502, f. 441.

³⁰ This order does not appear in the London *Gazette*, but is to be found in the Privy Council Register for 1812. Professor Channing in his *History of the United States*, IV. 532 (1917), states that the Sawyer licenses permitted trade with Canada. A study of the sources used in this article would indicate that these licenses were granted for the Spanish trade.

³¹ Admiralty Papers, 1: 502, f. 420, Aug. 5, 1812. See *National Intelligencer*, Mar. 6, 1813, for a copy of Allen's licenses, also *Richmond Enquirer*, Mar. 5, 1813.

³² 1 Dodson, 225-233, case of the *Hope*.

payment of the captor's expenses. According to this decision, therefore, any vessel having either a Sawyer or an Allen license was granted a free and safe passage from the United States to the Peninsula and back.³³

The natural confusion likely to arise from a continuance of the use of Sawyer and Allen licenses cautioned the ministry to instruct Allen to grant no more licenses. It administered, furthermore, a sharp reprimand for his having done so "without authority and in a manner derogatory to the character of a person holding His Majesty's Commission" and requested him to inform the government of the full circumstances connected with his actions.³⁴ In response Allen stated that upon the first receipt of intelligence of the Board of Trade licenses, he had stopped issuing certificates. All in all, over two hundred licenses had been granted, chiefly to merchants of Boston, and those unused had, with few exceptions, been revoked by the middle of October. Allen further stated that each and every license so issued had been granted according to the permission given him by Sawyer. By way of proof, Allen submitted eight distinct affidavits signed by some very prominent Bostonians to the effect that they had been recipients of Allen's certificates.³⁵

Not only was Allen treated somewhat sternly by his own country, but he was rather harshly handled by some Americans. In the summer of 1813 he was brought to trial before a Boston court for having issued licenses contrary to the act of July 6, 1812. After spending some time in custody in Worcester, "a miserable country town", Allen managed to escape to Quebec and sailed from there to England.³⁶ Relative to Stewart's licenses, no order or judicial decision

³³ 1 Dodson, 225-233. News of this decision reached America in April, 1813; see *Columbian Centinel*, Apr. 14, 1813. The principles stated by Scott were substantially confirmed by the Lords of Appeal in the case of the *Reward*, July 9, 1814, appealed from the sentence of the Admiralty Court at Halifax relative to the effect of Sawyer's licenses in the form presented in the case of the *Hope*; see appendix D to 1 Dodson. It is interesting to note that the Privy Council held Allen's licenses of no legal value, Privy Council Unbound Papers, Council Minute, Dec. 7, 1812, and letter to Croker, Dec. 8, 1812. This was before the court had rendered its decision in the case of the *Hope* (Feb. 19, 1813). After this decision, the Council stated that the validity of each license would be decided by the Admiralty as cases presented themselves; see B.T. 5: 22, Apr. 12, 1813.

³⁴ B.T. 1: 70 contains a letter to Allen from the Foreign Office of Nov. 9, 1812; F.O. 5: 89, to Consul Allen, Nov. 25, 1812. Somewhat earlier Sawyer had been instructed to grant no more licenses; see Privy Council Unbound Papers, Bathurst to Croker, Oct. 26, 1812.

³⁵ Allen to Hamilton and Castlereagh, Feb. 3 and Apr. 15, 1813, respectively. F.O. 5: 95.

³⁶ Barclay MSS., New York Historical Society: Allen to Barclay, Sept. 14, 1813; Mr. Joel Thompson of Boston to Barclay, Dec. 11, 28, 1813; Mr. Simpson

appears to have been issued. The number granted by Stewart probably did not exceed the thirty which had been left in his hands by Foster prior to his departure from America. These licenses, furthermore, were limited to the West Indian trade. In view of these facts the Privy Council informed the Admiralty that those vessels already captured should not be released, but that in cases where no fraud appeared, the Admiralty should respect such licenses in the future.³⁷

The demand for these various licenses was enormous. No less than five hundred had been issued by the close of August, 1812.³⁸ They were openly bought and sold at New York, Alexandria, Boston, and elsewhere. As their numbers increased their market value decreased. In October, Lawarson and Foule reported that the "Prince Regent's licenses are getting plenty and cheap, say 500 or less", while in December they sold for \$400.³⁹ So numerous did they become that considerable doubt was cast upon their genuineness. "We received your favor with the license . . . we observe that there are counterfeits abroad, will you have the goodness to ascertain if this is genuine."⁴⁰ A similar statement appeared in *Niles' Register* for December 19, 1812: "For many years the British have been in the habit of *manufacturing* our shipping papers. *Our folks* are returning the compliment, and are daily engaged in making *British* licenses, to trade to Spain, Portugal, St. Bartholomews, etc." A week later the same paper stated: "In our last was inserted an article respecting the forgery of *British licenses*. The maker of them has been caught in New-York, with a large stock on hand."⁴¹ By whom or for what reason we are not informed. It is highly probable that the seizure was made by governmental officials on the assumption that the entire trade with the enemy was illegal.⁴²

of Boston to Barclay, Oct. 7, 14, 1813. Barclay for a long time was consul general at New York.

³⁷ Privy Council Unbound Papers; to Croker, Nov. 20, 1812. Stewart was also directed to grant no more licenses; B.T. 1: 70, Foster to Hamilton, Nov. 8, 1812, see also the indorsement on Foster's letter. James Stewart was British consul at New London, Conn. His career as a license-issuer was abruptly terminated by his arrest June, 1813; for further details see Barclay MSS., letters of Stewart to Barclay, especially those of June 28, July 3, and Oct. 8, 1813, and letter of Robert Fairchild to Madison, Jan. 3, 1814, Madison MSS., New York Public Library.

³⁸ Consular Despatches, London, Aug. 29, 1812; see *Boston Gazette*, Jan. 25, 1813.

³⁹ Lawarson and Foule to Dodge, Oct. 26, 1812.

⁴⁰ Lawarson and Foule to Appleton, Dec. 14, 1812.

⁴¹ *Niles' Register*, III. 256, 272.

⁴² Examination of New York newspapers, the correspondence of the period, and the other sources quoted in this article, fails to disclose any further information.

Public opinion, it appears, was at first uncertain as to the ethics of using British licenses. The existence of war, it was declared, had outlawed all commercial activities with England. But what, one asked, of the trade to Spain and Portugal? These were neutral states occupied for the time being by British troops, assisting Spain in her war for independence against the hated Napoleonic despotism. Had America forgotten so soon the aid rendered us by Spain during our war for freedom? Fearful, however, as to the strength of this sentimental argument, the merchants interested in the Spanish trade took firmer ground when they declared that the trade in question was with a neutral, not with an enemy, and that it was no concern of ours what became of American wheat after it had once been landed in the Peninsula. Not only in New England, but in Virginia and Pennsylvania, was this style of argument advanced. Foremost among those who held these views was Thomas Jefferson, who declared that the only means whereby the deplorable conditions of the grain market might be relieved was by permitting trade with Spain. "I am favorable", he stated, "to the opinion which has been urged by others, sometime acted on, and now partly so by France and Great Britain, that commerce, under certain restrictions and licenses, may be indulged between enemies mutually advantageous to the individuals, and not to their injury as belligerents."⁴³

In Congress the matter had come up for discussion during the debate that had ensued over the Embargo Bill. No definite status, however, appears then to have been given to the Spanish trade. The war itself had theoretically stopped all trade with England and her dependencies, a principle which had been embodied in a measure approved July 6, 1812. This act expressly interdicted all trade with the enemy and its dependencies either under the disguise of neutral flags or by British licenses. Without a doubt this act covered the grain trade to the Peninsula, which was a dependency, if not in law or theory, at least in fact, for the time being. English troops were stationed in the Peninsula and to these English troops food supplies from America were shipped. In the absence, however, of an express provision covering the Spanish trade, American merchants willingly availed themselves of British licenses and shipped throughout the summer and fall of 1812 unprecedented quantities of produce. That this trade was illegal was beyond all question. It was, therefore, not unexpected that Madison should call the attention of Congress to the matter in the following words:

There being reason to believe that the act prohibiting the acceptance of British licenses is not a sufficient guard against the use of them . . .

⁴³ Jefferson to Madison, Apr. 17, 1812, *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 345.

further provisions on that subject are highly important. Nor is it less so that penal enactments should be provided for cases of corrupt and perfidious intercourse with the enemy, not amounting to treason nor yet embraced by any statutory provisions.⁴⁴

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In compliance with this section of the message, Harper of New Hampshire immediately proposed in the House that the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures be instructed to inquire into the expediency of prohibiting entirely the exportation of flour and all wheat-stuffs. This proposal, however, was defeated by a vote of 76 to 26.⁴⁵ Two weeks later a bill prohibiting the use of all foreign licenses was presented by Newton of Virginia, from the committee, read twice, and committed to a committee of the whole, but it was not taken up till February 22, 1813, nor passed by the House till March 1, and then the Senate, as will be seen later, postponed it till the next session.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, however, friends of the administration and supporters of Harper's resolution were not so easily defeated. Early in December Newton introduced a similar resolution. "It was well known", he declared, "that there was not a day passed over our heads but American vessels were departing for Spanish and Portuguese ports, unrestricted as to the exportations of provisions and naval stores." It was not his purpose, however, to interdict a legitimate trade with a neutral but rather to prevent British agents from supplying English possessions with provisions laden in American vessels sailing under the Spanish or Portuguese flag. The agriculturists and farming interests, indignant at this attack which they declared would promote speculation, rallied their forces and defeated the measure by the narrow margin of but one vote.⁴⁷ Late in the afternoon of the following day, Harper attempted to renew his resolution; this time the vote stood 58 to 58, whereupon Speaker Clay promptly threw his vote in with the opposition, thereby defeating the motion.

After this defeat, Harper and Newton refrained from any further discussion of the matter for the remainder of the year. The proposition, however, came up time after time in the course of the session. During the debate relative to the Merchant's Bond Bill, Dr. Mitchell of New York drew the attention of the House to the trade with Spain.

We send freely abroad the products of our soil, although we feel a moral conviction that the greater part of the products will centre in Eng-

⁴⁴ Message of Nov. 4, 1812, Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, I. 519.

⁴⁵ *House Journal*, Nov. 6, 1812.

⁴⁶ *House Journal*, Nov. 23, 1812, Feb. 22, Mar. 1, 1813; *Senate Journal*, Mar. 3-

⁴⁷ *House Journal*, Dec. 1, 1812; *Annals of Congress*, 12 Cong., 2 sess., pp.

land . . . It is perfectly understood that Spain and Portugal cannot pay us in specie or produce for the breadstuffs and other articles of human sustenance which we send to Cadiz and Lisbon, and that these bills are paid for to a great extent in bills drawn upon London.

He called the House to witness that upon several occasions it had refused to inhibit the exportation of grain and had voted down all motions made to retain our produce at home in order to feed "our seamen, soldiers and civilians".⁴⁸ Several days later, Clay undertook to answer these statements. He insisted that the trade to the Peninsula was not censurable; on the contrary it possessed a most redeeming feature in that American produce was being paid for either in bills drawn on London, or in specie. Payment in specie was highly desirable not only for the revenue that it brought us, but also because the loss of this specie on the part of England directly injured her credit and undermined her resources. Hence the trade to the Peninsula should be viewed as a war measure in that it forced Great Britain to deplete her treasury in order to maintain an army on the Continent. It was Clay's modest estimate that at least twenty millions of dollars came annually into this country by reason of the trade with the Peninsula. A continuation of this policy would greatly endanger the strength of the paper system of the enemy and thus aid in bringing her to terms.⁴⁹

By way of answer, Newton pointed out on December 14, 1812, that Clay had opposed an embargo "principally for the reason that an embargo would prevent the importation into the United States of specie from Great Britain, through Spain and Portugal". Notwith-

⁴⁸ *Annals*, p. 239. As a matter of fact little grain was exported during the war from the United States to England directly (see above, page 24) or indirectly from Canada. What grain was smuggled into Canada appears to have been consumed there. English import figures for all grain imported from Canada during the years 1811 to 1814 are as follows:

1811	3,516 bushels	1813	7 bushels
1812	190,194 bushels	1814	21 bushels

Parl. Pap., 1825-1826, no. 227. Canada appears to have been itself in urgent need of food, as is revealed by the activities of the Victualling Office; see *Memoir of J. C. Herries* (London, 1880), I. 51. The shortage of the supply in Canada is also shown in a letter from a Mr. Robinson of Quebec, dated June 29, 1812, B.T. 5: 21, Sept. 22, 1812; see also letter from Admiral Sawyer, Halifax, Nov. 2, 1812, Admiralty Papers, 1: 502, f. 743.

⁴⁹ *Annals*, 12 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 299-300. It is interesting to note that Napoleon advocated, in part, the sale of grain to England for the same reason. See *Correspondance de Napoléon*, nos. 17974, 19391; see also Audrey Cunningham, *British Credit in the Last Napoleonic War* (Cambridge, 1910); J. H. Rose, in *Cambridge Modern History*, IX. 372; F. E. Melvin, *Napoleon's Navigation System* (New York, 1919), pp. 88-89.

standing the value of this specie, Newton insisted that an embargo would be a greater benefit as it would be the "strongest measure that Congress could adopt to give energy and effect to the war". The capital of this country, he declared, was employed to supply the enemy with American produce, not in American vessels but in British ships under the disguise of Swedish, Spanish, and Portuguese flags.⁵⁰

There can be little question that Harper and his friends had taken strong ground. It was well understood and admitted by both sides that the shipments to the Peninsula were destined solely for the use and sustenance of the British troops, forces which at any time might be employed against the liberties of the American people. All during the winter of 1812-1813, the discussion of the ethics of this trade continued with increasing strength. The effect of this, as well as of the severity of the winter, was to decrease the amount of the trade in general.⁵¹ The demand, however, for freights was still considerable. On December 23, Lawarson and Foule stated to Crowenshield: "Flour has been very fluctuating, varying from \$7.00 to \$11.00; Very large quantities have been shipped. Since the 1st of September we have shipped upwards of 30,000 barrels."⁵²

Into this lucrative trade was suddenly thrust the long arm of the British navy. Those who were fortunate enough to possess British licenses were permitted to proceed according to the tenor of their licenses; all others were brought into port to await trial and judgment.⁵³ Equally active was the American navy, which seems to have made a determined effort to check this illegal trade. The brig *Hiram* from Baltimore bound to Lisbon with 1500 pounds of flour was brought into Marblehead by the American frigate *Thorn*.⁵⁴

The effect of these numerous captures had been to lower the price of flour and to render trading with the Peninsula less profitable.⁵⁵ Metcalf, a prominent grain merchant of Virginia, deeply deplored this depression in trade. Nor did he take kindly to this intrusion by the American navy. Writing to his client Baxter he declared, ". . .

⁵⁰ *Annals*, 12 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 375-377; see above, p. 30, note 27.

⁵¹ This is evidenced by the following letter from Metcalf to Baxter, Nov. 24, 1812: "At this moment I cannot be reconciled to act in loading the ship *Monson* . . . A Bill is now before Congress making it penal for a ship to sail with a license . . . Therefore should a vessel sail and be captured by our cruisers, she would be involved if brought into a port in the United States." Metcalf's correspondence is to be found in the Letter Books of Josiah Faxon.

⁵² Lawarson and Foule to Crowenshield, Dec. 23, 1812.

⁵³ Lawarson and Foule to G. Snow, Jan. 28, 1813.

⁵⁴ *Boston Independent Chronicle*, Nov. 5. Dec. 14, 1812.

⁵⁵ Metcalf to Wm. Montgomery and Baxter, Nov. 14, 1812, Faxon Letter Books.

if our ships of war and privateers are allowed to bring in vessels that have licenses, then they may also bring them in on suspicion of their having them".⁵⁶ It is to be noted that Metcalf's entire reasoning rests upon the highly questionable supposition that the trade to the Peninsula was not trading with the enemy. Cautioned, however, by the fate of the brig *Hiram*, Metcalf determined to appeal to an authority higher than an American privateer before risking the *Monson* on a venture to Spain. Accordingly, he interviewed Monroe, then Secretary of State, in the hope of obtaining permission to load the *Monson* and sail unmolested. In a letter to Baxter, Metcalf stated that Monroe had given him to understand that the affair would be arranged "as soon as circumstances will permit".⁵⁷ Whether an arrangement was effected or not is uncertain. This much, however, is certain, that Metcalf stated in a letter to Baxter, January 11, 1813, that he had a license for the *Monson* to Cadiz, purchased for \$1133 and that the vessel would be despatched as soon as the weather permitted.⁵⁸

Metcalf, doubtless, was one among many who openly condemned the American government for its interference with a profitable trade. Jefferson, as we have already had occasion to note, criticized the administration for its conduct. In a letter of his dated January 12, 1813, we have this interesting disclosure of a peculiar mental trait:

You doubt whether we ought to permit the exportation of grain to our enemies; but Great Britain, with her own agricultural support, and those she can command by her access into every sea, cannot be starved by withholding our supplies. And if she is to be fed at all events, why may we not have the benefit of it as well as others? . . . And as to feeding her armies in the peninsular, she is fighting our battles there, as Bonaparte is on the Baltic . . . Besides, if we could, by starving the English armies, oblige them to withdraw from the peninsular, it would be to send them here; and I think we had better feed them there for pay, than feed and fight them here for nothing. A truth, too, not to be lost sight of is, that no country can pay war taxes if you suppress all their resources. To keep the war popular, we must keep open the markets. As long as good prices can be had, the people will support the war cheerfully.⁵⁹

Those opposing this view could not reconcile their ideas of patriotism to a standard so un-American or mercenary in nature. It was, therefore, not at all unexpected to have the matter come up once more for discussion in Congress. On February 24, 1813, the President

⁵⁶ Metcalf to Baxter, Nov. 14, 24, and 26, 1812.

⁵⁷ Metcalf to Baxter, Jan. 9, 1813.

⁵⁸ On Feb. 11, 1813, Metcalf informed Baxter that the *Monson* had sailed with a cargo valued at \$12,000.

⁵⁹ Jefferson to James Ronaldson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 372.

addressed Congress, calling its attention to the Order in Council of October 26, 1812, permitting a trade with the West Indies through the medium of licenses. In the course of this message, Madison strongly denounced this licensed trade and urged Congress to prohibit any trade under license whatsoever by citizens of the United States, and further to interdict exportation from America "in foreign bottoms, few of which are actually employed, whilst multiplying counterfeits of their flags and papers are covering and encouraging the navigation of the enemy".⁶⁰

It was doubtless in answer to this message that Calhoun presented a bill prohibiting the exportation in foreign bottoms of a list of enumerated commodities consisting largely of food supplies. After some discussion the bill was passed and sent to the Senate for consideration.⁶¹ In the meantime, the House took up, February 22, 1813, discussion of the Foreign License Bill that Newton had introduced in November. The purpose of this measure was to prohibit entirely the use of all foreign licenses by any American vessel. The usual arguments were advanced by both parties. It was clearly seen that the number of those opposing the measure was steadily decreasing. Attempts to postpone the proposition failed, and on the first of March the bill passed the House, 59 to 32. Immediately the measure was brought to the attention of the Senate, which, after referring it to the Committee of Foreign Affairs and having received it back with amendments, considered the proposition on the third of the month in conjunction with the Calhoun bill. By this time the Senate was contemplating adjournment and so postponed further consideration of these two bills until the next meeting of Congress.⁶²

In the meantime unusual activity was manifest among the grain merchants by reason of these measures. Lawarson and Foule stated that in view of the Order in Council and the proposed American embargo they were "pushing off all our vessels with licenses". The adjournment of Congress slackened considerably this haste on the part of that firm.⁶³ Public opinion, moreover, among the New England states was becoming adverse to the use of these licenses by reason of the scarcity and high price of flour in their markets.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Richardson, *Messages*, I. 523.

⁶¹ *House Journal*, Feb. 26, Mar. 2, 1813; *Annals*, 12 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 1127-1128, 1134-1164.

⁶² *House Journal*, Feb. 22 to Mar. 1; *Senate Journal*, Mar. 3; *Annals*, 12 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 112, 121, 1142, 1150.

⁶³ Lawarson and Foule to Rollins, Feb. 25, Mar. 2, 1813.

⁶⁴ Flour was selling for \$17.00 and \$18.00 a barrel, *Niles' Register*, IV. 184, 209.

Accordingly, after Congress had reassembled in May, 1813, a bill was introduced in the Senate forbidding the use of British licenses.⁶⁵ After much argument concerning which the *Annals* have very little to say, the measure was agreed to on July 15, by the comfortable vote of 22 to 12. The following day the measure came up for action in the House. It was not until the twenty-ninth, however, that the bill was finally passed, 78 to 33.⁶⁶

The acceptance of this measure by both Houses was a decided victory for the government. Its effects were far reaching, for it sealed every port in the United States against the egress of all American vessels possessing British licenses. It did not, however, prevent British ships disguised as neutrals from continuing this illegal trade. The License Bill, in short, did not check the exportation of food supplies to the enemy, a proposition which Madison discussed to some extent in his confidential message to Congress, July 20, 1813. In the thought of remedying this defect, Newton proposed that Congress prohibit the exportation of all provisions. Unfortunately Newton and Calhoun fell into an altercation as to what committee this matter should be referred to—the result of which was that the measure was “indefinitely postponed, in other words rejected”.⁶⁷

Further consideration of this act or any of a similar nature was rendered impossible by the adjournment of Congress. While doubtless disappointed over the reception accorded his motion, Newton as well as all friends of the administration had ample cause for satisfaction in the passage of the License Bill. This measure prohibited the sale, disposition, or use by a citizen of the United States or of its territory, of any license, pass, or paper granted by the British crown or its agents for the protection of any vessel or cargo, or admission of any vessel or cargo into any port. Anyone directly or indirectly concerned in the purchase, use, or disposition of any of these papers was upon conviction to forfeit a sum equal to the value of both the vessel and cargo, and pay in addition a fine of not more than \$5000 and not less than \$1000. Within five days after promulgation of the act in the nearest port, any vessel owned in whole or in part by a citizen of the United States found possessing a British license was to be forfeited. Vessels sailing with these papers were to be considered as British ships and as such were liable to capture and condemnation. Any vessel within the jurisdiction of the United States, sailing after the promulgation of this law, was held responsible for

⁶⁵ *Senate Journal*, June 28, 1813.

⁶⁶ *House Journal*, July 16, 29, 1813.

⁶⁷ *Annals*, 13 Cong., 1 sess., I. 487.

all violations of this measure. All ships sailing from Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa were rendered subject to the act after November 1, 1813, save of course upon being able to show that their passage had been delayed by stress of weather. The act, moreover, was not to be construed as ordering the suspension of any case involving the use of a British license.⁶⁸ In December of the same year Congress placed an embargo on all vessels in American ports, save neutrals, who might depart with necessary stores and whatsoever cargo they then possessed.⁶⁹

Without a doubt, the effect of this law would have been to close all trade to the Peninsula to all Americans or American vessels. As it was, the British government altered its policy to an extent that rendered it altogether problematic whether licenses already issued might not still be utilized by the present holders. Early in November, 1812, the Privy Council had decided that no more licenses would be granted for the Peninsular trade.⁷⁰ Nothing was said relative to those still unused, the intention evidently being that they should be honored. Shortly thereafter a modification occurred. Late in February the British government announced by an Order in Council the blockade of Chesapeake Bay.⁷¹

Information relative to this blockade reached America early in February, 1813. The actual presence of a blockading squadron under Admiral Warren was made known to American merchants by the news that certain vessels possessing British licenses had had their papers indorsed and had been ordered back into port.⁷² Metcalf at first refused to believe that the British government intended going back upon its given word. To his utter astonishment he witnessed the return of the *Monson*, which he had only recently been able to despatch after considerable delay and great cost. Investigation revealed that the *Monson* had been stopped by one of Admiral Warren's ships, its license indorsed, and the *Monson* itself ordered back into

⁶⁸ *U. S. Statutes*, 13 Cong., 1 sess., c. 57. For cases arising from this act see 8 Cranch: the *Julia Luce*, the *Aurora Pike*, and the *Hiram Parker*.

⁶⁹ *U. S. Statutes*, 13 Cong., 2 sess., c. 1.

⁷⁰ Privy Council Unbound Papers, Council Minute, Nov. 14, 1812.

⁷¹ Order in Council, Dec. 26, 1812. In point of fact the British Admiralty had instructed Warren to blockade Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, Nov. 27, 1812. In reply Warren stated, Feb. 21, 1813, that the blockade had already been put into force; see Admiralty Papers, 1: 503, Warren to Croker, Feb. 21, 1813. By Order in Council, Mar. 30, 1813, this blockade was extended to New York, Charleston, Port Royal, and the Mississippi River. Warren by proclamation, Nov. 16, 1813, extended it to everything south of Narragansett Bay; see *Niles' Register*, V. 264.

⁷² Metcalf to Baxter, Feb. 11, 13, 22, 1813; Lawarson and Foule to Jackson. Feb. 11, 1813.

port. Thoroughly indignant, Metcalf declared the entire proceeding to be a "breach of faith on the part of the [British] Government".⁷³

Breach or no breach, the British government had blockaded Chesapeake Bay and had stationed Warren there to see to it that the blockade was enforced. And yet, it is believed, this was not a breach of faith. It had been the custom for some time past during the war with France to declare certain ports blockaded, entrance or exit being denied to all, even to those who possessed licenses to trade with the enemy. Only under particular circumstances might a vessel enter a port actually blockaded and then only upon possession of a license in which the name of the blockaded port had been entered by the crown's agents.⁷⁴ Metcalf, indeed, ought to have congratulated himself upon having the *Monson* at his dock rather than tied up at Halifax waiting action of the prize court, a procedure perfectly in keeping with British policy. Others besides Metcalf suffered in the same manner. Attempts to evade the British squadron usually proved a failure.⁷⁵ Vessels with over 40,000 barrels of flour were held in port at Alexandria by reason of the blockade.⁷⁶ Flour steadily fell in price until by April 24 it had come down to \$6.00 a barrel. At the same time came the dismal announcement from Warren "that nothing is allowed to go out. Licenses are worth nothing . . . will not be for Americans during the war. Licenses can only be made use of by neutrals and from Eastern Ports".⁷⁷

⁷³ Metcalf to Baxter, Feb. 22, 1813.

⁷⁴ An examination of hundreds of licenses in the Public Record Office and Privy Council Office, as well as of certain Orders in Council, discloses this interesting feature of the license system.

⁷⁵ Lawarson and Foule to Ligowney, Mar. 11, 1813. See *London Gazette*, Mar. 23 and Sept. 7, 1813, for a list of ships captured by Warren from Sept. 16, 1812, to July 22, 1813.

⁷⁶ Lawarson and Foule to Coolidge, Mar. 13, 1813.

⁷⁷ Metcalf to Baxter, Apr. 10, 1813. Eastern ports were favored so as to promote smuggling into Canada and to develop disaffection in the New England district. Considerable light is thrown upon this policy by a letter from Barclay to the Foreign Office, Oct. 19, 1812, which was forwarded to the Board of Trade, Nov. 7, 1812, B.T. 1: 72. Barclay urged that vessels of the United States under 150 tons should be permitted to carry needed supplies to the West Indies. This would give the Eastern states a limited commerce, and afford employment for the seamen of this section, thus keeping them out of the American navy. He also suggested that no ships be allowed to depart from any port west of the western extremity of Connecticut; that the Mississippi be carefully watched, as it was the only outlet for the produce of the Western country; and that a blockade should be declared of all ports from the eastern half of Long Island to Amelia Island. By an Order in Council, Oct. 26, 1812, the governors of the West Indies were given permission to license the importation of grain and provisions from America, provided these licenses were issued to United States citizens of the Eastern ports; B.T. 1: 70, Bathurst to the Board of Trade. Nov. 11, 1812.

From that time until the close of the war, little grain appears to have been shipped from Southern ports. Occasionally a neutral vessel, or an American turned neutral, was able to slip by the British fleet; but with these few exceptions all trade was interdicted.⁷⁸ Those few who managed to clear the bay in safety, Metcalf believed to have obtained special privileges. "Vessels have gone out belonging to a house in New York. How they have gone, I can not learn. I have had authority for stating that the vessels belonging to this house had through the intercession of the Barings of London obtained permission to sail."⁷⁹ For some unknown reason, Baxter believed that the *Monson*, possessing a British license, would pass the English fleet in safety. Possibly he was determined to take a chance after having plunged so deeply into the venture. Metcalf, accordingly, was instructed to despatch the *Monson* as soon as possible. Upon the very day of the receipt of this letter, the *Monson* weighed anchor and put out to sea. By dusk the vessel was back once more, safely tied to the dock, where it stayed for the remainder of the war. The occasion for its return this time does not appear to have been the British blockading squadron. Actually, the *Monson* never got so far out to sea, having been stopped before it left the harbor proper by the customs official of the United States, who informed the captain of the *Monson* that the Secretary of the Navy had recently issued an order forbidding the departure of all vessels.⁸⁰

It was, therefore, as a result of both the American License Bill and the change in the British policy that the profitable grain trade to the Peninsula was abolished. The cause for this change on the part of the British government is not difficult to explain. The sudden opening of the North Baltic ports late in 1812 and early in 1813, by reason of the collapse of the Continental System, released for British consumption vast stores of grain and flour. In the future, therefore, British armies in the Peninsula, or elsewhere for that matter, would not be dependent upon American grain as they had been during the immediate past. The Peninsula, moreover, was amply stocked with grain and flour by this time. Over 160,000 barrels of flour were

⁷⁸ Metcalf to Baxter, May 12, 1813; Lawarson and Foule to Meyers, May 1, 1813; *Niles' Register*, IV. 245. See Admiralty Papers, 2: 932, letter to Warren, Aug. 13, 1813, directing him to institute a strict blockade.

⁷⁹ Metcalf to Baxter, June 26, 1813.

⁸⁰ Metcalf to Baxter, July 31, 1813. A copy of this letter, together with the comment "What a pity the *Monson* was not permitted to violate 'his majestys strict blockade of the Chesapeake'", appeared in *Niles' Register*, IV. 386-387; see also IV. 402 for an indorsement of the letter by Capt. Norris, U. S. N.

reported as being unsold in Cadiz.⁸¹ Hence the license trade, so far as Americans were concerned, was practically abolished before the passage of the License Bill. That it had not been prevented before, and at a time when the British government would have felt the want of American wheat and flour, was due largely to the determined effort of the agriculturists in America to sell their produce to the English—war or no war.

W. FREEMAN GALPIN.

⁸¹ *Niles' Register*, IV. 200, 280; see also *Providence Gazette*, May 1, 29, and June 29, 1813. During the first half of 1813, 615 vessels entered Lisbon, only 165 being American, a decided decrease from the previous year. Of these 61 came from New York, 25 from Charleston, 18 from Philadelphia, and the others from various ports. On the other hand there was an increase in the number of foreign vessels that entered with grain from America: 24 Portuguese, 2 Spanish, and 1 Swedish; B.T. 1: 79, letter from Foreign Office, July 26, 1813, enclosing Stuart's report for the first half of 1813.

SEWARD'S FAR EASTERN POLICY

IN the nineteenth century only three secretaries of state—Webster, Seward, and Hay—made positive contributions to American policy in the Far East. Where other administrations took up the question it was in an ineffective or negative way. Webster's contribution was, of the three, the least creative, for in his instructions to Cushing for the treaty with China¹ and to Commodore John H. Aulick for a treaty with Japan² he did little more than adopt as official the policies of the American traders in their dealings with the Chinese. Webster caught their spirit and put it into elevated language, but he added little or nothing to it. Seward's contribution was more important, for he reversed not only the policy of Webster but all traditional American policy in the East. Indeed one is warranted in placing the bulk if not the quality of Seward's contribution to the body of Far Eastern policy above that of Hay, for in 1899 when Hay turned to this difficult problem he must have been made aware that all its paths had been traversed in the sixties either by Seward or by his able representative at Peking, Anson Burlingame. Hay added nothing in principle; rather, he returned to policies from which his predecessors in the seventies and eighties had departed. Absolutely no new principles have been added to American Far Eastern policy since 1869. The "open-door" policy is as old as the most-favored-nation clause in the Cushing Treaty with China (1844). The policy of protecting China by agreement among the powers is not greatly different from the policy of the Burlingame Mission to the Western nations (1867-1870). The co-operative policy as it appeared in China in 1900, during the World War, and again in the treaties of 1922, reached its maximum development under Seward in 1866. Co-operation with other Western powers in the East has never been carried so far since that time.

The discussion of American policy in the Far East is sometimes misleading when it seizes upon the open-door policy as primary, for while that is the substance of American purpose, the play of policy is not around this doctrine, from which the American government has never receded, but around the method by which it may be made effective, *i.e.*, whether by isolated or by co-operative action. It is in the meeting of this choice between two widely divergent methods of

¹ *Sen. Doc.* 138, 28 Cong., 2 sess.

² *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 59, 32 Cong., 1 sess., p. 80.

realizing American purposes that a study of Seward's administration is most rewarding.

Seward did not inaugurate the co-operative policy in Eastern Asia. As early as April 22, 1851, Dr. Peter Parker, acting as chargé d'affaires at Canton, urged upon Webster, then secretary of state, a co-operative policy which would have for its object to prevent Great Britain from undertaking belligerent measures against China.³ Parker was at that time expecting that Great Britain would proceed to the partition of the empire. Two years later Parker's advice was accepted by Marcy and somewhat timidly applied. After the middle of 1853 the standing instruction to the American representatives in China was to co-operate with the powers, namely, with England, France, and Russia, in all peaceful measures. This policy of co-operation, however, always broke down in application because the American government could not reach an agreement, particularly with Great Britain, as to either the methods or the purposes of co-operation. But by the time Seward had entered the Department of State there had come a change. Great Britain and France might be presumed to have obtained in China by the war of 1857-1860 all that could reasonably be desired. The treaty powers found that for the time being their interests were identical. The influence of Palmerston was rapidly receding in the British Foreign Office, and into the Department of State came Seward, who, while in his best moments a statesman, was always a politician and temperamentally a co-operator. A co-operative policy admirably served the purpose of Seward in 1861, for every measure was desirable which gathered any or all of the trans-Atlantic powers into a concert with, rather than against, the United States at the opening of the Civil War. The difference between Seward and his predecessors, Marcy and Cass, in the matter of co-operation was that Seward was bold, was willing to play politics on an international scale, was supported by a war spirit within the nation, and was quite willing to pay the price of co-operation. A more fundamental difference was that Seward, more than any of his predecessors, valued the potential commercial opportunities of the United States in Eastern Asia.

Seward entered the Department of State with large and positive convictions on the nature and the future of American relations with Asia. This is evident from his previous record in the Senate. He was a most enthusiastic supporter of every movement to establish

³ China Despatches, vol. 6 (Department of State): "To prevent any one of the powers adopting *coercive* measures, it is proposed that joint *peaceful* steps be taken by all."

American foreign trade. "The nation", he said, "must command the empire of the seas, which alone is real empire." This empire, it seemed to him, must include the Pacific as well as the Atlantic. Indeed he foresaw the day when the Atlantic interests of the United States would relatively sink in importance, "while the Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond" would become the "chief theatre in the events of the world's great hereafter". This famous assertion, made in 1852 while the Perry Expedition was in preparation, was no isolated flight of oratory; Seward had a very definite idea as to the function of the American people in the commerce of the Pacific Ocean. Foreign trade, he thought, was to replace military conquest and to become the vehicle for the commerce of ideas. The great American contribution to the world, it seemed to him, was political and social theory. Just as the Atlantic states through their commercial, social, and political sympathies were steadily renovating the governments and social constitutions of Europe and Africa, so "the Pacific states must necessarily perform the same sublime and beneficent functions in Asia". Seward appears to have expected that Asia, thus enriched from America, would repay the gift in gratitude. While Perry was in the East, Seward said: "Certainly no one expects the nations of Asia to be awakened by any other influence than our own from the lethargy into which they sunk nearly three thousand years ago. If they could be roused and invigorated now, would they spare their European oppressors and spite their American benefactors?"

So convinced was Seward of the value of the Pacific Coast to the United States that he would, notwithstanding his convictions on the subject of slavery, vote to receive California as a state even though it were to become slave territory. He believed in the Japan Expedition, expressing the conviction that the proper question for the Senate to ask was not why it had been sent, but why it had not been sent before. He urged the completion of the surveys of the Pacific Ocean; he favored the encouragement of Chinese immigration to California; and among the projects to which he lent persistent and energetic leadership, were the construction of the trans-continental railroad and the inauguration of a line of mail steamers from San Francisco, by way of the Sandwich Islands, to Japan and China. Lincoln could not have chosen from among the conspicuous leaders of the day a secretary of state who would have brought to the Far Eastern question more previous thought and conviction.⁴

⁴ *Works of William H. Seward* (ed. Baker), I. 51 ff., 58, 236 ff., 249-250, 356; IV. 125, 24, 25.

That there would some day come a clash between American and European interests in Asia, Seward seems also to have been aware. To Cassius M. Clay, the newly appointed American minister to Russia, Seward wrote in 1861: "Russia and the United States may remain good friends until, each having made the circuit of half the globe in opposite directions, they shall meet and greet each other in regions where civilization first began and where, after so many ages, it has become now lethargic and helpless."⁵

"People not in sympathy with his prophecies", remarks Seward's biographer, "had maintained that he was in favor of adding at least a part of China to the national domain."⁶ There can be no doubt that Seward belonged more to the Perry than to the Cushing and Webster school of Far Eastern policy, but there is no evidence that in the management of American affairs in Asia he had any object beyond securing for the United States such a position that, come what might, his government would be able to defend its citizens and uphold their interests. In this regard his policy was similar to that of McKinley a generation later, who held the Philippines when the partition of China was being threatened.

Seward, as we have remarked, was willing to pay the price of co-operation. In China there was no price to pay. Burlingame dominated the co-operative policy and made it serve the characteristically American purpose of sustaining and assisting the imperial government. But in Japan the co-operative policy, forged by the Americans, became the weapon in the hands of Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Harry Parkes for the accomplishment of purposes which departed widely from traditional American policy. "The President does not fail to observe", wrote Seward to Robert H. Pruyn, American minister in Yedo in 1863, "that some of the agents of some of the other treaty powers pursue, in their intercourse with the Japanese, a course more energetic, if not more vigorous, than that which you have followed under the instructions of this department."⁷ Nevertheless Seward approved of co-operation. It was important for domestic reasons when the Civil War was at its height, and it was also important to American interests in the East that in whatever action was taken the Americans be represented. Only by co-operation, Seward appears to have argued, could American interests be protected, and only in that way could the action of such men as Alcock and Parkes in Japan, and, later, Bellonet in Peking, be

⁵ *Dipl. Corr.*, 1861, p. 293; also *Works of Seward*, V. 246.

⁶ Frederic Bancroft, *Life of William H. Seward*, II. 472.

⁷ *Dipl. Corr.*, 1863, II. 1066.

moderated and kept in line with the preservation of American interests.

Seward's co-operative policy outside of China led him into several very un-American courses of action. In May, 1861, upon receipt of information from Yedo which led him to believe that the Japanese were embarked upon a policy of ignoring the treaties of 1858 and perhaps expelling the foreigners from their empire, Seward proposed the well-known joint naval expedition against Japan. This proposal called for the presentation of a joint note at Yedo accompanied by the assembling of a combined fleet of all the treaty powers in Japanese waters. The note was to be in the form of an ultimatum. If the answer were unfavorable or evasive, Seward proposed that the diplomatic representatives be withdrawn and that "such hostilities be commenced and prosecuted as the naval commanders may deem most likely to bring the Japanese to a sense of their obligations". To this proposal there were attached two qualifications: (1) that the United States would make a special demand for satisfaction for the murder of Heusken, who had been the interpreter at the American legation; and (2) that the convention between the powers was not to be considered obligatory on the United States until the sanction of Congress had been obtained to the beginning of hostilities.⁸ Townsend Harris, American minister in Japan at the time, was wholly opposed to the plan and felt that Seward had failed to grasp the situation in Japan. Happily it came to nothing. If it stood alone among Seward's proposals for Japan we might dismiss it as an aberration like the "Thoughts" presented to Lincoln only a few weeks before, or as a purely diplomatic move to divert the threatened intervention of European powers in the Civil War; but it did not stand alone. Seward returned not once but repeatedly to a similar policy in Japan and was prepared to extend it even to Korea.

The attack of the U. S. S. *Wyoming* at the Straits of Shimonoseki, the joint attack at the same place of the British, French, Dutch, and American forces the following year, and the joint convention of 1866, which was practically dictated from the gun-deck of a British

⁸ Notes to the Russian Legation, vol. 6 (Department of State), May 20, 1861, Seward to Stoeckl: "It is understood that the Constitution of the United States requires the sanction of Congress to the commencement of hostilities against a foreign power, and this convention is not to be considered obligatory on the Government until that sanction shall have been obtained." This is from Seward's draft of the proposed convention to be signed by the ministers of France, England, Russia, Prussia, and the United States. The details of the proposed demonstration, so far as they were published, are in *Foreign Relations*, 1862, pp. 547, 814-816.

flag-ship, all of them approved by Seward, were un-American when judged by the entire American record in Asia.⁹

The convention of 1866 is notable.¹⁰ It contains in the preamble the statement that the representatives of the signatory Western powers had "received from their respective governments identical instructions for the modification of the tariff of import and export duties contained in the trade regulations annexed to the treaties" of 1858 which provided for a revision five years after the opening of Kana-gawa, *i.e.*, on July 4, 1864. To this convention, which not only reduced the tariff to specific duties estimated on an *ad valorem* basis of five per cent., similar to that from which China is not yet free, but also made revision impossible without the consent of all the treaty powers, A. L. C. Portman, chargé d'affaires for the United States, put his name upon the advice of Sir Harry Parkes. It was not signed under any such specific instructions as the preamble states. Indeed, a search of the entire diplomatic correspondence for the period discovers nothing more than the most general instructions bearing upon the subject. Perhaps the nearest to specific, or identical, instructions was a copy of a despatch shown to Portman by Parkes, in which Seward had written to Sir Frederick Bruce (August 15, 1865) that while the Senate had not yet ratified the convention of 1864 with reference to the Shimonoseki indemnity he was unable to approve Lord Russell's plans for the reduction of the duties, yet "anticipating the ratification, this government is disposed to concur provisionally and to co-operate in the plans proposed by Her Majesty's Government".¹¹

It is not apparent from the record that Portman, much less Seward, had any clear notion of what Sir Harry Parkes was accom-

⁹ *Dipl. Corr.*, 1863, III. 1060; 1864, III. 553, 579, 581, 584; Moore, *Digest*, V. 749-751.

¹⁰ See Payson J. Treat, *Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan*, pp. 393-406, for an excellent summary of the conditions under which the convention was secured.

¹¹ Notes to Great Britain, vol. 13, Aug. 15, 1865, Seward to Bruce. This was in reply to a memorandum from Bruce, British Legation, vol. 79, July 29, 1865, Bruce to Seward, in which a letter of Lord Russell's to Bruce was transmitted to Seward. It proposed that the representatives of the treaty powers in Japan be instructed to co-operate in securing from the Tycoon's government a reduction of duties to five per cent. and "in no case to exceed ten per cent." in return for a commutation of two-thirds of the \$3,000,000 Shimonoseki indemnity. Nothing was said in this proposal about the character of the convention to be secured, or about the naval demonstration by which it was actually accomplished. Portman stated (Japan Desp., vol. 6, Nov. 18, 1865) that he had seen a copy of Seward's letter to Bruce. Apparently no copy of it had been sent to Portman.

plishing in the convention of 1866. Nevertheless Seward, true to his policy, approved the compact and sent it to the Senate, which also approved. This was the document which kept Japan in bondage to British mercantile interests for nearly half a century.¹²

Seward was willing to pay the price of co-operation even in a "gun-boat policy" because he was convinced that the American people had before them the possibility of making, in time, an easy commercial conquest of Asia, and meanwhile he felt himself to be preparing the way. Where co-operative rather than isolated action would advance his purpose he did not shrink from co-operation under the only conditions which for the moment seemed possible. This co-operation in a belligerent policy continued after all reasons for it arising out of the Civil War had disappeared. A hitherto unknown item in his policy with reference to Korea throws much light not only on the extent of his vision but also on the methods of his statecraft.

On January 22, 1867, there was received at the Department of State a despatch from S. Wells Williams, chargé d'affaires at Peking during the absence on leave in the United States of Anson Burlingame, conveying the following information: some French missionaries had been put to death in Korea; Admiral Roze with some French naval vessels had gone to Korea to make an investigation; he had returned with the information that in August (1866) an American trading schooner, the *General Sherman*, with the owner on board, loaded with cotton goods, glass, tin plates, etc., for an exploratory trading expedition, had been caught in the Ping Yang-so River and had been burned, and the Americans had been put to death.¹³

A month later (February 26, 1867) a second despatch on the subject, signed by Burlingame, who meanwhile had returned to Peking, contained the more startling intelligence that the French chargé, M. de Bellonet, upon receipt of the news of the murder of the missionaries, had formally notified the astonished Prince Kung, practically the prime minister of China, that France proposed to "march to the conquest of Korea" and that a French protectorate would be established over the peninsula.¹⁴

¹² For the way in which the Americans generally came to regard the convention of 1866, see two articles by E. H. House, "The Thralldom of Japan", and "The Martyrdom of an Empire", particularly the former, *Atlantic Monthly*, vols. LX. (1887) and XLVII. (1881). House was wholly incorrect in many of his statements as to the existing relations between the United States and Japan when he wrote, but the articles are an accurate reflection of the opinion of Americans in regard to the convention.

¹³ *Dipl. Corr.*, 1867, I. 414-415. The original despatch is stamped: "Received Jan. 22, 1867".

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 419 ff., Dec. 12, 1866, Burlingame to Seward.

The facts of the Franco-Korean situation were as follows:

In March, 1866, nine French missionaries had been put to death by order of the Regent, the famous Tai-wan-kun, in the course of a vigorous anti-foreign crusade which had been stimulated by the recent aggressions of the foreigners in China and Japan, and more especially, perhaps, by the menace of Russia on the northern border of the peninsula.¹⁵ News of the massacre reached Chefoo July 7, 1866. Six days later the French chargé at Peking, M. de Bellonet, telegraphed the bare facts to Paris and stated that Admiral Roze was proceeding to Korea, where no resistance from the Koreans was expected. On the same day Bellonet took it upon himself to address to Prince Kung the extraordinary note referred to above.

The government of his Majesty, [wrote Bellonet,] can not permit so bloody an outrage to go unpunished. The same day on which the King of Korea laid his hands upon my unhappy countrymen, was the last of his reign; he himself proclaimed its end, which I in my turn solemnly declare today. In a few days our military forces are to march to the conquest of Korea, and the Emperor, my august sovereign, alone, has now the right and the power to dispose, according to his good pleasure, of the country and the vacant throne.¹⁶

A severe reproof was addressed to Bellonet by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, November 10, 1866, but of course this did not arrive at Peking until early in the following year.

The interest of France in Korea was not news to the Department of State. As far back as December 12, 1856, Dr. Peter Parker, American commissioner to China, presumably after conference with the French as well as with the British representatives, had recommended that the three nations join in coercive measures against China and proposed that the French flag "be hoisted in Korea, the English again at Chusan, and the United States in Formosa, and there to remain until satisfaction for the past and a right understanding for

¹⁵ Henri Cordier, *Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales* (Paris, 1901), I. 267 ff.; W. E. Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (New York, 1907, eighth ed.), pp. 373, 482-483; G. H. Jones, *Korean Repository*, July, 1898.

¹⁶ Cordier (I. 268) reproduces this despatch with an addition stating that "the prince to whom will be confided the destinies of Korea under the protectorate of his Majesty, the Emperor, must become a Christian." The text of the ensuing correspondence between Bellonet and Prince Kung did not become known to the other foreign representatives in Peking until Nov. 20, when, presumably upon the advice of Anson Burlingame, whom Prince Kung consulted in the matter, copies of it were sent to all the legations. "I submit it," wrote Burlingame to Seward, Dec. 12, 1866, "without one word of comment." *Dipl. Corr.*, 1867, I. 419 ff.

the future are granted". A similar proposition was presented to President Pierce by the French minister a few weeks later.¹⁷

After the treaties between the foreign powers and China and Japan in 1858, the ultimate objects of Great Britain and France (the American government seems never to have been disturbed about Russian ambitions) were a matter of grave concern to American representatives in Yedo and Peking. There was a good deal of talk at the time of the occupation of Tsushima by Russia (1861) to the effect that the European powers were planning a partition of Japan.¹⁸

The co-operative policy in China under Burlingame had its birth in the efforts of the American minister to bring the foreign powers, particularly France, into line with a policy which would respect the sovereignty of the empire over the various foreign settlements at the open ports.¹⁹ Fresh in Seward's mind when he read of the French expedition to Korea were his recent interviews with Anson Burlingame, whom only a few months before he had persuaded to return to Peking where his services could so ill be spared. Seward jumped to the conclusion that the expected partition of Asia had already begun.

The end of the episode in the Far East must be summarized briefly. The second expedition of Admiral Roze in November, although accomplishing the destruction of the Korean city of Kwang-hoa, below Seoul, was inconclusive, and without material success. The French, although they had withdrawn several hundred troops from the French garrison at Yokohama for the expedition, thus creating a sore spot in Korean-Japanese relations,²⁰ were not prepared for the conquest of the peninsula, which was the only method by which satisfaction and a treaty could have been achieved. The expedition was generally regarded in China as having been a failure, and the reports spread to Paris, where they were seized upon by the opposition in the Corps Législatif to embarrass the government; What was the government going to do to restore the loss of French prestige in Mexico and Korea? Orders are believed to have been issued for

¹⁷ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 22, 35 Cong., 2 sess., II. 1083; China Instr., vol. I., Feb. 27, 1857, Marcy to Parker.

¹⁸ "For the last eighteen months many officials, English and French, civilians and naval men, have frequently declared that a war with Japan was inevitable, and that it could only end in the partition of the country. It is said that the Russian commander justified his action by referring to those declarations, adding that he remains at Tsushima solely for the purpose of preventing its falling into the power of the English and the French." Harris to Seward, Oct. 7, 1861, Japan Desp., vol. 13.

¹⁹ *Dipl. Corr.*, 1862, p. 833; 1863, pp. 851, 856; 1864, pp. 419, 426.

²⁰ Nagao Ariga, p. 148, in Stead, *Japan by the Japanese* (London, 1904).

the suspension of Admiral Roze and for the recall of Bellonet for their wholly unauthorized activities, but the new attacks upon the government caused a change of policy. "It was suddenly discovered that the first reports about the defeat of the Korean Expedition were erroneous; that the command of Admiral Roze, instead of suffering defeat, had severely chastized the Koreans; that the outrages inflicted by that people upon the missionaries had been effectually and amply redressed; and that the dignity and honor of the government had been fully vindicated."²¹ It then became necessary to reinstate Admiral Roze, and Bellonet, saved from disgrace, was promoted to Stockholm.²²

On March 2, 1867, four days after the receipt of the Burlingame despatch, Seward, having before him only the information supplied from Peking and knowing nothing of the fact that Bellonet's and Roze's actions had been repudiated by their government, had a conference with M. Berthemy, the French minister in Washington, ostensibly upon another subject.²³ In the course of the conversation, rather abruptly, so Berthemy thought, Seward proposed that the United States and France unite in a joint action to obtain from Korea satisfaction for the murders of the Frenchmen and the Americans. The text of Berthemy's despatch to Paris in which the Seward proposal is discussed follows:²⁴

WASHINGTON, LE 3 MARS 1867.

Monsieur le Marquis,²⁵

Votre Excellence a sans doute appris, par la correspondance de la Légation de l'Empereur à Pékin, qu'un bâtiment de commerce des États-Unis, le *Général Sherman*, a été incendié sur la côte de Corée et son équipage cruellement mis à mort. Me parlant hier de ce fait, à l'occasion de récentes dépêches qu'il avait reçues de Chine, et sans qu'aucune ouverture de ma part l'eût amené dans cette voie, M. Seward

²¹ F. F. Low to Hamilton Fish, Feb. 1, 1873, China Desp., vol. 33. This information was supplied to Mr. Low in Peking by M. de Geofroy, then French minister to China, who in 1867 had been attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris; see *post*.

²² Cordier (I. 269-271) bears out the statement that there were two publications of the news in the *Moniteur* (Dec. 27, 1866, and Jan. 7, 1867), and that Bellonet, whom he describes as "d'un caractère trop vif", was promoted.

²³ Berthemy had been appointed Oct. 28, 1866. He arrived early in January, 1867. He had previously served as the French representative in Peking, to which post he was appointed Oct. 14, 1862. Cordier, I. 69, note; F. W. Williams, *Anson Burlingame*, p. 36.

²⁴ This document, the only known record of the plan, was kindly supplied from the archives of the French embassy by His Excellency the French Ambassador at Washington, Mr. Jusserand, through the good offices of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson.

²⁵ Marquis de Moustier, French minister of foreign affairs September, 1866-December, 1868.

m'a demandé si le Gouvernement de l'Empereur, désirant obtenir une satisfaction plus complète du meurtre juridique des missionnaires français, ne serait pas disposé à agir de concert avec celui des États-Unis pour décider la Corée à accepter un traité conforme à ceux qui ont été conclus avec la Chine et le Japon.

J'ai répondu au Secrétaire d'État, qu'en principe la France était certainement prête à appuyer toute action collective des Puissances occidentales qui tendrait à ouvrir au commerce maritime un marché encore fermé et qui aurait, en outre, pour résultat d'assurer l'intégrité du royaume de Corée, fort compromise, à mon avis, par l'ambition d'un puissant voisin; mais que j'ignorais si l'on ne considérait pas à Paris comme un châtiment suffisant de l'assassinat de nos missionnaires, la leçon infligée l'autonne dernier à ce pays.

Développant alors sa pensée, M. Seward m'a dit qu'il avait conçu ce projet bien moins en raison de l'importance des intérêts engagés en Corée que pour affirmer publiquement la bonne harmonie qui existe entre les États-Unis et la France. "On saura ainsi", a-t-il ajouté, "que tout sujet de mésintelligence a disparu; mais pour que la preuve soit complète il convient que les deux pays ne recherchent dans cette circonstance aucune assistance étrangère et que, s'il y a lieu de recourir à la force des armes, aucun autre drapeau ne flotte à côté des leurs. Nous avons seuls des griefs, cela suffit pour expliquer que nous agissions seuls. Je vous prie de demander par voie télégraphique l'autorisation de vous entendre à ce sujet avec moi, car il n'y a pas de temps à perdre si l'on veut profiter de la saison favorable aux opérations."

Les instructions du Département me prescrivant de saisir toutes les occasions qui pourront s'offrir d'établir une entente avec le Gouvernement des États-Unis, il m'était impossible de décliner la transmission de la proposition qui m'était faite. J'ai répondu, toutefois, que je jugeais nécessaire d'accompagner cette proposition d'explications trop développées pour comporter l'emploi du télégraphe, mais que je demanderais à Votre Excellence de vouloir bien faire usage de ce moyen pour y répondre.

Le projet du Secrétaire d'État présente, Monsieur le Marquis, d'incontestables avantages. Sa mise à exécution aurait pour résultat: aux États-Unis de transformer de la manière la plus complète les dispositions de l'opinion publique à notre égard et, par suite, celles du Gouvernement, quel que soit le parti qui arrive au pouvoir; en Chine, de consolider notre influence à laquelle les résultats incomplets obtenus par l'amiral Roze n'auront pas manqué de porter atteinte; en Corée, enfin, d'ouvrir ce pays au commerce et de mettre un terme à son isolement, qui, si l'on n'y arrive, aura infailliblement pour conséquence son absorption par la Russie qui le convoite afin de donner à la Sibérie orientale les débouchés maritimes que la rigueur du climat refuse presque constamment à cette dernière dans ses limites actuelles.

Toutefois, il est peut-être une ombre à ce tableau. Votre Excellence aura remarqué le soin avec lequel le Secrétaire d'État insiste sur la nécessité pour la France et les États-Unis *d'agir seuls*, et l'on ne saurait nier qu'au point de vue où se place M. Seward, ce fait ne doive produire sur l'opinion, en Amérique, comme en Europe, une impression plus grande que si les deux Gouvernements s'adjoignaient une tierce Puissance. Cependant, les difficultés éventuelles que la question du Canada peut susciter au Cabinet de Washington sont-elles complètement étrangères au voeu

émis par le Secrétaire d'État de voir la France et les États-Unis s'engager dans une entreprise dont l'Angleterre serait écartée? Il vous appartient, Monsieur le Marquis, d'apprécier la valeur de cette indication, dont je ne voudrais pas d'ailleurs exagérer l'importance, car, ainsi que je l'ai déjà écrit, je ne pense pas que la réunion des Possessions britanniques donne lieu à un conflit dans les circonstances actuelles.

Quant aux moyens d'atteindre le but indiqué, c'est à dire une indemnité pécuniaire pour les familles des victimes et la conclusion d'un traité, ils consisteraient dans une pression exercée simultanément par les deux Légations à Pékin, où j'ai des motifs de compter sur le crédit personnel du Ministre des États-Unis; puis, en cas d'insuccès, dans l'emploi de moyens coercitifs contre le Gouvernement coréen. Dans le cas où Votre Excellence jugerait à propos de me donner par voie télégraphique, comme le désire le Secrétaire d'État, l'autorisation nécessaire, il me serait facile de régler ces divers points à l'aide d'un échange, soit de déclarations, soit de simples notes, et sans instructions ultérieures. Lorsque cette autorisation me parviendra, il est, du reste, vraisemblable que je serai en mesure de juger si la situation politique des États-Unis permet d'en faire usage, ou bien si, prévoyant la chute prochaine du président Johnson et sa propre retraite, M. Seward n'a eu d'autre objet en vue, lorsqu'il m'a fait la proposition dont j'ai l'honneur d'entretenir Votre Excellence, que d'effacer, en ce qui le concerne personnellement, le souvenir de son attitude à notre égard pendant la durée de l'expédition du Mexique.

Veuillez, etc.

BERTHEMY.

For one other reason the proposal might have aroused Berthemy's speculations. Not only was Seward's proposition merely verbal²⁶ but also, while there was a precedent for such proposed action in the proposal made by Seward in May, 1861, for a joint naval demonstration against Japan, the present proposition was unaccompanied by any reservation as to the consent necessary from Congress, such as had characterized the earlier one. Did Seward in the present instance have it in mind to ignore Congress, to depend entirely upon the existing naval forces in the Far East, and then to present Congress with a treaty with Korea, as he was already planning to do in the case of the Alaska purchase?²⁷

For reasons which have already been explained Seward's proposal when it arrived in Paris was inopportune and was gracefully declined in the following instruction. This was drafted by M. de Geofroy, at that time *sous-directeur* for the affairs of America and Indo-China

²⁶ There is no contemporary record of it in the records of the Department of State; no entry of it was made in the files of notes to the French legation; nor was any intimation of the proposal sent to the American legation at Paris.

²⁷ While the naval forces in the Far East in 1867 were considerable, consisting of thirteen vessels (C. O. Paullin, in *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, XXXVII. 1137), they would not have been adequate to bear a fair share in effective coercive measures against Korea.

in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1873 he had become minister in Peking, and found some amusement in twitting his colleague the American minister, Frederick F. Low, on the characteristically self-righteous tone of existing American policy. He showed Low the original draft prepared by him in 1867, let him take a copy of it, and told him that the French cabinet, "after making some unimportant changes in the phraseology, without affecting the sense, directed it to be copied and sent".²⁸ The draft finally arranged reads thus:

M. Berthemy à Washington.

29 Mars 1867.

Mr., Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 3 de ce mois que le Gouvernement des États Unis projetant une expédition destinée à venger l'incendie du bâtiment de commerce américain "le Gnl. Sherman" et le massacre de son équipage par les habitants de la Corée, M. le Secrétaire d'État vous avait demandé si nous serions disposés à nous y associer afin d'obtenir pour notre part une satisfaction plus complète du meurtre de nos Missionnaires et de contraindre ensuite les Coréens à accepter un traité conforme à ceux qui ont été conclus avec la Chine et le Japon.

Les forces navales de S. M. ont au mois d'Octobre dernier infligé à ces populations une leçon dont nous avons lieu de croire qu'elles conserveront le souvenir, et que nous considérons comme un châtiment suffisant, ainsi que vous l'avez du reste justement pressenti et indiqué par avance dans votre conversation avec M. Seward. Ce coup de main, car l'expédition de M. l'Amiral Roze ne devait pas avoir d'autre caractère, a été exécuté dans toutes les conditions d'opportunité désirables, c.à.d., à son heure immédiatement après l'attentat qui l'avait appelé. Il a pourvu à ce que nous désirions. Nos intérêts en Asie étant dès lors sauvegardés l'unique motif pour une action commune serait donc d'affirmer par l'union des deux pavillons la sympathie mutuelle et constante qu'attire l'un vers l'autre le peuple français et le peuple américain. Aussi notre premier mouvement nous eut-il porté à accepter avec le plus cordial empressement les ouvertures de M. Seward qui répondaient si bien à tout que nos sentiments ont de plus intime. Mais le Gouv't. de l'Empereur n'a pas à tenir compte seulement de ses impressions et de ses entraînements. Il doit peser avec maturité des résolutions qui peuvent mettre en cause dans une mesure considérable sa responsabilité vis-à-vis de l'opinion publique. En France les esprits ne sont pas favorables aujourd'hui à des entreprises dont le but éloigné et le caractère indéterminé ne pourraient permettre de préciser dès le début l'étendue et la durée. Le Gt. de S.M. ne se croit donc pas en mesure de s'engager dans une expédition dont le resultat ne pourrait pas être immédiat et qui, dans le premier moment, ne serait peut-être pas accueillie avec toute la faveur qu'elle mérite sans doute. Dans un pays où l'opinion publique pèse d'un si grand

²⁸ Low to Secretary Fish, Feb. 1, 1873, enclosing Geofroy's draft. This draft has been corrected, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris, by the kindness of officials there and of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, into conformity with the draft finally arranged. The despatch actually sent appears not to be at the embassy in Washington—is perhaps in Paris.

poids sur toutes les affaires et avec un ministre d'un esprit élevé et d'un sens pratique comme M. Seward de telles considérations ont chance d'être immédiatement comprises.

Nous n'en apprécions pas moins l'intention amicale qui a inspiré les propositions de M. Seward, et nous y voyons un témoignage de cordialité dont je vous charge de le remercier. Vous voudrez bien aussi lui faire connaître que nous formons des vœux pour la réussite de l'expédition projetée et que, si en châtiant un acte de barbarie les armes des États Unis parviennent à réaliser dans ces contrées lointaines un progrès nouveau et à faire faire un pas de plus à la civilisation, nous serons les premiers à nous en réjouir et à y applaudir.

Vous êtes autorisé à donner lecture de cette dép. à M. le Secrétaire d'État.

The publication of the Bellonet-Kung correspondence in Peking and the practical failure of the expedition of Admiral Roze had greatly alarmed both Burlingame and the British minister, Sir Rutherford Alcock. It was rumored and generally believed in China that in the following spring France would send a powerful expedition to the peninsula to make a second attack. Sir Rutherford Alcock was prepared to attend, whether invited or not, with a British naval force to protect British interests, and Burlingame urged Seward (December 15, 1866) to instruct him to join with Alcock. He wrote: "If my advice can have any weight it will be that our presence there should rather restrain than promote aggression, and serve to limit action to such satisfaction only as great and civilized nations should, under the circumstances, have from the ignorant and the weak."²⁹ Seward, having satisfied himself that France had been misrepresented at Peking, and that no hostile measures were being contemplated, assured Burlingame that such instructions were unnecessary. He then turned to the question of a treaty with Korea, which he set out to secure in a more characteristically American fashion. His nephew, George F. Seward, was consul general at Shanghai. Young Seward, who was energetic and ambitious and subsequently was American minister at Peking, reported the presence in Shanghai of some alleged Korean envoys who had indicated a willingness on the part of the Korean government to enter into a treaty. The nephew requested from his uncle a commission to proceed to Korea and attempt negotiations. This request was granted; in the instructions issued there is a paragraph which fitly expresses the spirit of the policy which Seward would doubtless have liked to pursue from the beginning had he not supposed himself to be embarrassed by the ambitions of France. He wrote:

The design of this government is to render your visit a generous and friendly one, reserving the question of force, if found necessary,

²⁹ *Dipl. Corr.*, 1867, I. 426.

for ultimate consideration. You will not be expected therefore either to direct the exercise or make any display of force by way of intimidation, but on the other hand you will be expected to practise discretion, prudence and patience, while firmly asserting the dignity and maintaining the demands of the United States. You will, however, give notice to the Korean Government if you find it expedient, that this government cannot suffer the outrage committed in the case of the *General Sherman* to remain indefinitely without receiving proper guaranty of adequate and ample redress.³⁰

The proposed expedition by George F. Seward was never undertaken, for before the arrival of the instructions he had discovered that he had been duped by the alleged Korean envoys. Furthermore two American war-vessels, the *Wachusett* (Commander R. W. Shufeldt) and the *Shenandoah* (Commander John C. Febiger) had visited Korea since the disappearance of the *General Sherman*, but neither of them had brought back information indicating that a treaty with Korea at that time could be obtained by peaceful negotiations.³¹

It was very fortunate for the good name of the United States in Asia that Seward's proposal of a joint armed expedition to coerce Korea and to obtain satisfaction for the *General Sherman* failed. Nearly twenty years later it was learned from what appear to have been reliable Korean sources that the crew of the *General Sherman* brought their unhappy fate upon themselves. During a freshet the schooner had entered the Ta-dong River, and had grounded when the river suddenly fell. The crew, which was heavily armed, misunderstood the advances of the Korean authorities and treated them with indignities, whereupon the Koreans set out some fire-rafts to drift down upon the schooner, setting it on fire. The crew attempted to defend itself, but was overcome by the Koreans and put to death. The *General Sherman* had no legal right whatever to be in the river, and the action of the crew appears to have invited trouble.³²

At the moment when Seward made his seemingly impulsive suggestion to Berthemy about Korea, he was already contemplating the purchase of Alaska. The acquisition of Russian America had been one of the unfinished pieces of business which he had inherited from the Buchanan administration.³³ The energetic secretary did not per-

³⁰ Despatches to Consuls, vol. 49, p. 267; *For. Rel.*, 1870, pp. 336-339.

³¹ C. O. Paullin, "The Opening of Korea by Commodore Shufeldt", in *Political Science Quarterly*, XXV. 471-473.

³² Korea Despatches, vol. 2, Mar. 29, 1885, Foulk to Chandler, secretary of the navy, filed by date; Griffis, *Corea* (eighth ed., 1907), p. 395, note.

³³ Frank A. Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska", in *Amer. Hist. Review*, XXV. 411 ff.; James M. Callahan, "The Alaska Purchase", *West Va. Univ. Studies in Amer. Hist.*, series I., nos. 2 and 3, Feb.-Mar., 1908.

mit the matter to drop out of mind. He realized its value as a means of communicating with Asia when he indorsed (May 14, 1864) the memorial of Perry McD. Collins to the Senate, asking for a subsidy and other government aid for the construction of a telegraph line from the Pacific Coast northward through British Columbia, and thence across Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, down the Siberian coast to the mouth of the Amur River.³⁴

Stoeckl, the Russian minister, returned to the United States and landed in New York about February 1, 1867, where he remained for six weeks while his emissaries urged the purchase of Alaska upon Seward. There can be little doubt that in the month which elapsed between the arrival of Stoeckl in New York and the proposal to Berthemy in Washington, Seward, who required little urging, had already decided to acquire Alaska and the Aleutian Islands which stretched out so far toward the coast of Asia. Although he failed to conceal his eagerness to consummate the transaction, Seward very carefully concealed from Stoeckl his reasons for favoring the purchase of the peninsula, just as he had concealed from Berthemy his full purpose in the Korean matter. The conjunction of the two negotiations at least makes reasonable the conjecture that the purchase of Alaska was a piece of Far Eastern policy the full significance of which is not yet realized. A glance at the globe and a reference to the *Alaska Coast Pilot*³⁵ will show that the nearest good American harbor to the coast of Northern Asia is far out in the Aleutian Islands, at Kiska. The interest of Japan in the American possession of Kiska harbor may be noted in the fact that in Article XIX., Section I., of the Five-Power Naval Treaty of 1922, the United States, while excepting the insular possessions of the United States adjacent to the Alaskan coast, agrees to maintain the *status quo* as regards fortifications in the Aleutian Islands. If the co-operative policy in the East now re-established for the fourth or fifth time in seventy-five years were to fail, as it failed in the nineties, and if the United States were again to set out by isolated action to protect its interests in Eastern Asia as it did then by retaining the Philippines, it is probable that the line of American advance would be over the bridge to which "Seward's Folly" points.

With the purchase of Alaska and the proposed Korean expedition were associated the appropriation of the Midway Islands by the

³⁴ *Papers relating to the Intercontinental Telegraph*: Seward to the Committee of Commerce of the Senate, *Sen. Ex. Doc. 123*, 38 Cong., 1 sess.

³⁵ *U. S. Coast Pilot, Alaska*, 1916, pt. II., p. 222: "Kiska harbor is closed to foreign shipping".

United States in the same year³⁶ and the reaffirmation of the policy that the annexation of the Sandwich Islands was, under certain conditions, desirable.³⁷ Indeed after his departure from the Department of State Seward stated to the citizens of Salem, Oregon (August, 1869), that the United States ought to "own and possess self-producing [*sic*] islands on your coast and sugar and coffee-producing islands in both oceans".³⁸ The testimony of his son, Frederick W. Seward, who was so closely associated with his father in 1867, leaves little doubt that the purchase of Alaska was less a commercial than a political venture: "During its [Civil War] continuance my father, as Secretary of State, had found the government laboring under great disadvantages from the lack of advanced naval outposts in the West Indies and the North Pacific. So, at the close of hostilities, he commenced his endeavors to obtain such a foothold in each quarter."³⁹

A survey of Seward's eight-year record in the Department of State leads inevitably to the conclusion that, so far as Far Eastern matters were concerned, he was the greatest secretary after Daniel Webster. Indeed he stands above all his successors until John Hay, and far more than Hay he had the ability to follow a policy through when beset with difficulties. His policy respecting Chinese immigration, a domestic more than a foreign question, lacked statesmanship, but on the problems of American relations in the Pacific and in Asia he had a firm grip. Where his successors dodged or evaded the problem of co-operation he met it boldly. In his record there stands a list of very un-American actions; these were the price he paid for co-operating with powers possessed of very different ideals and purposes in the East. That he would have liked to do differently is evident from his final instructions for the treaty with Korea, and from the whole tone and content of the Burlingame treaty with China, which he himself wrote. There is this to be said in extenuation of his faults, that he had the courage to attempt to sustain American interests among the powers in the Far East. None of his successors in office in the nineteenth century had so much courage; most of them evaded entirely the problem which has now become one of the most difficult in all American foreign policy. Under Seward's policy of co-operation, American interests in the East advanced to a point from which they steadily receded after his day until the close of the cen-

³⁶ *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 79, 40 Cong., 2 sess.; *Sen. Report* 194, 40 Cong., 3 sess.; Moore, *Digest*, I. 555.

³⁷ *Dipl. Corr.*, 1894, app. II., p. 144; Moore, *Digest*, I. 484, note.

³⁸ *Works*, V. 577 ff.

³⁹ F. W. Seward, *Reminiscences of a War-time Statesman and Diplomat*, p. 360.

tury, when the American government resumed the policy of co-operation. On the other hand in the proposed Korean expedition from which England was to be excluded, and in the secrecy which attended the purchase of Alaska, Seward approached dangerously close to bad faith toward the other powers with which the United States was committed to co-operation. A co-operative policy could not long survive where one power was dealing behind the backs of the others. One would hardly commend Seward's Palmerstonian methods of statecraft as models for the statesmen of the twentieth century.

It is significant and worthy of note, that when the United States set out again upon co-operation, John Hay found his model, not in Seward's policy in Japan or his policy of 1867 as to Korea, but in Burlingame's frank, kindly, and irenic policy in China.

TYLER DENNETT.

DOCUMENTS

1. *An Unidentified Article by Talleyrand, 1796*¹

THE following article was printed on February 26, 1796, in the *Courrier de la France et des Colonies*, a French newspaper published in Philadelphia.

On February 15, 1796, Talleyrand, who, barred from France by a decree of emigration and forced to leave England under the terms of the Alien Act, had come to the United States and taken up his residence in Philadelphia, sent the following note to his friend, Moreau de Saint-Méry, ex-Constituent, and since 1794 a printer and bookseller in Philadelphia:

Je vais vous envoyer un morceau pour votre feuille de demain; ce sont deux pages assez piquantes. Gardez-leur de la place. Ce sera fort mal écrit, parceque vos plumes ne sont pas assez fendues.

Bon jour—Quoi de nouveau?

Envoyez-moi un de vos jeunes gens dans une heure chercher ma mauvaise écriture.²

The sheet referred to is the already mentioned *Courrier de la France et des Colonies* of Philadelphia, published by Gatereau of Santo Domingo and printed by Moreau de Saint-Méry. This journal, which had appeared intermittently since September 19, 1793,³ was a four-page quarto newspaper, designed like the *Étoile Américaine* of Philadelphia and the *Gazette Française et Américaine* of New York to find a reading public among the émigrés from France and the French fugitives from Santo Domingo.

An examination of the file of the *Courrier* in the Boston Athenaeum, probably the only one in existence, disclosed an article entitled "Réflexions sur les Dernières Nouvelles reçues d'Europe particulièrement sur celles relatives à la France". It is unsigned, but that it is the article of Talleyrand's letter there can be no doubt.

In the first place, in the copies published between February 15, 1796, the date of Talleyrand's note to Moreau, and March 14, 1796, when the paper ceased to be published, there is no other article which could possibly be that mentioned by Talleyrand. The meagre issues

¹ Contributed by the late Lieutenant Ralph B. Yewdale, assistant professor in the University of Wisconsin, who died Nov. 24, 1921.

² Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de l'Amérique, 1793-1798*, edited by Stewart L. Mims (New Haven, 1913), p. 220.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

are filled with clippings from French and English newspapers, a serial account of adventures under the Terror, and the like.

The article in question, if allowance is made for the advertisements, covers almost exactly two pages. "Ce sont deux pages," says Talleyrand.

Furthermore, the resemblance between the style of the "Réflexions" and that of Talleyrand's *Essai sur les Avantages à retirer des Colonies Nouvelles dans les Circonstances Présentes* and his *Mémoire sur les Relations Commerciales des États-Unis avec l'Angleterre*, two papers read before the Institute and published soon after his return to France, is unmistakable.

Conclusive evidence, however, for ascribing the authorship of the "Réflexions" to Talleyrand, is to be found in the content of the article itself. A considerable portion of the article is devoted to a consideration of the finances of France, a subject in which Talleyrand had been keenly interested, both as agent-general of the clergy before the Revolution and as a member of the Constituent Assembly. It was he who had moved in the Constituent Assembly to confiscate the church lands in order to save the state from bankruptcy; he had spoken repeatedly on subjects connected with the national finances, and he had opposed the excessive issue of assignats and foretold their fate.⁴ A comparison of the text of the "Réflexions" with the quotations from Talleyrand's speeches which I have printed in the foot-notes will show that they were written by the same man.

The article is of interest since, unsigned as it is, it indicates Talleyrand's honest opinion of the Directory and of the financial condition of France on the eve of his return to Europe, where he was soon to become Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Republic.

RALPH BAILEY YEWDALE.

RÉFLEXIONS SUR LES DERNIÈRES NOUVELLES REÇUES D'EUROPE ET PARTICULIÈREMENT SUR CELLES RELATIVES À LA FRANCE

Sans même parler de l'ancienneté de ces nouvelles, dont les plus récentes s'arrêtent au 7 Décembre dernier, il serait bien difficile d'en tirer aucun résultat probable en politique, puisque sur des points d'une importance générale, la contradiction paraît de toute part. Il semble, lorsqu'on lit les extraits des quelques gazettes qui se sont comme échappées de France ou d'Angleterre pour irriter notre curiosité plutôt que pour la satisfaire, qu'on ait entrepris la tâche, aussi bizarre qu'impossible, de complaire successivement à tous les partis, à toutes les opinions, et de laisser, en dernière analyse, flotter les esprits dans l'incertitude où ils nagent depuis plusieurs années. On quitte cette lecture avec un soupir

⁴ *Archives Parlementaires*, première série, VIII. 498; IX. 398 ff.; XVI. 211 ff.; XXI. 401 ff.; XXVII. 144 ff., 351 ff.

vers l'avenir, et lorsqu'un jour de plus a encore déçu l'attente qu'il avait fait concevoir, notre pensée appelle le lendemain pour lui confier de nouvelles espérances. C'est ainsi que courant sans cesse après une ombre fugitive, nous accusons le tems de ne pas seconder assez notre impatience, sans réfléchir que chaque mouvement de ses ailes ravit quelque chose à notre existence, et que sa course n'a pas toujours pour but celle que lui indiquent nos désirs.

Cependant à travers cet amas indigeste de détails recueillis avec empressement et publiés avec le projet de remplir les papiers-nouvelles, il est quelques événemens qui semblent ne pas permettre le doute.

C'est ainsi que nous devons croire que la fureur des élémens s'est en quelque sorte combinée avec celle des hommes pour augmenter les désastres. Les vagues en furie ont englouti ceux qui étaient destinés à aller porter au loin les ravages de la mort, et des êtres qui se confiaient aux flots pour aller verser le sang de leurs ennemis sur des bords éloignés, ont perdu la vie, avant de quitter les propres bords de leur pays, tout couverts de leurs cadavres défigurés. La mer s'est apaisée, mais la colère d'Albion subsiste et elle recueille des débris pour les faire servir encore, si elle le peut, à l'exécution de ses projets.

Sur les bords du Rhin, où l'on dit que la victoire capricieuse vole de l'une à l'autre rive, le sang humain ruisselle et cette déchirante vérité est la seule que nous sachions bien.

Ah! quels vœux ardents pour la paix des maux aussi longs et aussi multipliés doivent faire naître dans tous les coeurs sensibles! et s'il en est d'assez atroces pour que la haine s'y nourrisse encore, qu'ils soient, s'il est possible, les seuls à éprouver les horreurs d'aussi longues calamités, et qu'un repos dont l'humanité a si grand besoin ajoute, s'il le faut, à leurs impuissantes fureurs!

Comme nous pensons que beaucoup de nos lecteurs attachés par plusieurs liens à la France n'auront pas lu, sans une grande attention, ce que les travaux de la nouvelle législature ont produit, nous leur offrirons ici quelques observations que nous avons entendu faire sur des actes émanés d'elle.

Celui qui porte un caractère vraiment remarquable, c'est le décret qui établit des notes qu'on échangea contre les assignats à un pour trente.

Il est impossible de se dissimuler que depuis long-tems la multiplicité des assignats les dépréciait et que leur dépréciation contraignait à son tour à les multiplier. Ainsi tournant dans ce cercle vicieux, il fallait absolument qu'il arrivât un moment où, périssant de leur propre nullité, les assignats eussent le sort de tout papier-monnoye forcé:⁵ cette crise

⁵ Cf. the speech of Talleyrand, Dec. 4, 1789: "L'effet inévitable de tout papier-monnaie, vous le savez, Messieurs, est la prompte disparition des espèces. Ce numéraire fictif chasse le numéraire réel, et parce qu'il le remplace, et parce qu'il l'effraye; et, comme il ne peut jamais en être la représentation parfaitement exacte, il arrive qu'il en chasse beaucoup plus qu'il n'en remplace. Dès lors, ce papier ne se soutient plus à l'égalité de l'argent; il tombe au-dessous de pair, et de là les plus funestes conséquences." *Archives Parlementaires*, X. 383.

"L'Assemblée nationale ordonnera-t-elle une émission de deux milliards d'assignats-monnaie? On préjuge du succès de cette seconde émission, par le succès de la première . . . ; faire militer ce premier succès, qui même n'a pas été complet, puisque les assignats perdent, en faveur d'une seconde et plus ample émission, c'est s'exposer à de grands dangers . . ." Speech of Sept. 18, 1790. *Id.*, XIX. 49.

salutaire est arrivée. Nous disons salutaire, car il ne s'agit plus de chercher si les circonstances actuelles ont pû être évitées ou non, ni de s'ériger en juge des causes et des effets d'une grande révolution, pour établir une hypothèse et en faire marcher les conséquences sur le papier; il faut prendre les circonstances au point où elles sont parvenues. Et c'est alors qu'on ne peut nier que l'anéantissement des assignats est un bien.

Leur valeur décroissant chaque jour, il est sûr que l'ouvrier qui, pour son labeur, avait reçu, au commencement d'un mois, une somme supérieure à sa dépense, et qui conservait l'excédant, se trouvait n'avoir rien économisé au commencement du mois suivant, parce que les assignats avaient continué à perdre, et qu'il devait arriver par l'effet de la misère générale, que son travail n'était plus suffisant pour le faire vivre.⁶ C'était déjà et depuis long-tems le sort de presque tous les rentiers, classe sur laquelle les assignats avaient le plus d'influence, puisque recevant des arrérages en assignats, au taux légal, ils voyaient, à chaque paiement, leurs revenus disparaître sans pouvoir rien opposer à ce malheur.⁷ Enfin les assignats étaient avilis à un tel point, que les frais que leur fabrication exigeait ne pouvaient plus être payés par eux.

On ne cherche point à se dissimuler que cet instant qui réduit nécessairement l'*assignat* au taux des *notes* ne soit douloureux, c'est celui d'une opération qui rappelle à la vie un corps que des crises lentes mais continuelles allaient paralyser.

Mais, dira-t-on, tous les moyens, toutes les ressources, toutes les fortunes sont détruites, car il n'est pas personne qui ne possède une quantité quelconque d'assignats, et qui n'éprouve ainsi une perte plus ou moins sensible, et cette secousse, causée aux fortunes particulières doit détruire la fortune publique.

A cela l'on peut répondre par deux grands exemples. C'est que la France n'a pas péri à la chute du système de Law.

C'est que l'Amérique n'a pas péri lorsque son congrès a prononcé que son papier-monnoye n'aurait plus d'autre valeur que celle qu'il avait

⁶ Cf. the speech of Talleyrand, Sept. 18, 1790, *Archives Parl.*, XIX. 50: "Je dis que l'abondance des assignats doit appauvrir les manouvriers de tout genre et nuire par conséquent au succès des manufactures et à la prospérité des campagnes. J'insiste sur cette considération, parce que le danger dont je parle menace le pauvre et le menace tous les jours et à toutes les heures.

"Point de richesses sans travail, point de travail sans consommation.

"Puisqu'il faut produire avant de consommer, il faut donc que le prix du travail soit acquitté avant que le manouvrier consume.

"Mais le prix du travail étant modique, journalier, applicable aux premiers besoins de la vie, il ne peut jamais être payé qu'avec des monnaies, et le papier ne peut remplir aucune fonction à cet égard. Cependant les assignats auront augmenté le prix de tous les objets de consommation; et les salariés, restés au même taux, lorsque toutes les valeurs seront peut-être doublées autour d'eux, seront d'autant plus pauvres, d'autant plus malheureux, qu'ils auront produit davantage; car si tout renchérit, la consommation sera moindre, et le travail venant ensuite à diminuer, il est impossible que les salaires augmentent."

⁷ Cf. the speech of Talleyrand, Dec. 4, 1789, *ibid.*, X. 383-384: "Tous les créanciers que l'on rembourse en billets perdent la différence; tous les débiteurs à qui l'on avait prêté en argent la gagnent: par conséquent, renversement dans les propriétés, infidélité universelle dans les paiements, et infidélité d'autant plus odieuse qu'elle se trouve légale."

à l'époque du décret, c'est-à-dire, *un pour quarante* relativement à l'argent monnoyé.

On demandera ensuite où est pour les notes une garantie plus forte que dans les assignats? Elle est dans les biens nationaux dont la vente est suspendue pour que l'hypothèque soit connue et conservée. Mais elle est bien plus encore dans l'établissement d'un gouvernement qui, dès son principe, annonce clairement qu'il ne veut pas que les maux produits par les assignats s'aggravent et se sent assez fort pour proposer une opération douloureuse au moment où elle est un moyen curatif pour le corps politique.

Cette énergie qui est un grand moyen d'inspirer la confiance produira celle qu'on paraît vouloir faire entretenir et nourrir par des compagnies financières qui, trouvant dans une hypothèque réelle une base solide pour leurs opérations, sauront faire partager des sentimens qu'elles auront conçu elles-mêmes.

D'ailleurs n'est-il pas notoire qu'une des causes qui a le plus accéléré l'aviissement des assignats a été la concurrence dans laquelle ils se sont trouvés avec la monnaie métallique?⁸ Et puisque cette dernière a reparu dès qu'on le lui a permis, si elle est déjà assez commune pour que beaucoup de transactions n'ayent plus lieu que par son moyen, pourquoi ne se montrerait-elle pas avec plus d'abondance lorsque tous les soins du gouvernement l'y exciteront? Le numéraire de la France n'est pas tombé au fond d'un abysme. Tout ce que la terreur avait enfoui doit reparaître lorsqu'il n'y a plus de terreur; ce qui [qu'il] avait transporté dans les contrées étrangères, reviendra, puisque l'on peut désormais être riche et industriel en France, sans courir le risque de monter à l'échafaud.⁹

Pour produire tant d'heureux effets, une seule chose suffit, la confiance: et l'on peut répéter que celle avec laquelle la législature compte sur l'esprit publique est suffisante pour donner la plus heureuse impulsion à ce grand moyen de gouvernement.

Il faudrait avoir bien réfléchi sur ce qui s'est passé à l'époque de l'exécrable Robespierreisme et à celle qui l'a suivie, pour ne pas reconnaître dans les principes actuels d'autres vues, et dans ce qu'ils ont déjà produit de grands sujets d'espérer. Un trait entr'autres en fera bien juger.

La législature, calculant que la paix qu'elle veut doit ramener à l'état de simple citoyen des individus dont la paye militaire est peut-être l'unique ressource, met en reserve pour l'armée un milliard, destiné à être tout à la fois et récompense et moyen d'exister. Et pour qu'on soit bien convaincu qu'elle croit que chacun concourra avec elle au rétablissement de l'ordre, elle met en dépôt entre les mains de chaque département une portion de ce milliard. Ce n'est plus une seule cité s'arrogeant

⁸ Cf. the speech of Talleyrand, Sept. 18, 1790, *ibid.*, XIX. 51: "Il n'existe dans la réalité qu'une monnaie dominante dans ce moment, c'est l'argent. Si vous donnez cours au papier, ce sera le papier. Vous ordonnerez que ce papier ne perde pas, j'y consens; mais vous n'empêcherez pas que l'argent ne gagne, et ce sera absolument la même chose."

⁹ Cf. the speech of Talleyrand, Dec. 4, 1789, *ibid.*, X. 385: "Ce n'est qu'en commandant l'opinion, en donnant des motifs déterminants de confiance, que l'on assure le crédit; et si l'on craint que, même après le rétablissement de l'ordre, le numéraire qui semble s'être évanoui au milieu de nous ne reparaisse pas, on se trompe."

la suprématie; ce n'est plus Paris disant : *Moi seule je suis la République entière* et réservant toujours tout pour se l'appliquer ou pour s'en arroger l'emploi. Ici chaque département est associé à la distribution des bienfaits; chacun d'eux est dépositaire et gardien d'un moyen de puissance dont on ne croit plus qu'il puisse abuser, et pour lui prouver qu'on ne veut plus y produire de commotions, on lui destine à l'avance des moyens de calme et de bonheur. On ne rivalise plus, ou bien c'est seulement de désir de faire sortir la France de l'état où l'ont jettée des hommes qui souffraient tout de ceux qu'ils n'osaient pas envoyer à la mort.

Une autre preuve que le gouvernement a le sentiment de sa force, c'est la suppression des réquisitions militaires au moment même où le directoire exécutif se plaint d'une désertion allarmante. On se contente de mettre la force armée à sa disposition dans les cas indispensables. Voilà donc l'action du pouvoir exécutif sur tout citoyen quand il doit devenir soldat, organisée; et tant que la France aura des ennemis elle aura des défenseurs. Il ne faut pour les faire accourir par milliers que leur parler de l'infamie de recevoir une loi étrangère.

Et ce directoire exécutif il a aussi le sentiment de son importance. On a amèrement censuré le langage qu'il a pris avec les ministres étrangers et l'on a même cru que c'était lui qu'on injurait en comparant ceux-ci à des écoliers, mais il a dit en parlant à l'ambassadeur de Suède, *Les Chefs de la République Française*, et quand une grande nation, célèbre par sa valeur, est revenue, par un mouvement d'horreur pour les crimes par lesquels on s'est efforcé de la déshonorer pendant deux années, à n'avoir plus d'autre besoin que d'être libre et tranquille, ses chefs peuvent la rendre respectable aux yeux des autres nations, et la diriger de manière à convaincre ces dernières qu'elles doivent perdre l'espoir et de la soumettre et de l'exciter encore à se déchirer de ses propres mains.

Encore on est frappé d'un décret qui fait sortir des prisons, pour venir s'asseoir à leur rang de députés, des hommes, livrés à des accusations qui autrefois étaient presque toujours un signal de mort.

Ce qui nous plaît le plus de toutes ces remarques c'est qu'elles semblent faites pour fortifier encore l'espérance de la paix. Car comment concevoir l'idée d'une tranquillité durable en France, si la paix ne vient pas y ramener l'abondance en y rendant d'innombrables bras à l'agriculture, des hommes industriels aux manufactures, d'utiles spéculations au commerce? Elle seule peut y reproduire les biens qui en feraient encore un des lieux les plus délicieux à habiter, où les arts et les jouissances agréables, réunis aux douceurs de son climat, attireraient, comme autrefois, des habitans de toutes les autres contrées.

2. James K. Polk and his Constituents, 1831-1832

IN the Polk Papers in the Library of Congress is a modest booklet, made evidently by fastening together some sheets of folded writing-paper of note size.¹ In the cover is stamped "Congress U. S." in raised letters with a chaste border, indicating the source from which the paper was obtained. In the book were entered, day after day, a series of items describing a kind of service that every congressman performs and few ever have the patience or the candor to

¹ Polk Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 7, nos. 1245-1258.

describe on paper. That Polk gives into the confidence of this little book such a picture is as characteristic of him as it is fortunate for those who wish to see how a congressman discharged a certain important part of his duties. No man who has been a president of the United States, not even John Quincy Adams, was more methodical or more conscientious in the discharge of his official duty. Perhaps he inherited the impulse from his Scotch-Irish ancestry, for it is a Scotch-Irish trait to be downright—although one must admit that there were other members of the Polk family who were neither methodical nor painstaking. But James K. Polk did not shirk a duty. His ideals were not very elevated, but such as they were he never shirked them. To attend to the little necessities of his constituents exactly comported with his ideal of a congressman's duty. His little book shows what was the nature of these requests. It is reprinted here just as he wrote it (save for slight amendments of punctuation) and without comment or explanation.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

MEMORANDUM BOOK OF BUSINESS DONE FOR CONSTITUENTS
1ST SESSION OF THE 22ND CONGRESS.

John Dysart

Received petition and affidavit for a Pension, from *John Dysart Snr.* of Bedford C[oun]ty, near Farmington. *Wrote to him Decr. 7, 1831* that his case was not embraced by the present Pension Laws, and that I would present his papers to Congress for special relief. Presented and referred to committee on Revolutionary Pensions Decr. 14, '31.

S. W. Carmack Esqr.

Wrote to Commissioner of Genl Land office and enclosed \$1.00. to procure [?] the information desired by S. W. Carmack Esqr. (see Mr. Carmack's letter)—Decr. 7th, 1831.

Procured and enclosed to Mr. Carmack, map and description of the $\frac{1}{4}$ sec. of land desired. Decr. 14, '31.

Allen B. Mc. Elhany

Enclosed to Com. of Genl Land office, letters and affidavits of Allen B. Mc. Elhany of Elkton, Tenn., for the purpose of procuring a duplicate or copy of Patent for bounty land. Mr. M's letter to me dated Nov. 25, 1831. Decr. 9, '31.

Procured copy of Patent and enclosed it to Mr. Mc.Elheny to Elkton, Giles C[oun]ty, Ten. Decr. 14, '31.

Rock Creek P.O. Bedford C[oun]ty

Enclosed to P.M. Genl petition enclosed to me by Dr. G. W. Haywood from a number of the citizens of Bedford C[oun]ty, for the Establishment of a Post Office at the house of *Samuel Bigham*, to be called *Tusculum* P.O. *S. Bigham* P. Master. Decr. 10, 1831.

Jany 7th. '32. Enclosed to Dr. Haywood notification from Genl P. O. that P.O. has been established, *S. Bigham* Esqr. called *Rock Creek*

P.O. instead of *Tusculum* there being another office of that name in the state.

Ahm. Parker and Lester Morris

Presented to the Ho. Repts. petition and documents heretofore presented, of Abraham Parker and Lester Morris praying for Pensions—referred to committee on Revolutionary Pensions, Decr. 14, 1831.

Bills for Pensions passed Ho. Repts. and sent to the Senate, Decr. 1831.

Col. Joseph Brown

Presented petition and documents of Col. Joseph Brown praying indemnity for property taken and destroyed by Cherokee Indians—referred to committee on Indian Affairs. Decr. 14, '31.

March 17th, '32. Enclosed to him favourable report.

Bernard M. Patterson

Presented petition of Bernard M. Patterson heretofore presented to Ho. Repts. praying the allowance of a balance claimed to be due in the settlement of his accounts as an Officer of the army—referred to committee of claims, Decr. 14, '31.

March 17th, '32. Enclosed to him report against claim and answered letter of 22nd Decr., stating the Mr. Woods letter was not to be found in dead-letter office, and enclosing letter from Genl. P.O. to that effect.

Elizabeth Owens

Petition and papers of Elizabeth Owens praying the allowance of arrears of pay due her brother James Shirly—heretofore presented—presented to Ho. Repts.—referred on motion of Hon. Mr. Whittlesley on Monday last to committee on claims. Wednesday, Decr. 14, '31.

Bill, allowing to Mrs. Owens \$110.78 passed the Ho. Repts. and sent to the Senate. Decr. 1831.

Bill finally passed and approved by the President March 15th, 1832. Wrote to Mrs. Owens enclosing copy. March 17th, '32.

Wm. A. Thompson

Decr. 14, '31. Enclosed to Wm. Gordon Esqr. Bounty land office, Wm. A. Thompson's papers, claiming bounty land as the heir at law of Capt. John Thompson of the Revolutionary army.

Decr. 29, '31. Enclosed to W. A. Thompson, Elkton, Ten. letter from Wm. Gordon of the Bounty land office, requiring proof that Capt. *John Thompson* belonged to the *Continental line*, his name not being found on the muster rolls.

Apr 11th, '32. Enclosed to him to Halifax C. H. Mr. Sarmiento's letter returned Gordons letter and sent copy of law of 1830, and informed him that further proof was required.

Joseph G. Pratt

Decr. 14, '31. Enclosed to Wm. Gordon Esqr. Bounty Land office, the petition and aff't. of Joseph G. Pratt of Williamsport, Maury C[oun]ty, Ten. in behalf of himself and others heirs at law of his brother Dabney Pratt decd. late a soldier etc. praying for bounty land.

Decr. 31st, '31. Enclosed to Mr. Pratt at Williamsport, letter from the Bounty Land office of the 30th Inst. requiring information as to the Company and Regt. in which *Dabny Pratt*, of the name of the officer who enlisted him, and also proof of kinship.

Saml. Baker

Decr. 14, '31. Enclosed to J. L. Edwards Esqr. Pension office, Declaration and additional aff't of Capt. Matthew Wood in support of Saml. Baker's claim for a pension.

Decr. 18, '31. Pension granted, and wrote to Mr. Baker, enclosing his letter in one to Mjr. Jos. H. Rivers, giving him the information, directed to Pulaski Tenn.

Feby. 8th, '32. Enclosed pension certificate to Mr. Baker, to care of Majr. Rivers, as requested by his letter which see.

Hall Hudson

Decr. 14, 1831. Enclosed to J. L. Edwards Esqr. Pension office, the Declaration and amended declaration of *Hall Hudson* for a pension.

Decr. 29, '31. Enclosed to *Hall Hudson*, Pulaski, Ten. Letter of J. L. Edwards of 20th Int. requiring proof of another witness as to the fact of service; and also to prove the insolvency of *David Sheldon*.

Decr. 30, '31. On reflection presented papers to Ho. Repts. and had them referred to committee on Revolutionary pensions.

Richard Taylor

Decr. 14, 1831. Enclosed to J. L. Edwards Esqr. Pension papers in the case of *Richard Taylor*. These papers were handed to me by Col. Thos. K. Gordon at Cornersville July 5, 1831.

Decr. 19, 1831. Enclosed J. L. Edward's answer rejecting the application and retaining the papers in the office, upon the ground, that Col. Thos. Drew under whom he served, did not belong to the *Continental* line, to Col. Thos. K. Gordon.

Thomas Debnam and Simon Jenkins

Decr. 16th, 1831. Handed to Wm. Gordon Esqr. Bounty land office, mem. in the cases of Thomas Debnam and Simon Jenkins, ot Maury C[oun]ty, soldiers of the last war for Bounty Lands.

Jany. 2nd, 1832. Enclosed to *Thomas Debnam*, Maury C[oun]ty, letter from Bounty Land office Dated Decr. 28th, '31, stating that Patents issued both to Debnam and Jenkins for land in Missouri Jany. 4th, 1819, and on 9th same month were transmitted to J. G. Bradford of Nashville; and requiring aff't. that original had not been recd. before a copy would be issued to them. Jany. 12, '32. Wrote Debnam in regard to arrears of pay—(see letter from W. B. Lewis on file of date Jany. 3rd, '32).

George Maddox

Decr. 16, 1831. Handed to Wm. Gordon Esqr. Bounty Land office, discharge and memorandum of George Maddox for Bounty land as a soldier of the last war. Lives in Maury C[oun]ty.

Decr. 29th, '31. Wrote to Mr. *George Maddox* that the law did not allow him bounty land, he having enlisted *prior* to Decr. 24, 1811.

David Candle

Decr. 16, '31. Le[f]t at the office of Peter Hagner Esqr. 3rd Audtr. afft. of David Candle, for compensation and allowance for extra-services in the last war. Lives near Moorsville, Maury C[oun]ty.

Jany. 16, '32. Enclosed to *David Candle*, Moorsville, Ten. letter from P. Hagner of Decr. 16th, '31, and A. Kendall of Jany 13th, '32—both stating their offices contained no information in support of his claim.

Wm. Brown

Decr. 16, '31. Handed to J. L. Edwards Esqr. Pension office, letter from Col. Yell and mem. stating that Pension papers had been sent to War Dept. by R. C. Thompson and desiring to know what decision had been made in the case. Lives in Bedford C[oun]ty.

Decr. 19, '31. Recd. answer in relation to *Thomas Brown* and wrote again to be informed as to *William Brown*.

Decr. 29, '31. Wrote to Mr. Wm. Brown, Shelbyville, that his pension papers were not on file in the War Dept.

Andrew Derryberry

Decr. 16, '31. Handed J. L. Edwards Esqr. Pension office, letter of Andrew Derryberry of Perry County, desiring to know what decision had been made on his application for a pension, the papers for which were forwarded to the War Dept. some time since.

Decr. 19, '31. Enclosed answer of J. L. Edwards, that the application was rejected in Decr. 1827, and papers withdrawn by Col. Crockett in Feby. 1828.

Hartwell Miles

Decr. 16, '31. Handed to J. L. Edwards Esqr. Pension office, additional afft. of James Patterson in support of the application of Hartwell Miles for an invalid Pension.

Decr. 21, '31. Enclosed further testimony recd. by mail this day.

Feby. 2d, '32. Enclosed to Mr. Miles letter from J. L. Edwards of Jany. 30th, '32, requiring further proof of the cause of his disability. Letter directed to Wm. son C[oun]ty, Hardman's Cross Roads, Ten.

Alex Pickard

Decr. 19th, '31. Presented to Ho. Repts. papers of Alexander Pickard, for invalid pension. Referred to committee on Invalid pensions.

Robert M. Smith

Decr. 19th, '31. Presented to Ho. Repts. petition of Robert M. Smith praying for bounty Land for his services during the last War.

John Vickers

Decr. 20th, 1831. Left with J. L. Edwards Esqr. Pension office, additional testimony in support of *John Vickers's* application for a pension.

Decr. 31st, '31. Wrote to Mr. Vickers, Lincoln C[oun]ty, that pension had been granted, and that pension certificate was in my possession.

Jan '32. Sent pension certificate to him by Mr. Kinsman.

P. Office at Richmond, Bedford C[oun]ty.

Decr. 21st, 1831. Enclosed to P.M. Genl. petition for P. office at *Richmond*, Bedford C[oun]ty, Tenn., between *Rock* and *Sinking Creek* at the store of *Thos. N. McClain* and recommending Mr. McClain for P. Master.

Jany. 7th, '32. Enclosed to Thos. N. McClain Esqr. Shelbyville, notification from Genl. P.O. that P.O. named *Richmond* had been established at his store and that he had been appointed P. Master.

Lemuel Perry

Lemuel Perry and wife—she is the sister of Midshipman J. N. Forsythe, lost on board the *Hornet*. Presented application for amt. Due him; Recd. from A. Kendall 4th Auditor and enclosed to Mr. Perry letter of 27th Decr. '31, requiring the affidavit of Mrs. Perry, that she is sister of decd., that he died without wife or children, and that his father and mother are dead. Decr. 29, '31 directed to Civil Order P.O. Bedford C[oun]ty.

March 3rd, '32. Enclosed to A. Kendall Mrs. Perry's afft. as required by his letter and requested the remittance to be made to her at Civil Order P.O.

March 10, '32. Wrote to Mr. Perry that claim was allowed for \$40.56, which would be forwarded by 4th Audr. in a few days (see Kendall's letter).

John Beaty

Decr. 29th, 1831. Wrote to Mr. *John Beaty*, Moorsville, Maury C[oun]ty, that the 2 accts. of his father Capt. *Hugh Beaty*, for services of himself and his company of militia in M. had been presented to P. Hagner, who gave for answer that no provision had ever been made by U. S. for settlement of such claims.

Jeremiah Dial

Decr. 30th, '31. Wrote to *Jeremiah Dial*, Bedford C[oun]ty, that his pension papers were not to be found on the files of the Ho. Repts.; having written to him also at the last Session of Congress that they were not in the Pension office; and now stating to him that he must make them out anew, and forward them, or I could do nothing for him.

Wm. P. Bradburn

Jany. 2nd, 1832. Procured *Midshipman's* warrant, of date Decr. 31st, 1831, for *William P. Bradburn*, and inclosed it to him to Nashville, Tennessee.

Sarah Larimore

Jany. 5th, 1832. Enclosed to P. Hagner additional testimony in support of the application of *Sarah Larimore* (now *Sarah Logan*) of Lincoln C[oun]ty, for half pay pension, as the widow of *Andrew Larimore*. Her present husband's name is *Wm. Logan* and resides in Lincoln C[oun]ty.

Jany. 12, '32. Recd. P. Hagner's letter (see on file) that claim was allowed, and wrote Mr. Hagner of this date, to remit it to the widow at Fayetteville, Ten. in a draft on the Bank of U.S. B. Bank at Nashville. Wrote to Wm. Logan care of Jessee Daniel Esqr. and also to Wm. D. Thompson giving them information of this.

Post office at Carmell, Bedford C[oun]ty.

Jany. 11th, '32. Returned petition and papers to S. R. Hobbie Esqr. Asst. P.M. Genl. inclosed to me on the 5th Inst., and recommended the establishment of P.O. at Carmell in Bedford County, Ten. and the appointment of *Chesley Williams* as P. Master. Wrote to *Jarvis Williams* Esqr. P.M. at Civil Order, same date, giving the foregoing information.

William Green

Jany. 14th, '32. Presented *William Green's* application for a Patent, to the Superintendent of Patent office. Recd. letter from him same

day, which I enclosed to Mr. Green, informing him that he must forward a *model* before a Patent could issue; that his drawings were imperfect and that it would cost \$10. more, in all \$40., which he must send on when he sends his model. Wrote to Columbia, Ten.

Apl. 4th, '32. Recd. letter enclosing \$40. and ansd. same.

May 4th, '32. Enclosed Mr. Green his Patent having paid \$38.00 fees, and having in my hands \$2.00 yet due him.

Thos. B. Coleman

Jan. 14, '32. Ans. Thos. B. Coleman's letter, that he must forward proof of his father's service and draft in the army, and the proof of kinship, before I could do any thing in his case. Wrote to *Spring Hill* P.O. Ten.

Solomon Campbell

Jan. 14, '32. Wrote to Secretary of War, requested that *Solomon Campbell's* application for a pension might be re-examined and decided on.

Jay. 18, '32. Recd. communication from War Dept. informing that a Pension had been granted to Mr. Campbell and enclosing Pension Certificate. Wrote to Mr. Campbell, to the care of Wm. Hackitt Esqr., directed to Shelbyville. Sent Pension certificate to Mr. Campbell by Col. K. L. Anderson of Shelbyville, March '32.

Col. Wm. Newsom

Feby. 27th, '32. Presented petition and papers of Wm. Newsom to House and had them referred to committee on Post office and Post Roads.

May 10th, '32. Enclosed to Col. Newsom copy of Rept. of committee, adverse to his claim together with copies of his accts. from Genl. P.O.

George Blakemore

Feby. 27th, '32. Presented petition of George Blakemore, praying for land in the Choctaw Country, in consideration of services performed, in the early settlement of the Western Country; referred to committee on the Public Lands.

Capt. John Madairis

March 8th, '32. Handed to Asbury Dickens the letter and inclosures of Capt. John Madairis for \$240, part of his pension which had been sent to him in the U.S.B. draft but which he had not received, accompanied by a statement of my own that the securities to the Bond of indemnity, to wit, Thos. Davis and Jno. and Spruces Eakin, were solvent.

March 10th, '32. Enclosed to W. D. Mediaris letter from Sec. of the Treas. and form of Bond of indemnity, the former bond not having been recd.

May 12, '32. Enclosed letter from Sec. of Treas. to W.D. Mediaris stating that old bond was lost, and requiring new one to be executed.

John P. Smith

March 6th, '32. Enclosed to Sec. of War letters of Thos. Watham Esqr. and John P. Smith, in relation to the claim of the latter to the value of an Indian Improvement in the Chickasaw Nation.

March 19th, '32. Enclosed to Thos. Watham letter from Sec. of War, stating that Fletcher's improvement had been paid for in full \$1047,

and that there was no evidence that *Moore* and *Irwin* were intitled to pay for improvements (see papers)—wrote also to Mr. Smith.

Col. Saml. Mitchell

March 6th, '32. Enclosed to Sec. of War letter of Col. Saml. Mitchell, in relation to contract which he denies, to furnish the choctaws West of Mississippi with certain improvements and articles provided for by the Treaty.

March 23rd, '32. Enclosed to Col. Mitchell letter from E. Herring, Bureau of Indian affairs of March 20th, stating that no contracts have been made, that they will not be until Gov. advertises for proposals, and that recommendations are satisfactory.

Jeremiah Dial

March 8th, 1832. Handed to Asbury Dickens, Jeremiah Dial's Pension papers forwarded to me, not having been able to find the papers sent on by Capt. McDuff several years ago.

March 27th, '32. Enclosed to Mr. Dial, letter from Sec. of Treas. of 20th Int., stating that the records of Dept. furnish no evidence of service and proof furnished does not shew that he served until end of the war: Requests him to state from whom he recd. the certificate for reward of \$80, as that may throw light on his case.

Capt. John Stone

March 8th, 1832. Handed to Peter Hagner Esqr. letter from Capt. John Stone of Shelbyville, Ten. inquiring what was due to his son and son-inlaw, for services during the last War, and for lost horse and equipage.

March 17th, '32. Wrote to Capt. Stone enclosing to him letters from the 2nd and 3rd Auditors of Treas. stating that the accts. of John Walker and Sect. Wm. Stone had been settled, and all that they were entitled to had been paid.

Rock Creek P.O. Bedford C[oun]ty, Ten.

March 8th, 1832. Handed to P.M. Genl. Petition from citizens and letter from Dr. Geo. W. Haywood, to have route from Franklin to Cornersville, so changed as to pass *Rock Creek P.O.*

March 22nd, '32. Enclosed to Dr. Haywood letter from A. B. Brown at Genl. P.O. stating that the contractor was directed visit "*Rock Creek P.O.*"

John Culver

March 12th, '32. Enclosed to J. L. Edwards letter of John Culver of Bedford C[oun]ty, inquiring what had been done with his application for a pension.

March 15th, '32. Wrote Mr. Culver that his pension papers were not on file in the Pension office.

James Roberts

March 12th, '32. Presented to Ho. Rept. petition of James Roberts of Jackson County, Ten. (forwarded to me by Mr. Thos. Smith) praying compensation for extra services performed as a carrier of the mail; referred to committee on P.O. and P. Roads.

P.O. at Belfast, Bedford County

March 14th, '32. Enclosed to P.M. Genl. letter of Benjm. Williams Esqr. of 27th Feby. '32, recommending the establishment of P.O. at McCrery's cross-roads, Bedford C[oun]ty, Ten. to be called "*Belfast P.O.*" and *Robert Williams* Esqr. to be appointed P.Master.

March 23rd, '32. Enclosed to Robert Williams notification of establishment of office, and his appointment as P. Master; enclosed to Macon P.O.

Cane Spring P.O.

March 17th, '32. P.O. to be established at the House of Col. Joseph Brown by 1st of May, when Danly's stages will commence running, to be called "*Cane Spring P.O.*" or "*Brown's cross roads P.O.*"

May—, '32. P.O. established at "*Cane Spring*", Joseph Brown P.M. and notification thereof enclosed to Col. Brown.

John Tipps's evidence

March 19th, '32. Enclosed to P. Hagner the papers in the case of the evidence of John Tipps decd. of Lincoln County, Ten. for half pay pension and arrearages of pay.

March 26, '32. Enclosed to Michael Tipps P. Hagner's answer stating that balance of pay due Jno. Tipps at his death \$14.40, was pd. by P. Master Searcy to Jacob Silvertooth his admr.

That for half pay pension proof must be furnished, that Mrs. Barbara Tipps the widow is still living, that she is or is not married a second time, as the case may be. She must also make an afft. herself, of the number of her children under 16 at her husband's death, that she has never drawn the pension and that it is for her sole use.

Zadoc Motlow and others

March 26, '32. Presented to Ho. Repts. and refered to Indian affairs, petition and documents of Zadoc Motlow and others, for indemnity for property destroyed by the Cherokee Indians in 1781.

William Porter

March 27th, '32. Wrote N. Porter and enclosed letter his father *Wm. Porter* stating that the Old Continental Bills sent on by me were of no value; that throug Genl. Mercer the \$100. one had been sent to Richmond, and answer from Mr. Heath Audtr. of Public accts. recd. that it was of no value.

Apl. 4th, '32. Recd. letter from Wm. Porter and ansd. same, giving above information.

Horatio Coop

April 4th, 1832. Enclosed to Horatio Coop, Bedford C[oun]ty, Ten. Copy of letter from Sec. of Treas. to Col. Yell dated Augst. 1831, stating that there was not sufficient [evidence] that Mr. C. enlisted for the War and served until the close therof. Wrote him also giving same information, contained in my letter to him of Decr. '30. (see memorandum).

Chas. C. Mayson Esqr.

April 4th, 1832. Ansd. C. C. Mayson's letter enclosing one from Sec. of Treasury and one from Mr. Gordon, Bounty land office, stating that the name of his father Lt. Col. James Mayson was not to be found on the records of either office, and that there was no evidence that he belonged to Continental Establishment, or recd. commutation certificate.

Wm. Throop

May 6th, '32. Wrote Mr. D. S. Shields that *Wm. Throop*, whose pension papers he enclosed me being now dead, his case was not provided for by law.

Henry Goodnight

May 6, 1832. Enclosed Henry Goodnight's Pension papers, accompanied with Mr. Wm. C. Flournay's letter, to J. L. Edwards Esqr.

May 12th, '32, wrote Mr. Goodnight that Pension had been granted, and that I had pension certificate in my possession and would bring it with me on my return home.

Wm. Brown (Bedford)

May 6, '32. Enclosed to Wm. Hill Esqr. Raleigh N.C. letter of J.L. Edwards and Declaration of Wm. Brown for a pension—for evidence of service; the letter of Mr. Edwards stating that the War Dept. furnished no evidence of service.

P.O. Bayler's Store, Lincoln C[oun]ty.

May 14th, '32. Recommended the establishment of P.O. at "*Bayler's Store*, Lincoln County, Ten. *Charles Bayler* Esqr. to be P. Master. This office is on Flynt near Esqr. McDavid's.

P.O. at True's Store, Maury C[oun]ty.

June 4th, '32. Enclosed to David H. True Esqr. (Swan Creek, Maury C[oun]ty) notification of his appointment as P.M. at True's Store, etc.

Wm. Stephens

June 11th, '32. Enclosed to Sec. of War recommendation from C.C. Mayson Esqr. and others, in favour of *William Stephens* for the appointment of Cadet at West Point.

Hickory P.O.

Enclosed letter of John Vinent Esqr. to the P.M. Genl. and recommended the Establishment of P.O. office at the House of J. Vinent in Maury C[oun]ty, to be called "*Hickory P.O.*" J. Vinent recommended as P. Master. Dcr. 12th, 1832.

Indian Creek P.O.

Enclosed to P.M. Genl. petition of citizens of Giles C[oun]ty for P.O. on Indian Creek and recommended Establishment of the office and that *Samul W. Ezell* Esqr. be appointed P. Master. Dcr. 11th, 1832.

Children of John Walker, Capt. John Stone

Jany. 2nd, 1822. Enclosed P. Hagner's letter of 15 Decr '32 in relation to claim of children of John Walker decd. for half pay Pension to Capt. John Stone of Shelbyville. Evidence required identifying the children and their own deposition that they have never reced. pay.

Capt. John Stone

Wrote also to Capt. Stone, that his claim for revolutionary services was a claim against the State of Pennsylvania and not against the U. States.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Der Dreieinige Gott in Religionshistorischer Beleuchtung. Von Dr. DITLEF NIELSEN, Unterbibliothekar an der Universitätsbibliothek zu Kopenhagen. I. Band. *Die Drei Göttlichen Personen.* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal; Christiania: Nordisk Forlag. 1922. Pp. xv, 472. Kr. 18.)

THE thesis here propounded is to be established in a second volume containing the documents which prove that the historical development of the trinity is as pictured in volume I. It would have been more satisfactory if the proof had preceded the picture, but we have to be satisfied for the present with such material as the author incidentally supplies. The picture is a sort of religious "movie". First the Father appears as the Moon-god; then the Son appears as the star Venus, only to be transformed into the Sun, in which form he eclipses the Father. At the same time the Mother comes into view as the Sun, only to reappear as Venus and gradually to fade out as the Holy Spirit. The primitive Semitic religion was trinitarian. Nomads worship the star Venus, but when nomads become agriculturists they revere the sun and pay less attention to the star and the moon; hence the Babylonian son-god becomes the sun. All Semitic scholars (except the author) are quite beside the mark in supposing that different Semitic tribes had different gods originally. They all had one god, or rather one trinity, but they called the chief god by different names and he gradually became identified with the tribe's national guardian as a political power; so Yahveh became differentiated from Chemosh and other tribal gods, though they were all originally the same Moon-god and Father-god. The Hebrews really were trinitarians, though it escaped their notice as they concentrated on the Father. Similarly, when Ishtar and Tammuz appear to be sufficient for their worshippers (as in the modernized Aphrodite and Adonis form), we must assume that the Father has somehow been forgotten and that Mother and Son presuppose the earlier perfect trinity, as anyway a son presupposes a father. Another serious mistake of other Semitic scholars is in not recognizing the identity of all the Babylonian gods, whether called Shamash, Marduk, Ninib, Nebo, or what not. A Semitic scholarship which fails to recognize that the *ur-religion* was trinitarian and that a Semitic god is always the Son of the trinity, whether called Nebo or simply Bel or Melek, is bound to go wrong. It is, to be sure, a little difficult to see why sun and Venus-star interchange, but this can easily be explained grammatically. Sun is feminine and Venus is masculine, as is moon,

among the southern Semites. In the North (Babylon) sun and Venus exchange rôles as the sun becomes masculine and Venus becomes feminine (this Babylonian view is a later form). St. Paul's Holy Spirit is the Kyrios or divine Son (and sun) transferred to Jesus, although the mother-goddess was the sun (not the earth) and the Holy Spirit really represents the divine Mother; but Mary's Virgin Birth links her also with Ishtar. The dove remains to remind us of the past, as Moses's horns remind us that Yahveh was once the moon.

The reviewer has been much interested in following the author's thesis as developed in this volume, though it has its weak points. Even the next volume, whatever its "reichliches Material", will, he feels sure, not convince the reviewer that the primitive Semitic religion was trinitarian and that all tribal gods were degenerate forms of one Father-god; but the argument as to the Kyrios has much in its favor.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

Hellenic History. By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xi, 520. \$4.00.)

PROFESSOR BOTSFORD died suddenly in 1917. Among his papers was found the manuscript of his *Hellenic History*, the publication of which had already been announced. After an interval of five years, which is nowhere alluded to in the book, the obstacles have been overcome and the work is finally in our hands. Let us say at once and for all that it deserves a cordial welcome from college teachers of Greek history. The author's son, Mr. Jay Barrett Botsford of Brown University, appears as its editor and he acknowledges the assistance of several of his father's pupils and friends in the preparation for publication of the bibliographical and illustrative material.

It would be unfair to say that had the author lived to see his history through the press he would have been forced by the discoveries and investigations of the past five years to recast radically his text. Professor Botsford's conclusions on the main problems of his period had been reached deliberately and on the basis of a personal sifting of the evidence; so that they could hardly have been upset by the scientific yield of these lean years. That consideration, however, leaves untouched the fact that those responsible, whoever they may be, have put the author in a disadvantageous position by concealing the long interval that separates the completion of the manuscript and the publication of the book; for Professor Botsford was one of those meticulous scholars who make it their practice to take account in detail of every latest contribution. Such lack of candor is also an injustice to the public. And while we are on this subject of editorial responsibility, it behooves us to add that the proof-reading, especially of the foot-notes and bibliographical notes, is extremely careless, and that there is much to support the inference that this part of the manuscript was not properly made ready for the printer. There

is no possible excuse for what is found here from chapter V. on French, German, and Greek names; and titles are mutilated, at times beyond all possible recognition.

In the field of ancient history, text-book making is an American specialty. Professor Botsford's *Hellenic History* is inevitably a text-book, but for colleges; and it is more than that: it is an independent synthesis of Greek history as a whole. In this respect it is, we believe, unique in the American literature of the subject, and invites comparison with the contemporary European histories of Greece. Thus considered it speedily appears to approximate the text-book more closely than the general histories that have appeared recently in England and Germany, and this not simply in section-headings and such matters, but also in scope and design. For while they, like the *Hellenic History* and the "new history" of Columbia fame, take cognizance of cultural achievement in general and the phenomena of literature, art, and philosophy, they leave to specialists in these subjects the analysis of masterpieces, as works of art and science, on the formal or technical side, and never forget that political history is their main theme. We have read indulgently, and with a certain admiration for the author's zeal and learning, the many chapters of Professor Botsford's book devoted to these topics; yet we have concluded that we would rather read and advise others to read, on Greek art, literature, and philosophy, accessible works of comparable compass by Gardner, Jebb, Murray, and Burnet. The competition of the historian with craftsmen of such distinction, in their own specialties, is altogether too one-sided.

Probably Professor Botsford would have denied that political history was his main theme. This seems to us a pity; for its consequences are that he is cramped in its treatment. Yet it is in the use he makes, for the understanding of states and their operations, of the sources which disclose to us events and institutions that Professor Botsford does his best work. Here the pros and cons are balanced with a judgment that is as fair as his knowledge is adequate. Repeatedly our attention is arrested by a simple statement in which a new fact or point of view is unostentatiously presented. Naturally we do not agree in every instance, but we are at least challenged to defend our divergent opinions.

One fundamental in which the reviewer systematically dissents is in the value the author attaches to the historical part of Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*. In Professor Botsford's narrative, on the authority of this once much overrated work, Draco gets credit for a constitution, Clisthenes for ostracism, Aristides for radical democracy, and the Four Hundred for constitutionality. Here in each case we think that Aristotle was misled and that the variant report deserves the preference. On the other hand the reviewer finds illuminating the general view that Minoan sectionalism underlies some of the more notable differences in Middle-Age Greek institutions, since this is but a corollary to the observa-

tion that the area of Greece in which the *polis* develops is precisely the area of Mycenaean culture.

But this is not the place in which to record the particulars in which the reviewer and the author agree and disagree. To report the outstanding characteristic of the book will be more apposite: it is that the work as a whole is descriptive rather than interpretative in character—that it belongs with the histories of Busolt and Niese rather than with those of Beloch and Meyer. The author's handiwork is found primarily in the selecting and expressing and massing of the facts. He has no perceptible body of general ideas in the light of which he makes Greece intelligible to his readers. This is pardonable, if not positively virtuous, in a text-book, where the teacher can add *viva voce* the necessary contacts and contrasts with contemporary or other known epochs. It detracts terribly from the interest and significance of the work for the general reader. Will its detachment from the ephemeral spirit of its age—its seeming timelessness—bring compensation in the long run? Would Thucydides even have lived without the speeches?

W. S. FERGUSON.

Rome, la Grèce, et les Monarchies Hellénistiques au III^e Siècle avant J.-C. (273-205). [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fascicule 124.] Par MAURICE HOLLEAUX. (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1921. Pp. iv, 386. 40 fr.)

THE author of this book has been long known in scientific circles in two different capacities—as director of the French School in Athens during its second great campaign at Delos, and as a student of Greek history especially of the Macedonian period. In the latter capacity M. Holleaux has distinguished himself by combining two qualities rarely associated, German thoroughness and attention to detail and French lucidity and grace of style. The book is true to form. Indeed it could hardly be otherwise, since it contains, now set in a larger structure, several of the author's earlier studies. The larger structure is, however, the essential novelty of the book.

The task M. Holleaux has set himself is to examine the alleged contacts of Rome and the Hellenistic states prior to 215 B. C. in the light that is thrown back upon them by his searching analysis of the circumstances in which Rome intervened in the East between 212 and 200 B. C. This analysis yields for him two convictions: (1) that the Roman account of Rome's relations with the Greeks is utterly unreliable when it either deviates from or supplements Polybius; and (2) that Rome did not possess at the time of the First and Second Macedonian wars old-established "friendships" (*amicitiae*) with Eastern cities and kingdoms, and that her whole course of action after the establishment of her protectorate over Illyricum in 229 B. C. precludes the idea that even then she had any conscious interest or policy in Hellenic affairs. M. Holleaux, accordingly,

rejects the "friendship" entered into between Rhodes and Rome in 306 B. C. as due to a palpable corruption of the text of Polybius; he reduces the "amity" contracted between Ptolemy Philadelphus and Rome in 273 B. C. to a unilateral courtesy of small and ephemeral significance; he treats as unhistorical the alleged interventions of Rome on behalf of Acarnania and Ilium in 239-237 B. C.; and finds that Rome first crossed the Adriatic diplomatically and militarily at the same moment in 229 B. C., when regard for Italy led her to secure in Corcyra, Epidamnus, and Apollonia the jumping-off places for a Macedonian invader. On M. Holleaux's construction this was a mortal affront to Macedon, which consequently had thereafter the fixed purpose of throwing Rome back beyond the Strait of Otranto at the earliest opportunity. Hence it is all the more curious, on the current interpretation of Rome's progress in the East, that Rome did not try immediately thereafter, or in 219 B. C., to play the rôle in Hellas so successfully played earlier in the century by the Ptolemies, and enter at once into diplomatic relations with Macedon's enemies in Greece. Instead, even after 215 B. C., she disinterested herself in Hellenic affairs the moment Macedon concluded peace with her (205 B. C.), and only adopted the historic policy of "liberating Greek cities" when Antiochus III. hove in sight, with all the much overrated might of Asia behind him, and concluded an alliance with Philip V. for the prosecution of what the senate thought must prove anti-Roman designs (202-201 B. C.). Fear of Antiochus the Great and of monarchical machinations in general, not "friendship" for Ptolemy and Athens, led the senate to embark in 200 B. C. on the career which eventuated in first the hegemony and then the empire of Rome over the Greeks.

M. Holleaux's book is accordingly an elaborate and (let us add) very powerful attack on a general point of view which is represented in France by M. Colin's *Rome et la Grèce de 200 à 146 avant Jésus-Christ*, a point of view taken for example by Mommsen, Droysen, and Eduard Meyer, that a network of diplomatic negotiations bound Rome and the Hellenistic states together in one political whole and that the loss of the historical writings of the third century B. C. alone creates for us a seemingly impassable chasm between West and East from the time of Pyrrhus to that of Philip V. That these negotiations are not merely not reported but were really non-existent, M. Holleaux tries to show in particular by the ignorance of them revealed in several places by Polybius, both in what he says himself apropos of the events of Philip's time and in what he lets others say and the Romans do. We are thus invited to substitute for the old view of a crafty, designing senate laying long in advance the plans for its eventual domination over Greece the new view of a senate that not only had no commercial interests to support beyond the Adriatic, as Professor Frank contends, but also had its political vision limited to purely Italian affairs and considered the things that were happening far off in the East, when it knew of them at all, as quite devoid of any political interest for Rome.

On the whole M. Holleaux's case seems to us well established. It is not alone in prehistoric times that we have been inferring too readily the existence of political and commercial areas from the existence of cultural areas. Distance is an historic factor that needs to be appraised anew for each successive generation.

W. S. FERGUSON.

A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C.: a Study in Economic History. By MICHAEL ROSTOVTZEFF, Professor of History. [University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, VI.] (Madison: the University. 1922. Pp. xi, 209. \$2.00.)

IN 1915 an important group of Greek papyri was discovered at the village of Kharabet el Gerza in the Fayum in Egypt, taken from the correspondence files of a Greek named Zenon. These have gradually been coming into the hands of the editors of papyri in the Cairo museum and in other museums and libraries in Europe and England. One of the letters was recently obtained by Professor Francis W. Kelsey for the important collection which he has built up at the University of Michigan. Already some three hundred and fifty letters from the files of Zenon have been read and published by competent papyrologists and many others are soon to appear. Over a hundred more are known to be still in the hands of the dealers in papyri. The entire correspondence centres about a single man, this Greek from Caria named Zenon, who was an important secondary figure in Ptolemaic Egypt in the middle of the third century B. C. The unusual importance of the "Zenon papyri" lies in the fact that the third century before Christ was the great constructive period of the Ptolemaic régime and that our previous knowledge of the internal activities and methods of the able Ptolemies of just that century had not been clarified because of the lack of available information.

With full knowledge of the probability that the evidence of the unpublished materials of the Zenon group might well change many details of his work, Professor Rostovtzeff of the University of Wisconsin has attempted a reconstruction of the activities of Zenon as displayed in the letters and other documents already available, in a study which he calls *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B. C.* The result is a most interesting and most valuable addition to our knowledge of the economic life of that important country and period, happily of the wider scope indicated in the subtitle of the book, "A Study in Economic History".

Zenon appears in full light in the year 258 B. C. as a personal agent in the impressive court of the finance minister of Egypt, one Apollonius. This was the time in which the great engineering project of Ptolemy Philadelphus for reclamation of land in the Fayum was in full swing. In 256 B. C. Zenon had become the chief economic manager of the

affairs of Apollonius. In particular he became director of some 6500 acres of land which Apollonius had received in "gift" from King Philadelphus. Zenon was occupied with the many tasks entailed by the establishment of the irrigation system in this large area and the direction of its agricultural production, along with the numerous industrial activities which were carried on within such an estate. With the death of King Philadelphus in 247 B. C., the great finance minister Apollonius disappeared. But the letters of Zenon do not cease. Rostovtzeff conjectures that Apollonius died in the same year as Philadelphus and that his "gift estate" then reverted to the new king. Zenon, however, remained at Philadelphus in the Fayum where the "gift estate" lay, enjoying as a private capitalist the profits accumulated in his ten years' service as agent of the great Apollonius.

This is merely the setting for the more important constructive ability which Rostovtzeff has shown in the chapter which discusses the general character of the "gift estates" of the early Ptolemies in their larger economic and political bearing; in the separate chapters explaining how the estate at Philadelphia was prepared for cultivation, what grains were sown, the important place of vine-growing, orchards, and market-gardening upon this particular estate; and in the one chapter in which Rostovtzeff's observations as to the stock-breeding, industry, commerce, and transportation on the Philadelphia estate are assembled. There are five appendixes containing other important by-products of the study of the Zenon papyri. Fundamentally the work is a study in agricultural history more than anything else. By this study Professor Rostovtzeff will have added greatly to the high distinction which his previous work has gained for him among historical workmen. The total result of the book is to confirm with a multitude of details his belief in the tremendous importance of the Greek talent for economic and political organization as displayed in the Hellenistic period. One may or may not care for "efficiency", but the Greeks had the gift of "efficiency"—along with other and greater qualities. To these greater qualities Greek "efficiency" did service.

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN.

La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO.
(Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1921. Pp. 253. 5 fr.)

It will not be safe to neglect this new book of Ferrero's on the theory that one can hazard a safe guess at what the author of *Grandezza e Decadenza* will say. There is here the same dramatic art as of old, the same fondness for crises and cataclysms, the same proneness to substitute *ergo* for *post hoc*, and the same desire to make history didactic, but the doctrine of economic determinism has vanished and the influence of Lombroso can be scented only in a rare cliché here and there.

The first few chapters tell very effectively, if partially, the story of a century from the reign of Septimius Severus to the death of Constantine.

The outstanding points in the narrative are these. The world of 200 A. D. is pictured as highly prosperous. Agriculture, industry, and commerce are flourishing, schools multiply, the arts are in high favor, literature and philosophy are pursued with zeal. But Septimius Severus, in debasing the senate which Rome held to be the source of imperial authority and in adopting the principles of an absolute monarchy, destroyed men's faith in and loyalty to constituted authority. Hence the half-century of anarchy resulted.

Diocletian, a man of great genius, succeeded to some extent in restoring faith in authority again by basing his power on the theory of Oriental absolutism, which recognized the ruler as a divinity. Complete success, however, was no longer possible because the Christians, who were already very strong, refused to recognize the divinity of the ruler. Constantine, his successor, had therefore to compromise with the Christians and surrender the real logical basis of absolutism. The hereditary monarchy which he established (without the aid of the theory of "divine rights"), though adequate for the East, where monarchical principles were traditional, did not have sufficient hold on the imagination of the people of the more republican West. Hence loyalty failed the government again, and a period of anarchy ensued in which the barbarians overran the Western world. Such in brief is the story according to Ferrero.

The style is effective, and the history is free from grave errors so far as it goes. The basic materials for the theoretical part can be found in Eduard Meyer's recent books and in Schulz's *Vom Principat zum Dominat*. What is not so satisfactory is the placing of the emphasis, the slurring of discordant facts, and the perspective. It would be hard to prove by chapter and verse that the senate's authority had counted for so much in the public estimation before 235 A. D. as Ferrero makes out, that the world was then so prosperous, that Diocletian's use of the imperial cult was so very revolutionary, and that Christian democracy so far obstructed the formation of a politically effective autocracy. One looks in vain for an adequate estimate of economic, racial, and social causes of decay that were at work long before the period when Ferrero begins his story. In fact one feels inclined to believe that the author has condensed many acts of a long drama into one and eliminated many of the rôles in order to make the play carry across the footlights. And when the reader reaches the last chapter, *Au Troisième et au Vingtième Siècle*, he wonders whether the tragedy has been only a problem-play after all. He suddenly discovers that it is a case of *De te fabula*. It is well enough to remind delegates sent to our world conferences that there is danger in destroying traditional forms of government in Eastern and Central Europe, and in imposing forms, however liberal, that are neither comprehended nor respected, and that a perilous disrespect for authority and consequent anarchy may result. But it is doubtful whether it was worth

while to distort a century of innocent Roman history in order to acquire a text for this sermon, especially when the "modern democracies" employed in the parallel so badly fit the purpose that Ferrero must leave both England and America almost entirely out of the reckoning. There is after all some virtue in Ranke's dictum of how history should be written.

An English translation of the book entitled *The Ruin of the Ancient Civilization and the Triumph of Christianity* has recently come from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons. The version, done by the Hon. Lady Whitehead, is by no means literal, but it transfers the contents into idiomatic English without serious leakage.

TENNEY FRANK.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Mediaeval Contributions to Modern Civilisation: a Series of Lectures delivered at King's College, University of London. Edited by F. J. C. HEARNSHAW, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Mediaeval History in the University of London, with a Preface by ERNEST BARKER, M.A., Principal of King's College. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1921. Pp. 268. 10s. 6d.)

HERE are ten lectures delivered in the autumn term of 1920 as part of the general scheme of public lectures at King's College (p. 7)—seven by members of its staff and three by colleagues from other colleges of the university. All show power and learning and their work indicates that the university has solid ground for pride and hope in its new Institute of Historical Research (p. 8).

Professor Hearnshaw leads off with a well-packed but clear sketch of medieval development. He walks confidently, at times over very difficult country, and raises many questions which his fellow lecturers are too optimistically expected to answer (pp. 16-17). The Rev. Claude Jenkins follows with "The Religious Contribution of the Middle Ages". He covers, with generous use of allusion and intricate pattern, many topics which are ecclesiastical rather than religious, but his handling of the necessity of the union of politics and religion (p. 64), of St. Francis's stress on duties rather than rights (p. 65), of the demand for a rational theology (p. 70), and of our debt to medieval sacramentaries and hymns (pp. 76 ff.) is excellent. Professor H. Wildon Carr in his stiff lecture on "Philosophy" essays to demonstrate, not without an occasional resort to dialectic, that the Bergsonian concept of reality as activity (which the lecturer accepts) is a synthesis of the Greek and medieval concepts. The latter "is the concept of the whole course of universal human history . . . as the real work itself which God is in process of accomplishing" (p. 96). Dr. Charles Singer's lecture on "Science" is an outstanding piece of work, and his definition of science as "*the process which makes knowledge*" (p. 108) is most serviceable. "*The Middle Ages begin for*

science at that period when the ancients ceased to make knowledge" (p. 109).

The Rev. Percy Deamer talks on "Art" in a racy fashion. "For the Church is not the clergy, nor is it bishops and popes: it is the people" (p. 158). "But you will not make art again secure and inevitable . . . until you set men's paths about with beauty again; and this involves . . . architecture . . . and costume . . ." (p. 159). Professor Israel Gollancz's discussion of "The Middle Ages in the Lineage of English Poetry" is a charming, a model, public lecture. In brief he argues for the importance of the West Midland school, represented in the fourteenth century by Langland, as a vital factor in the great Elizabethan synthesis. "As Taine well put it, the Renaissance in England was the renaissance of the Saxon genius" (p. 185). In his lecture on "Education" Professor J. W. Adamson sketches medieval curricula and organization in a workmanlike manner. It would have been of interest to bring out explicitly Vittorino's combination of the humanistic and the chivalric types of education (p. 209). Miss Hilda Johnstone, not unnaturally, has a good deal to say about women in her lecture on "Society", which deals with the medieval roots of the modern social order. She takes her prioress too literally, I fancy. The prioress sent her convent chaplain to represent her at a diocesan assembly "since it is not fitting that women should mix themselves up with men's meetings" (p. 223). Surely the prioress must have smiled as she wrote those words. Mr. E. R. Adair's discussion of "Economics" is straightforward and sound, and gives due attention to gild socialism. William Morris gets rather too much praise, however, if Arthur Pound's *Iron Man* is to dominate industry. Our gradual return to the Just Price (p. 247) should, I think, be explained by the opportunity which improved transportation affords to monopoly. Professor J. W. Allen's exposition of "Politics" opens over-modestly. It is a clean-cut treatment of medieval political thought and its importance.

What are the defects of these excellent lectures, apart from those necessarily connected with such a co-operative undertaking and aside from the inevitable omission of lectures on many subjects, as music and canon law, which you or I would like to have treated? To one reader the inadequate indication of what H. O. Taylor calls the "spotted actuality" is a defect. The worldliness of our ancestors is not brought out. A free use of vernacular literature alone would have served to mitigate this defect. A second is the omission of an index. How much longer is it going to take our British historical colleagues to discover the necessity—and urbanity—of an index? Such a key would be helpful even to the lecturers themselves, for it would remind them that specialists should be cautious in dropping *obiter dicta* on topics outside their own fields, and especially so when such dicta seem to be drawn from the common fields of the traditional handbooks. An index would have

brought this warning home to all—and all of us need it. One example must serve. On *Revival of Learning and Renaissance*, see pp. 15, 36–37, 39, 112, 113, 149, 150, 163–165, 182, 185, 194, 205. The dogmatic flavor of the book, taken as a whole, is probably the by-product of unavoidable brevity. The reviewer offers the same plea for his review.

G. C. SELLERY.

Histoire de la Nation Française. Par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome VI. *Histoire Religieuse.* Par GEORGES GOYAU. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1922. Pp. 639. 48 fr.)

If the principles of eugenics are valid for life, why not also for letters? If a child may be "well-born", why not also a book? However that may be, and whatever the theoretical limits of scientific mating and breeding, the volume that lies before us is the offspring of a perfect union of author and subject. To write the religious history of France no happier choice could have been made than the scholar whose profound and comprehensive studies, extending over more than a quarter of a century, have established his pre-eminence in his special field. And to this scholar could have been assigned no more congenial task than to trace for his fellow-countrymen the long course of their religious life. One can well believe that it were no task, but a labor of love, a kind of votive offering, the spontaneous outpouring of a feeling in which the religious and the patriotic are perfectly blended.

For to M. Goyau religion and patriotism are one and inseparable—for the reason that the genius of France expresses itself, and has always expressed itself, in a passion for the universal. "Chez les Druides qui pressentent et préparent, et chez Irénée qui révèle; chez Calvin qui 'proteste', et chez Comte qui nie, même souci de l'universel. N'est-ce pas un des traits les plus frappants du génie religieux de la France?" (p. 619). France must be religious, for in religion alone does the idea of the universal find adequate expression. And France must be Catholic, for Catholicism alone embodies the universal in religion. "Si haut que nous remontions dans notre histoire, une affinité s'entrevoit entre nos âmes et l'idée d'une religion universelle" (p. 617). From the days of St. Remi and Boniface to the days of Chateaubriand and de Maistre, all roads have led to Rome. No false guides have been able permanently to seduce France from that path. Even her occasional lapses into Gallicanism are due to passing irritation, rather than to design; at bottom, they are manifestations of the same ineradicable instinct for unity and universality that made and kept France Catholic. Charles the Great might make a "Gallican gesture", but he was no Gallican, or, if so, unwittingly and unintentionally (pp. 125, 136); Hincmar might stand for the rights of the metropolitan, but as over against the bishops, rather than as against the pope (p. 150); St. Louis might arraign the

clergy, but before the tribunal of conscience, not before the throne (p. 269); the bishops might support Philip IV. against Boniface VIII., but from motives prudential, not upon grounds dogmatic (pp. 274-275); the efforts of d'Ailly and Gerson were bent toward unity, not toward independence (pp. 298-303); Richelieu's concern was quite as much for the integrity of the Church, as for the supremacy of the crown (p. 400); even the Declaration of 1682 is to be understood as a theological formula, more or less felicitous, expressing the need for assurance of the independence of the monarchy (p. 446). "Royal Gallicanism", "Parliamentary Gallicanism", upon occasion, yes; but of "conscious, defined, ecclesiastical Gallicanism", scarcely a trace. Susceptible when the national autonomy is threatened; susceptible also when the religious unity is put in jeopardy; troubled when these two susceptibilities are at variance; contented when they are in harmony—such is the innate disposition of France (p. 618). For one vertiginous instant France did find herself schismatic (p. 449); but even then the heart of France was Catholic, as the Concordat proved (pp. 535, 618). In the face of heretic, reformer, Parliamentarian, Revolutionist, even Separatist, France has steadfastly held her way and maintained her vital touch with Rome.

But it is not only as the "fille aînée de l'Église" that M. Goyau would have us see France, but also as the "ouvrière de Dieu", fulfilling her "vocation religieuse", through monk and missionary and crusader, by theologian and teacher and master-builder. And what a splendid panorama he unfolds! Cluny, Chartreuse, Prémontré, Prouille, Montmartre—what mighty forces have these cradled and sent forth! What lines have gone forth to the ends of the world, from Paris and St. Victor and Clairvaux! What does not Catholic theology and worship owe to France!—the doctrines of transubstantiation and the Immaculate Conception, the Ave Maria and the elevation of the host, the cult of the Virgin (pp. 216-217)? As for the debt of Christian art, let Reims stand for the whole.

And in this apostolate, hand in hand with the Church has marched the State. "L'alliance entre la France politique et la France missionnaire . . . survit à toutes les vicissitudes politiques" (p. 620). What! even the rupture of 1905? Yes, even that, predicts M. Goyau: "On sentira renaître, entre la France officielle et l'Église, l'esprit de concorde et de collaboration morale" (p. 602).

It is a splendid and majestic pageant that M. Goyau has produced, a work of consummate artistry. But, if one may venture to criticize a masterpiece, as a history, it suffers from a too limited interpretation of its scope—it is too exclusively "religious". For though religion may be regarded as a phase of life, it is in fact an integral part of life, influencing, and reciprocally influenced by, all the other vital elements and forces. And religious history cannot be adequately written by sifting out the "religious" and ignoring the rest. Least of all can this be done in the case of France where, as M. Goyau himself insists, religion is of

the very fibre of the national life. And yet this is the method that M. Goyau has pursued, quite rigorously confining himself to the "religious", in the restricted sense of the word, and relegating the political, the economic, the social, to his collaborators. This is perfectly legitimate in view of the prearranged division of labor; but the result is none the less unfortunate. If religion embodies itself in a church, and if, as in France, the Church has been immemorially bound up with the State, how can one justly interpret the religious without recourse to the political? How partial and inadequate must be an exclusively "religious" exposition of, say, the Cluniac movement, or *Unam Sanctam*, or the Councils, or the Reformation and Religious Wars, or the Restoration and Ultramontaniam—to cite but some of the most conspicuous instances of M. Goyau's rather scant regard for the political determinants in religious developments. When this process is applied to historical portraiture, the result is nothing less than distortion. Imagine the face of Richelieu with all the political wrinkles smoothed out! or Joan of Arc with an aureole but no oriflamme, a conventional saint whose title to immortality rests, not upon having beaten back the English, but upon having saved the Faith! (pp. 313, 399 ff.). Rather unfamiliar likenesses, these.

But as for the portrait of France herself, *la France Religieuse*—well, an artist can but paint as he sees. M. Goyau has seen with an eye of love and reverence, and has limned the features of his *douce France* with devotion and sincerity. The figure on his canvas is one of great dignity and strength, with a face of mature and serene beauty.

THEODORE COLLIER.

Arabic Thought and its Place in History. By DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D., Lecturer in Aramaic and Syriac, Bristol University. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Company; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1922. Pp. viii, 320. 10s. 6d.)

MR. O'LEARY seeks to accomplish three main things: in the first place, to describe the transmission of Hellenistic thought by Syriac-, Arabic-, and Hebrew-speaking authors; secondly, to note any developments which it may have received from these; and thirdly, to state the influence which it exercised on Muslim and Christian theology and mysticism. By Hellenistic thought is meant chiefly the logic, physics, and metaphysics of Aristotle, his psychology as interpreted by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the Neo-Platonists, the Plotinian system of philosophy especially as it appears in the so-called "Theology of Aristotle", and the medical writings of Galen, Dioscorus, and the Alexandrian school.

The author's treatment of this rather vast subject is very clear and his method of exposition is to be commended. His knowledge of it, if not always strictly accurate, is, on the whole, well balanced, and Mr.

O'Leary has the saving grace of always giving his sources and naming the available texts of these sources, which is one of the most valuable features of the book. His method is to take certain well-defined periods and to discuss the translations from Greek literature which were made in these periods, together with the commentaries on these that appeared, as also any independent works then produced which have the mark of being influenced by the above-mentioned body of thought.

The Syriac period is for Mr. O'Leary one of translation and commentary predominantly, and its principal activity is with Aristotle's logic. Here the author rather neglects the field of Syriac mysticism with its Platonic and Neo-Platonic tendencies and the probable effect which it had not only on Sūfism but on Muslim theology as well.

The Arabic period has five main divisions: namely, the Translators, the Eastern Philosophers, Sūfism, Orthodox Scholasticism, and Western Philosophy. The main feature of this period Mr. O'Leary finds in the developments produced by the Muslim philosophers in questions of metaphysics and psychology, especially the latter. The earliest types of Muslim thought, the theological positions of the Mu'tazilites, for example, are discussed, the systems of al-Allaf, an-Nazzam, as-Sulami, al-Jahir, and a few others being outlined briefly; and these are found to be dependent for their material on the Syriac scholars. The period of active translation under al-Ma'mun is described and the various translators and their works given. On this basis arises Muslim philosophy, and the author, distinguishing two periods of development, the earlier Eastern and the later Western (Spanish), sketches succinctly the systems of such exponents of it as al-Farabī and ibn Sina in the East and ibn Bajja and ibn Rushd in the West. The influence of this philosophy on Muslim theology is then shown by epitomizing the doctrines of the chief Muslim theologians from al-Ash'ari to al-Ghazali. The medical writings of ibn Sina and ibn Rushd are noted, and many other aspects of Muslim life, such as Sūfism, the Shi'a with its various sects, "the brotherhood of purity", etc., are touched upon and their relations to Hellenistic thought brought out. Two chapters at the end, then, discuss such Jewish transmitters of this Muslim form of Hellenistic thought to the Latin schoolmen as ibn Gabirul or Maimonides, and the influence of this Muslim thought on the schoolmen.

Mr. O'Leary's treatment of his subject, so far as sects and schools and representatives of both these go, is practically exhaustive. It is also clear and definite. It lacks, however, at times, precision. To compare the function of the soul in Neo-Platonism with that of the "common-sense" of Aristotle, for example, as he does on page 21, means nothing. Scholars still debate what Aristotle meant by his "common-sense". The same criticism applies to his analogy between al-Farabi's '*ʿaql hayyulani*' and Aristotle's "common-sense" (p. 148). And to say that the Meccans' opposition to Muhammed was based on tribal jealousy is any-

thing but the fact (p. 56). Nevertheless the subject by his treatment of it gains perspective. That is much.

A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West. By Sir R. W. CARLYLE, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Politics and Economics, University College, Oxford. Volume IV. *The Theories of the Relation of the Empire and the Papacy from the Tenth Century to the Twelfth.* By A. J. CARLYLE. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1922. Pp. xxiii, 419. 30 s.)

THE first three volumes of this work have been reviewed in earlier issues of this magazine (X. 629, XV. 836, XXI. 784). Like the former volumes the fourth exhibits the qualities of painstaking reading of the sources, extreme care not to draw conclusions unwarranted by the texts, elaborate reprinting at the bottom of each page of long extracts from the Latin originals, excellent tables of contents and indexes.

This volume, however, is unlike its predecessors in that at times the reader can scarcely believe that he is reading a book on political theory. A not inappropriate title would be "a history of the simony and investiture struggle". In spite of the fact that the author in the preface warns his readers that "this work is not the history, either civil or ecclesiastical, of the Middle Ages, but the political theories", the larger part of the volume is predominantly historical. The author says: "I do not indeed think that these relations [hence those between the temporal and spiritual powers] had as much effect upon political theory in general as has been sometimes suggested", and yet goes on to say "I think that we are justified in devoting a whole volume to the conflicts of the Empire and the Papacy". In fact on p. 253 he says: "We have been compelled to do so", that is, to give a great deal of historical narrative.

Part I. is taken up with a history of the relation of the spiritual and temporal powers from 900 to 1076; part II. with a history of the investiture controversy to 1122, and the comments of various contemporary authors on that subject and simony; part III. with a history of the political conflict of the papacy and the Empire and comments of contemporary authors on the very narrow questions as to whether the pope and the emperor were co-ordinate in power, each in his own field, or one subordinate to the other, whether the pope could interfere in the election of, excommunicate, and depose the emperor, or the emperor have a part in the election of popes and bishops; part IV. with a history of the relations of the Church and the Empire from 1122 to 1177, in which the first chapter is devoted to the relations of Frederick I. (Barbarossa) to the papacy, the second to John of Salisbury, and the third to Gerhoh of Reichersberg, and their respective ideas on the questions enumerated above.

In extracting from the various writers their views on the subject of the relations of the temporal and spiritual powers the plan of the

author is to list the writers in order. The reader finds himself in perfect bewilderment from reading statements that are so nearly alike that they need no repetition. Even in the historical narrative he frequently finds the same matter repeated again and again in almost the same words (*cf.*, for example, pp. 359 and 345, and 365 with 321).

The truth seems to be that in a history of political theory the author has given a lengthy study of the relations of the emperors and popes out of all proportion to their value to political theory and this on a field which has been the subject of more investigation than almost any other field in the Middle Ages. This volume could be reduced by three-fourths and the student of political theory not be the loser thereby.

Though it is a distinct disappointment from the above points of view, the exposition of the theories in the "*Tractatus Eboracenses*" (pp. 279 ff.) and of those of Honorius of Augsburg (pp. 286 ff.) is particularly good. So also is the forcefulness with which the fact is brought out that purely academic theories buried away in books caused no commotion until someone tried to put them into operation (p. 336).

The inefficiency of the printing craft of to-day is probably responsible for allowing the title-page to come out with "twelth" for "twelfth" and "septrum" for "sceptum" (p. 162), but much more inexcusable and certainly very confusing to the reader is the fault of not having discovered until the volume was through the press that "Godfrey" of Vendôme had been spelled Geoffrey throughout. Equally confusing is it to have the period covered in this volume designated from the tenth century to the twelfth when in the third volume the same period is labelled from the tenth century to the thirteenth.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

The Cambridge Medieval History. Planned by J. B. BURY, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History. Edited by H. M. GWATKIN, M.A.; J. P. WHITNEY, D.D.; J. R. TANNER, Litt.D.; C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON, M.A. Volume III. *Germany and the Western Empire.* (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xxxix, 700. 11 maps. 50 s.)

THE closing lines of Arnold's "*Sohrab and Rustum*" pressed themselves upon my memory as I approached the end of this volume.

French history flows "brimming and bright and large" from the pen of such masters as MM. René Poupardin and Louis Halphen, and the history of the break-up of Charlemagne's empire, of the later Carolingians and first Capetians (to the year 1000) is presented with clarity, fullness, and sense of proportion, as one would expect from such scholars, in seven chapters (I.-VI., XVII.). Chapter XVI., the Western Caliphate, from the pen of Dr. Rafael Altamira, is of a piece with

the chapters on France. In 31 pages we have the gist of Spanish history before the Cid. The best chapter by an English contributor is that of Mr. Mawer on the Vikings.

But when one turns to the chapters dealing with Germany, Italy, and the Western Empire—the core of the period—then the stream of history becomes indeed “a foiled circuitous wanderer”. We have the anomaly of the pivotal chapters in the volume being the worst. Eccentric determinism and unscientific analysis have here done injury to the subject. Any scholar who has worked across the field of German history in the feudal age knows that the period of the Saxon dynasty (919–1024) constitutes a logical unity as distinct as the reign of the first two Salian emperors (1024–1056). Yet in strange violation of this fundamental fact we find separate chapters distinguished by reigns. Otto II. and Otto III., small men both, are raised to equal eminence with their two great predecessors and have a whole chapter to themselves, whereas a few pages would have satisfactorily disposed of them. Similarly, Henry II., Conrad II., and Henry III. have each a special chapter.

This absurd arrangement is aggravated by the further strange fact that instead of intrusting the history of the Saxon period to one writer, and that of the Salian to another (which would have preserved both historical and literary unity), the six chapters on Germany and Italy, the largest single *bloc* in the book, have been distributed among four different authors. The heaviest burden of two chapters on the Saxon kings and one on Conrad II. has fallen upon the shoulders of Mr. Austin Lane Poole, while Mr. Edwin H. Holthouse has written upon Henry II., Miss Caroline M. Ryley upon Henry III., and Mr. C. W. Previté-Orton upon Italy in the tenth century.

The result is a boneless string of unarticulated and sometimes inconsistent information. For example, Mr. Lane Poole (p. 192) represents Lorraine as being “always firmly attached to the Carolingian tradition”, and implies that the acquisition of the duchy by Henry I. was an act of spoliation; yet on p. 197, in the reign of Otto I., we are told that “the Lorrainers . . . were, almost to a man, loyal to the king”; and further on (p. 210) it appears that in 984 the Lotharingian nobles “at once prepared to resist Lothair’s attempt to occupy the duchy”.

There is no sustained, uniform, consistent method of treatment throughout these chapters on Saxon and early Salian Germany. Italy, in the more competent hands of Mr. Previté-Orton, fares better.

Historical presentation is in keeping with this defective method. Mere narration, factual accumulation, prevails throughout. Page after page reminds one of the *Jahrbücher*. Indeed, so slavishly is this practice adhered to that one wonders how much of the literature of the subject (sources and authorities) these three contributors have read beyond the Year Books of the reigns. Except in the case of the chapter on Italy, not one of these sad chapters gives much evidence of study

of the works whose titles are so grandly arrayed in the bibliographies at the end of the volume. One example of this jejune method of presentation will suffice:

In the first days of September, accompanied by the Empress Gisela and archbishop Herman, Henry made his first visit as sole ruler to Saxony. . . .

Disquieting news reached Henry in Saxony of events in Bohemia . . . but an embassy with hostages from Bratislav . . . determined him for the time to peace. So he dismissed his forces and turned south to Bavaria

From Bavaria, at the beginning of the new year, 1040, he moved to his mother's native duchy of Swabia. . . . At Ulm he summoned his first Fürstentag. . . . From Ulm Henry passed to the Rhine. . . . Thus too closed his inaugural progress through the realm. During its course had died Henry's cousins. . . . On 13 August he broke camp for Bohemia. . . . The expedition failed . . . Henry . . . retraced his steps through Bavaria . . . and started, early in September [1042], on the Hungarian expedition. It was a success. . . . The king spent the Christmas of 1042 at Goslar. . . . Early in the following month at Goslar, the Empress-Mother died.

There are pages and pages, nearly whole chapters, of this sort of thing. One looks in vain for large view, for constructive interpretation, cogent and compact summary. There is no consecutive and sustained treatment of the really important movements of the time anywhere in these futile pages upon feudal Germany. The reader who may wish to study the history of the administrative policy of the Saxon or Salian emperors, the important secular activities of the German episcopate, Conrad II.'s "revindication" of the fisc, the course of the Billunger dukes of Saxony, the subject of German eastward colonization beyond the Elbe—to cite examples—will be compelled to turn many pages, be content with casual allusion or quite as often no mention at all, and finally emerge from a wilderness of words with a few scattered bits of information in his hand, like unstrung beads. The history of the border peoples of Germany during this epoch—Poland, Bohemia, Hungary—surely deserved a chapter to itself. Instead their history dribbles along through the chapters upon Germany.

The editor's explanatory statement in the preface, that "the war necessitated large changes in plan and execution" of this volume, may be held to mean that the writing of these chapters was originally intrusted to superior historical scholars in Germany, but that as a consequence of warfare recourse had to be made to British home talent.

Whether the editors or the publishers cancelled the contracts abroad which had been entered into, or whether the proposed German contributors withdrew their names on account of the war I do not know with certainty. The issue has been unfortunate. British scholarship has never distinguished itself in the field of medieval German history. Mr. Herbert Fisher's excellent *Mediaeval Empire* has no fellow. When one thinks

what these chapters on the history of a great epoch might have been if they had been written by such scholars as Hartmann, Werminghoff, Peisker, Köttschke, Hampe, Hofmeister, Stutz, Schmeidler, *et al.*, one is divided between indignation at such flagrant editorial short-sightedness and pity for the novices who have attempted to accomplish feats beyond their knowledge or their strength. Mr. Austin Lane Poole is the author of a successful university prize essay upon Henry the Lion—*ein ziemlich luftiges Buch*. What has Mr. Holthouse or Miss Ryley written in this field? Not even an article by either is cited in the bibliography.

We have noted the omission of any chapter upon the Poles, Bohemians, and Magyars. Quite as serious, even more so, is the omission of any chapter dealing with the economic and social changes in Western Europe during an epoch which extends from the death of Charlemagne to the Crusades. It is poor defense for the editor to tell us in the introduction that "in these centuries, even more than in others, it is chiefly of kings, of battles and great events, or of purely technical things like legal grants or taxes, of which alone we can speak, because it is of them we are mostly told. We know but little of the general life of the multitude on its social and economic side. For that we must argue back from later conditions, checked by the scanty facts we have" (Introd., p. xx). This argument is specious, even untrue. The great body of literature available upon the economic and social history of Europe in these centuries belies the statement.

Sir Paul Vinogradoff's chapter upon Feudalism is what one might expect from his thorough knowledge of the institution. Yet it is certainly strange, in a volume in which all the chapters save two deal with the history of Continental Europe, that the chapter upon feudalism should particularly deal with *English* feudalism. In explanation of this curious state of things we are again informed by the editor that "what is said, therefore, as to the origins of English Feudalism also applies, with due allowance for great local differences, to Germany, France, and Italy" (Introd., p. x). How is one without information from other works to make these "due allowances"? The reviewer has spent a good many years in the study of feudalism, and is much of the opinion that the differences between French, German, and Italian feudalism are more striking than the similarities or identities, and that a knowledge of English feudalism will not help one greatly in understanding the nature of that institution upon the Continent.

"Ephraim is a cake unturned." This is a half-baked book. The chapters on the history of France and the Church are admirable. The rest of the volume, with the exceptions noted, is a sodden mass of half-cooked, half-digested material. There is not space to particularize minor defects in so large a book. But I should really like to know what evidence Miss Ryley has that Transjurane Burgundy (Franche

Comté) was really "romance" in the tenth and eleventh centuries (pp. 273, 286). Protest might be made, too, against the romantic idea that "misfortune and the Italian climate combined to ruin Otto II.'s health"—he died from an overdose of aloes taken to stop the dysentery. This kind of vague explanation of events is too frequent.

A word in conclusion about the bibliography. Like those in the preceding volumes of the series, this, too, shows that it has been compiled by a librarian instead of by the scholar to whose contribution it is supposed to be a supplement. The bibliographies throughout give evidence of mechanical design and mechanical execution, and an observation in the preface confirms this conviction. Some of the omissions are serious, especially in the list of books upon feudalism. Neither Guilhiermoz's *L'Origine de la Noblesse en France* nor Sée's *Les Classes Rurales et le Régime Domänil en France au Moyen Age* (1901) is cited for French feudalism, although they are two of the most valuable books on the subject.

After "due allowance", as the editor has urged, one yet may reasonably expect to discover such classics as Inama Sternegg's *Grossgrundherrschaften*, Nitzsch's *Ministerialität und Bürgerthum*, Below's *Der Deutsche Staat des Mittelalters*, and the *Schwabenspiegel*—cited as literature upon German feudalism. Gebhardt's admirable *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte* is cited in the old edition instead of in the new and enlarged edition. The general bibliography also omits such important works as Manitius, *Deutsche Geschichte unter den Sächsischen und den Salischen Kaisern* (1889), Gerdes, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes* (1891), Franz von Löher, *Kulturgeschichte der Deutschen im Mittelalter* (1891-1892), and Kötzschke, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte*.

On map 33, Nuremberg, Hainsburg, Pressburg, Ratzeburg, Hersfeld, Wollin ought not to have been omitted. Göttingen was not in existence in Saxon-Salian times, and Zähringen unheard of.

It is fortunate that this mediocre volume is less by nearly 150 pages than its two predecessors. Yet the cost to the purchaser is greater than before!

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The History of Conspiracy and Abuse of Legal Procedure. By PERCY HENRY WINFIELD, LL.D., Lecturer in Law at St. John's and Trinity Colleges, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Pp. xxvii, 219. 20 s.)

THE effort to pervert the processes of the law to unlawful ends inevitably calls into existence other processes by way of counteraction. It is the history of this phase of legal development which forms the subject of the present volume—announced as the first of the *Cambridge Studies in English Legal History*, under the editorship of Professor

Hazeltine. Conspiracy is the first topic dealt with—for not until late in its life do we see the term “conspiracy” definitely take on a meaning broader than that of “combination to promote false accusations and suits before a Court” (p. 109)—and this topic occupies rather more than half the book. The remaining chapters survey the cognate fields of champerty and maintenance (we all remember the solicitude with which Mr. Quirk, of Quirk, Gammon, and Snap, perused these titles in Blackstone), embracery and misconduct of jurors, common barratry and frivolous arrests.

A matter for regret is the necessity, explained in the author’s preface, for separate publication of the material appearing as *The Present Law of Abuse of Legal Procedure* (Cambridge, 1921). The dichotomy thus attempted, the author tells us, could not be carried out in the last two chapters, so that these alone, in the present volume, bring the story down to date. While the two books together give us a connected view of the subject, the unitary arrangement of the second is likely to prove a little embarrassing to the reader who seeks to resume there the thread he has been following in the first.

The sureness of tread with which Dr. Winfield appears to move, in general, among the Year Books fails him somewhat when he comes to deal with questions of pleading. Thus, with reference to the writ of conspiracy for false indictment, he says (p. 90): “if the plaintiff made no mention of the indictment he would be met successfully by the plea ‘nul tiel record’.” This is said to have been conceded *obiter* in Trin. 9 Hen. VI., f. 26. But as, under the rules of common-law pleading, it would be out of the question to deny something not alleged, so what we find conceded is in effect that when the indictment is alleged, nul tiel record is a good plea. A similar criticism applies to the statement (p. 67 n.) that “the indictor should put in the record of the indictment. Otherwise he would be met by the replication ‘nul tiel record’.” What should have been said is that where the defendant alleges the indictment in his plea and is met by a replication of nul tiel record, then he must see to the production of the record—a fairly obvious necessity. Again, the explanation on p. 138 (note to p. 137) of what the defendant had to do in pleading specially in an action of maintenance would have been more satisfactory if it had kept in view the distinction between a plea of traverse and one in confession and avoidance. Nor are we prepared to accept the author’s apparent conclusion (pp. 136, 137) that the plaintiff, in an action of maintenance, could make the case one of general maintenance or special maintenance, at will, by the generality or particularity of the allegations in his writ and declaration. That the term “special maintenance” is applied to a particularization of the charge seems clear enough, but the difficulty is that in none of the cases cited in this connection does the particularization so characterized occur in the declaration: it comes in the replication after new matter has been advanced

by the plea. Thus the plaintiff in these cases (to use the Scots term employed by the author) is "condescending on" particularity of allegation only when he is forced to it by the character of the plea.

But any shortcomings in this highly technical province count for little in the sum of the book. Its minute examination of the sources and enlightening correlation of results with contemporary social and governmental conditions fully justify the editor's remark that the volume is the outcome of "painstaking, skilful and learned research". It exhibits, too, on the part of the author a gift for picturesque phrase which he might well have used less sparingly. Legal history has few enough votaries at the best, and to one who approaches her with the earnestness of purpose and solidity of performance here displayed she owes an indebtedness which cannot be too freely acknowledged.

ROBERT W. MILLAR.

Histoire de la Coutume de la Prévôté et Vicomté de Paris. Par OLIVIER MARTIN, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Rennes, Chargé de Cours à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris. Tome I. (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1922. Pp. xv, 508. 30 fr.)

ALTHOUGH the great interest and importance of the customary law which prevailed throughout the greater part of France from the tenth century to the close of the Old Régime have long been recognized, and though some of the earlier customary compilations, such as the *Établissements de Saint-Louis*, have been made the subject of brilliant studies, no one until recently has attempted a comprehensive and thoroughgoing work upon any one of the important regional customs (*coutumes générales*) throughout the whole of its history. It is such a work upon the custom of the region of Paris—or more specifically, from the close of the thirteenth century, the custom of the *prévôté et vicomté de Paris*—which has been undertaken by Olivier Martin, and the first volume of which is now at hand. First honored by the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques with the Prix Odilon Barrot in 1912, this extensive monograph at that time drew warm praise from so great an authority upon the history of French law and institutions as Jacques Flach. But it has since been completely rewritten after more exhaustive researches.

The present volume is taken up with a general introduction and with two books dealing with the status of persons (*condition des personnes*) and with tenures (*régime des biens*). The second volume, which is promised without too great delay, will be devoted to "l'étude de la propriété et des droits réels, le droit des gens mariés, les successions, donations, et testaments, enfin les obligations et voies d'exécution".

Of the matter now published, the introduction, besides fully describing the sources, is devoted to what may be called the external history

of the custom of Paris as a distinctive body of law, from its origin in the feudal chaos of the tenth and eleventh centuries through all the main stages of its development to its decline in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is a condensed, though careful, treatment. Important problems are inevitably left unsolved. One looks in vain, for example, for an exact answer to the question why the local customs of the region coalesced and emerged as the *usus et consuetudines Francie circa Parisius* at the end of the twelfth, or certainly early in the thirteenth, century, before the definite constitution of the *prévôté et vicomté de Paris*, as equivalent to the *bailliage*, with fixed geographical boundaries and a court of appeals at the Châtelet. But probably an exact answer cannot be given. The dependence of the development of the custom upon the larger transformations of social and economic evolution is brought out with great skill and insight.

In the two books which follow the introduction, and which make up the bulk of the volume, the author addresses himself to the content of the custom of Paris—to the growth and transformation of the actual rules of customary law which determined the status of nobles, freemen, serfs, and minors and regulated the holding and transfer of allods, fiefs, *censives*, *champarts*, etc. We have to do with a detailed treatment of a mass of law, in which the jurist somewhat overshadows the historian, and we get not so much a history of the evolution of custom as a series of expositions of the customary law in successive epochs—the Middle Ages, the sixteenth century, etc. But where so much is given it would be ungrateful to complain. This is a work of immense industry, and of interest to students in many fields.

C. W. DAVID.

The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries from the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution. By HERBERT HEATON, M.A., M.Com. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, X.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. Pp. xii, 459. 16s.)

WITHIN self-imposed limits this is an excellent book. Written at first as a thesis on the condition of the Yorkshire woolen and worsted industries in the eighteenth century, it has been expanded to the limits indicated by the title. In the completed work the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries still claim two-thirds of the pages and these parts naturally remain most intimate and original. In them we catch glimpses of letter-books and of municipal or judicial records not accessible outside of Yorkshire, and contributing much to concreteness of description and illustration.

It might seem that an account of the woolen industry in an area where it rose early and finally became pre-eminent would serve as an epitome of its development in England as a whole. In a measure this is true. But to the end of the seventeenth century Yorkshire was only one of

three large producing areas and its stuffs remained, as they had been from the first, coarser and cheaper than those of East Anglia or of the Southwest. Its principal towns, too, except the city of York, came late into the field, and its worsted industry was a tardy expansion at the expense of East Anglia. The area described, therefore, is not quite typical either in its early history or in the character of its product, limitations of which Mr. Heaton is, of course, aware.

To the story of the earlier centuries the author has brought new information got from the alnage accounts. From them he has compiled a valuable table showing the contribution of all English counties to the 40,000 broadcloths annually made for sale at about 1470. Yorkshire's quota was then just under 5000, of which nearly one-half came from the city of York and only two-fifths from the West Riding. Even so, the output of the West Riding towns, with which the future lay, was three times as great as it had been in 1397. During the fifteenth century, therefore, there began in them and especially in Halifax a development of the domestic system which replaced the craft arrangements characteristic of the fourteenth century and of the city of York. From this conclusion of Mr. Heaton's, true as it is for Yorkshire, we may not generalize; for he has not got from the alnage accounts all that they reveal. Indeed, his total of 40,000 broadcloths would be reduced somewhat had he worked out the three-year average which, he admits, is desirable but which he thinks unattainable; and he should have noted that the years around 1470 were presumably years of depression. In particular he has not attempted to get the output for all of England at the end of the fourteenth century, as he has done for Yorkshire, nor in the middle of that century, for which time he misses the accounts altogether. An examination of these documents would have shown him that Yorkshire was laggard both in her general industrial development and in her breaking away from the craft system. Nor does his account of the Merchant Adventurers, the conveyers of English cloths to foreign markets, add much to our knowledge. He even fails in text and bibliography to refer to Schulze's account of the rivalry of English and Hanseatic merchants for the Baltic trade, a tale which reveals pretty clearly the ultimate mart for thousands of English woolens.

From the sixteenth century, however, the narrative is adequate. Mr. Heaton contends that most Yorkshire clothiers were humble men, each producing little more than one kersey a week, and that the predominance of such in contrast with larger producers is the only difference between the domestic industry of Yorkshire and that of the Southwest. He describes the frauds of the trade, especially the excessive stretching of cloth, the activity of the state in restraining these abuses and in regulating wages, the tenacious and successful conflict of the clothier with the alnager intent on a higher tax upon kerses,

the depression of the early seventeenth century due to pestilence and war, and the concurrent struggle to maintain foreign markets threatened by the mercantilist ideals of Holland and France. With the eighteenth century he brings us to the "period of progress". Between 1740 and 1800 the broadcloths produced in Yorkshire increased from 41,441 to 285,851 and the narrow cloths from 58,620 to 169,262—all this before more than twenty factories had appeared in the county. Some of the causes ascribed are of a general character—trade with a newly established colonial empire and improvements in national finance and communication—but particularly explicable of Yorkshire's advance was its supply of water-power, now fully utilized. The phenomenon of an eighteenth-century development, practically independent of the impetus given by new machinery and the factory system, suggests that forces were then at work in England which cannot be described in a narrow formula. For a scholarly exposition of this development, illustrated with vivid details of the conditions of manufacture and marketing, we owe Mr. Heaton much.

H. L. GRAY.

Tudor Constitutional Documents, A. D. 1485-1603. With an Historical Commentary. By J. R. TANNER, Litt.D., Fellow and formerly Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xxii, 636. 37 s. 6 d.)

THIS beautifully made volume does for the whole Tudor period in a more complete way what Prothero does for the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. in his *Select Statutes and other Constitutional Documents*. Salient statutes, parliamentary debates, cases, reports of treason trials, extracts from pamphlets, essays, and letters are marshalled to illustrate the foundations of the Tudor monarchy, the church settlements of Henry VIII. and his children, the functions of the king's secretary, and of the Council, the constitution and jurisdiction of the various courts, the law of treason, the organization and working of local government, the place of Parliament in the state, and finance.

The extracts are carefully chosen, and little of importance in the printed sources has been omitted, except perhaps Dudley's *Tree of Commonwealth*, a rare and important commentary on Henry VII.'s system. The most valuable and original section is that on local government; the most serious omission is the failure to discuss in a compact chapter the Tudor theory of sovereignty, although of course that is developed from place to place all through the book. The section on the church settlements, covering 189 out of 626 pages of text, is disproportionately long. In the discussion of the monasteries the attempt is again made to discover whether or not the monks were really evil in their living, without a suggestion of the real question whether the monastic establishments were any longer fulfilling any social or economic

function which warranted their continuing to receive large amounts of the national income. The social phase of the church movement as an expression of developed nationalism which ended in substituting patriotism for Christianity is unrecognized; its material aspect, with the importance of the church lands in every variation of policy to the final solution of saving one's soul and safeguarding one's newly acquired estates, is never hinted at.

Unfortunately for the larger usefulness of his book, Dr. Tanner has made his selections exclusively from material already printed; and indeed, for certain parts of his field he seems to be unaware of the great stores of original manuscript documents to be found in the Record Office and British Museum manuscript room. Otherwise, he would never have written, "there is a remarkable deficiency of the original material of history" for the reign of Henry VII. The failure to use these rich mines results in a disproportionate slimmess of the section on the foundations of the Tudor monarchy. A few pages from the Burghley correspondence would have vastly enriched the selections on the king's secretary and the Council, and raised a question whether after all "the Tudor Council is the King's slave".

In the discussion of finance there are some errors which should be corrected. Tudor finance is a particularly precarious business to deal with, without careful research in the records, since with the exception of some very valuable tables in Scott's *Joint Stock Companies*, little in print is trustworthy. Far from being "not very productive," "from the point of view of the royal revenue", the rents of the crown lands were throughout the whole Tudor period one of the greatest sources of recurring royal income, and even after Elizabeth's latest sales the rents were still very large. The customs and tonnage and poundage were farmed only in certain ports; the £24,000 (increased later to £50,000) from the farm (stated by Dr. Tanner on the authority of Prothero) is only part of the income from this source in Elizabeth's reign. The impositions were not laid "to protect the native merchant against the alien", for every circumstance attending their imposition by Mary shows they were laid to increase revenue. In the matter of expenditures Ireland was "a" rather than "the" disturbing factor until the last five years of Queen Elizabeth. Much more disturbing than Ireland were the wars with France in the time of Henry VIII., Edward, and Mary, and the aid to the Netherlands and the war with Spain in Elizabeth's reign. Calais was not "a source of revenue" for many years before it was lost, but cost Henry VIII., Edward, and Mary very large sums each year before it was fortunately restored to France.

The documents are accompanied by an historical commentary at the head of each section, full of detailed knowledge of a kind useful in examinations. With that there can be no quarrel, since the book, despite its importance, is frankly first of all a text-book for use of

English university students. While very complete accounts of the history of each branch of the Tudor government are given, owing to the form of the book the relative importance and connections of all the various organs are difficult to show as clearly as might be desired. The modern student of constitutional history is not, however, satisfied with a constitutional history which stops here. He desires to understand the cultural and economic basis of the government—the classes which form it and the cultural and economic forces which placed them in control. The nineteenth-century idea of the Tudor state as the “people at large” rallying around the hero kings of the house of Tudor, which seems to be accepted by Dr. Tanner, is not sufficient for the modern historian. The improvement of roads, which lessened distance; the development of the new science of bookkeeping and accountancy, which made supervision over vast extents of land from a distance possible; the rise of the gentry to new economic wealth through changes in methods of agriculture; the education of their sons either in law at the universities or in accountancy and bookkeeping in the houses of the great nobles, are very pertinent for the advent and continuation of the new centralized gentry commonwealth which is called the Tudor monarchy—and these factors are entirely overlooked in this really monumental work.

F. C. DIETZ.

English Government Finance, 1485-1558. By FREDERICK C. DIETZ, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. IX., no. 3.] (Urbana: the University. 1920. Pp. 245.)

THE first impression made by a reading of this excellent monograph is of its thoroughness. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the subject, the unusualness of the sources, the technicalities of sixteenth-century finance, and the obscurity of the devices of kings and ministers to obtain funds, no question arises without being thoroughly examined and clearly answered. Early Tudor finance is a closed book to almost all historical students. Mr. Dietz puts a wide-open volume in their hands.

The second impression is of the striking extent to which historical events can be clarified by studying their financial background. Not that the whole foreign policy of Henry VII., or the Reformation under Henry VIII., or the reaction under Mary, are to be explained as mere financial expedients of those rulers; but these events certainly have a new significance when it is seen how many steps in their development were taken in response to financial needs. The “Submission of the Clergy” of 1531, for instance, was a device for reaching two ends at the same time, and apparently, of equal interest to the king, his acknowledgment as head of the Church and additional income in a period of diminishing revenue and rising expense. Concomitant with all the

early measures of the Reformation was a financial policy forced upon the king and his minister by the danger of attack from Spain due to those measures. Long before the attack upon the monasteries, financial need had suggested and indeed made imminent the almost complete confiscation of the possessions of the Church, secular as well as temporal. It is an interesting parallel to see Henry VII. recuperating his finances at the expense of the nobility, Henry VIII. at the expense of the Church. The study of financial records in this degree of detail and thoroughness serves an almost equally useful purpose in the interpretation of some prominent personalities. The growth of the Empson and Dudley legend, with its partial justification, the inferiority of Wolsey and the excellence of Cromwell as finance ministers, the reckless financing of the period of Edward VI. and the partial rehabilitation in the reign of Mary, preparing a better soil for the growth of Elizabethan financial solidity, are all substantial contributions to a sane and trustworthy knowledge of history.

Nowhere in all history, not even in recent world experience, does the terrible cost of war and its baneful effect directly on finance and indirectly on many other sides of national life come out more clearly than in the difference between the careful, systematic, enlightened financial arrangements of the best period of the reign of Henry VII. and the reckless expenditure of his father's savings by Henry VIII. in his first and least justifiable war with France and the oppressive and injurious and undignified taxation compelled by his second.

It would be pleasant, if there were room, to pay tribute to Mr. Dietz's industry, independence of judgment, breadth of view that raise a somewhat technical study to the level of good general history; but the few remaining lines must be devoted somewhat reluctantly to a less pleasing criticism; that is, of the very bad proof-reading. This is not a captious criticism; mistakes of spelling, of figures, of prepositions, when frequent, give the reader a sense of uncertainty, a doubt of other names, figures, and statements which are almost certainly correct but are weakened in authority by the proximity of those which are certainly wrong. Such are, for instance, "Henry VI." for "Henry VII.", on page 54, and "of France" for "by France", a few lines below; "Henry III." for "Henry VIII." in a foot-note on page 47; "conventional" for "conventual" twice on page 109, following two mistakes in the spelling of proper names. Without further emphasizing this point, it may be remarked, first, that it is especially incumbent on a university series of publications to give an example of all rectitude to merely commercial publishers; and, secondly, that even the author of an excellent historical production must submit to have his work criticized in such particulars as may be for the future good of the cause. Henry C. Lea, who was both a publisher and a historian, once said to the reviewer that it had been an unfulfilled ambition of his life to get out a book in which there

was not a single misprint. In the last volume published before his death, in a foot-note "1639" appears for "1369".

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

Étude sur le Gouvernement de François I^{er} dans ses Rapports avec le Parlement de Paris. Par ROGER DOUCET, Agrégé d'Histoire, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres d'Alger. Volume I., 1515-1525. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1921. Pp. 379. 20 fr.)

THIS is a very interesting book. Its purpose is to show how "the traditional and still feudal monarchy of Louis XII." began to be converted, under Francis I., into the centralized absolutism which reached its culmination under Louis XIV. The method adopted is to describe a series of conflicts between the king and the Parlement de Paris, which was dominated, more than any other part of the body politic, by the methods and ideals of the preceding age, and therefore naturally became the centre of the forces opposed to the crown.

After an illuminating chapter on the political theories of the first part of the sixteenth century, the author takes up the problem of the relations of Church and State, which was brought to the fore by the Concordat of 1516. The king, who aspired completely to subject the French church to his own authority, cared solely for the maintenance of those of its "liberties" which rendered it independent of the pope: the Parlement, on the other hand, harked back to the system established by the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. "Gallicanisme royal" and "gallicanisme parlementaire" found themselves, for the first time, in direct opposition; but it was "gallicanisme royal" that won the day. Next comes the question of finance. New methods of obtaining revenue and credit were being invented, which rendered the king independent not only of grants from the national and local estates, but also of the tutelage of the *gens de finance*, to whom his predecessors had been constantly obliged to have recourse. The Parlement did not like the way things were going, and sought to put on the brake by an occasional refusal to register an edict or to sanction the creation of a new official; its opposition, however, was not sufficiently systematic or continuous to be effective. The king's power, on the other hand, was immensely strengthened, not only financially, but territorially and politically as well, by the results of the treason of the Duc de Bourbon, and the confiscation of his vast domains. A final chapter takes up the differences between the king on the one hand, and the Parlement and the University of Paris on the other, over the treatment to be accorded to the disciples of Lefèvre d'Étaples. Francis had little or no love for the Reformers, but he was far too much engrossed in other affairs to give enthusiastic support to a policy of persecution. The Parlement and the university, however, were consistent in their demands for the

suppression of heresy; and in this matter at least, as the latter part of the reign was to prove, they were unfortunately able to make good their contentions.

Everywhere else, however, the monarchy triumphed; and perhaps the most interesting thing about the whole story is that the crown should have gained the victory with such an unworthy representative. It has become a favorite pastime for historians of the sixteenth century "to hurl", as Bishop Stubbs once expressed it, "another stone at Francis I.", but lapidation has not hitherto been frequent until after the disaster of Pavia in 1525; during the first ten years of his reign it has been usual to represent the king in a more favorable light. M. Doucet, however, clearly shows that the same bad qualities which all men recognized at the close of Francis's life were present from the first—tyrannical instincts, weakness of will, and sudden outbursts of furious rage. Moreover, the king's attention was chiefly centred on foreign affairs, and such continuity and system as were visible in the internal management of the realm were for the most part due to his ministers; it was almost a case of "absolutisme sans le roi". On the other hand, the Parlement and the other bodies opposed to the crown were not favorably situated for effective resistance. Their claims to authority were based less on positive laws than on traditions which the increasingly monarchical atmosphere of the day was rapidly stifling. They dealt, or attempted to deal, with each case as it came up, in a different way, and not according to any fundamental principle; and they labored under the disadvantage that they often seemed to be acting less in the interests of the country as a whole than in those of the *gens de robe*. Under all the circumstances, they were almost foredoomed to defeat.

All students of the sixteenth century will be grateful to M. Doucet for this painstaking analysis, and will look forward with lively anticipation to the publication of his two remaining volumes.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. ALLEN, M.A., Collegii Mertonensis Socium, et H. M. ALLEN. Tomus IV., 1519-1521. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. Pp. xxxii, 639. 28s.)

AFTER an interval of nine years, sufficiently explained by the crowding of other, larger interests and by the technical difficulties of publication caused by the war, Mr. Allen returns to his task with undiminished ability and zeal. The same qualities of painstaking accuracy and judicious criticism which marked the earlier volumes are present here. If one could ever speak of a "final" edition, it would be in place to say here: "This work will never have to be done again." Problems there will always be, and it is one of Mr. Allen's chief merits as an editor that he seldom indulges in finalities of any sort. One does not find in his work the *ohne Zweifel* and the *nachgewiesen* of German criticism.

In the ticklish matter of chronology, for example, he is notably free from dogmatism. He points to the evidence in specific cases, but does not claim infallibility for any definite scheme of his own. Such flexibility is especially important in the case of the Erasmian correspondence because the meaning of a given letter is often to be determined only by its time-relation to other letters or to some group of events. Any fixed scheme is sure to involve perplexities and contradictions most baffling to the historian, whose interest it is to estimate the value of Erasmus's services to learning and to enlightenment.

The three years covered by the 260 letters of this volume, 1519, 1520, and 1521, are, perhaps, the most critical and in many ways the most interesting in Erasmus's whole experience. He had reached the summit of his fame as a scholar and as a sharp-tongued critic of contemporary manners and ideas. He was distinctly the most famous man of letters of his time. Yet it was precisely this conspicuous eminence that led him into his most trying situations. Up to this time he had moved steadily along his chosen way without notable friction, but now, since the fateful Leipzig disputation of 1519, the great proclamations and the excommunication of 1520, and the double ban of 1521, the Lutheran affair had come crowding in upon his purely intellectual preoccupations, with a challenge he dared not accept, yet could not altogether refuse.

That is one of the undercurrents that run through the whole correspondence of these critical years. The other is the rather pitiful controversy with the Englishman Edward Lee, an antagonist quite unworthy of his steel, but peculiarly annoying because his attack was directed to the great scholar's most sensitive point, his scholarly ability. In 1516 he had documented his learning and his essential orthodoxy by his monumental edition of the Greek New Testament and his comments thereon. Frankly admitting certain slips and incompletenesses, he was proceeding to a new edition when the busy swarm of the scholastikers came buzzing about his ears. Lee made himself the mouthpiece of this party; Erasmus replied in kind, and there ensued the bitter squabble reflected in almost every utterance of his during this period. To keep himself free from entanglement with either of the two religious parties and to defend the soundness of his scholarship: these were his absorbing interests.

Of the letters here given eight are printed for the first time, but none of these makes any important contribution to our knowledge. Valuable *addenda* with a few *corrigenda* to all four volumes occupy twelve pages, and two appendixes, nos. XIV. and XV., give interesting biographical details. Although no definite promise of continuance is made in the preface, it is a pleasure to notice (p. 621) reference to numbers so far ahead as to indicate substantial work already done on succeeding volumes. A provisional index of correspondents for volumes I.-IV. will be replaced by a fuller one when the work is completed.

La Légation du Cardinal Morone près l'Empereur et le Concile de Trente, Avril-Décembre 1563. [Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. no. 233.] Par G. CONSTANT, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1922. Pp. lxxv, 612. 50 fr.)

M. CONSTANT'S work has a long prenatal history. Presented as second thesis for the doctorate at the Sorbonne, it was approved and permission to print given after a favorable report of M. Pfister, now dean of the Faculty of Letters at Strasbourg. The manuscript was then sent to a printer at Lille, and was actually set up in type just as the Germans entered Lille in the autumn of 1914. Having need of type for their own purposes, the invaders redistributed the letters. Work on it was again taken up in August, 1920, and at last it has appeared.

That we now have the results of M. Constant's labors is a subject of congratulation to ourselves even more than to him. This edition of Morone's correspondence and of other documents relating to his legation at the court of Ferdinand and at the Council of Trent, during the last months of its session, is a work of importance done in a practically faultless manner. That a few of the documents here published have appeared elsewhere during the long period while the book remained in manuscript, does not really hurt it. Neither the great series of acts and diaries of the Council of Trent, nor the *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, have touched the subject here presented, nor has Pastor published any of it among the documents appended to his *History of the Popes*. M. Constant not only prints the texts in acceptable form but elucidates them with a wealth of learning.

Giovanni Morone of Milan was one of the ablest diplomats of his time. At the age of twenty, in 1529, he satisfactorily discharged a mission for Pope Clement VII. at the court of France. Later he was sent as nuncio to Germany several times, and proved his value as a peacemaker after the too belligerent zeal of Aleander. In fact, his advanced opinions and his championship of an Italian book later branded as heretical gave offense in some Catholic quarters, even while he thus made his services more acceptable to the reforming party. The crowning achievement of his career was the mission to Ferdinand and to the Council of Trent here so fully set forth in the original documents. The Emperor was both afraid to affront the German Protestants and anxious to carry through a reform in the Catholic church. A short quotation from one of the memorials he drew up on the subject shows his boldness in interfering with the ecclesiastical power:

Quoniam in iis quae ad aedificandam Ecclesiam ac continendum in religione christianum populum attinent, nimia quaedam negligentia, imo torpor et quasi veteranus quidam eos qui haec curare debebant invasit, factum est ut nimia haereticorum diligentia, dum videlicet Petrus dormit, Judas vigilat, ipsa propemodum Ecclesiae fundamenta et bases subruere coeperint.

How Morone parried these attempts of the Emperor, how Borromeo, who often acted for Pius IV., proposed a counter-reform of the temporal power by the Church, how Morone stood for the papal initiative known as the "legatis proponentibus", how he advised against the excommunication of Elizabeth, how he finally brought the council to the end ardently desired by the pope, and how he received the hearty thanks of the Curia for his great services,—all this is set forth in the present useful compilation with a fullness not found elsewhere.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Histoire de la Marine Française. Tome V. La Guerre de Trente Ans: Colbert. Par CHARLES DE LA RONCIÈRE, Conservateur à la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1920. Pp. 748. 40 fr.)

THERE are few additions to our knowledge of naval history that are more warmly welcomed than a new volume of M. de la Roncière's monumental work. Students know well what to expect from it and in the present installment they will find all the familiar qualities which they have learned to appreciate. There is the same exhaustive care, the same wealth of documentation, and the same wide reading in a cosmopolitan mass of authorities. Nothing in any language that could elucidate the subject or place it firmly in its international setting seems to have been overlooked, and the result is that the student feels he can resort to the book with a sense of unusual security.

The volume covers the period from 1635 to 1682. Opening with a continuation of Richelieu's work it gives us an intimate picture of how he endeavored to use the new weapon he had striven to create to influence and enhance the position of France during the Thirty Years War, and how Mazarin built on the foundations his master had laid. Here, in the section on the "War with Spain" (1648-1659), we are given an interesting sight of the first efforts of the Cromwellian navy through French eyes. The point of view is indeed wholly French, and with little or no sympathetic appreciation of the difficulties and ideals of the new-born island republic. But it is none the worse for that, since we have only to master a passing sense of irritation to find we have a brighter light on the natural but intense prejudices which Cromwell's foreign policy had to overcome and to see in the fact that they were overcome in the alliance that eventuated what a solvent of international difficulties a powerful navy can be.

From this point, with a passing cry of lamentation over the withering of the colonial policy which Richelieu had inaugurated, we pass to the last of the Crusades, the "Candian War", and see the medieval enthusiasms of the men that fought contrasted in the men that planned with a wholly modern appreciation of what the command of the Mediterranean meant. It is not within the scope of M. de la Roncière's purpose

to develop such aspects of the history he is writing. Those who know his previous volumes will not expect it. It is sufficient that with rare restraint he has devoted his space and powers to a sober presentation of the facts, which have so long been wanting in their entirety, and has left others well equipped to draw the wider conclusions. They are indeed very obvious and the whole of this section as well as the later one on "France against Continental Europe" will be read as an illuminating prologue to the complex naval and military problems of the following century, in which the forces at the back of the operations of M. de la Roncière's narrative reasserted themselves with ever increasing intensity and in endless variety, till years after Trafalgar was fought. In the period of the present volume we have of course no more than the first traces of the compelling call of the Mediterranean on the Atlantic Maritime Powers, but in the exploits of the Cromwellian admirals and in the Dutch wars—particularly the third—we are shown the pregnant beginnings.

The first Dutch war has been so thoroughly explored in the publications of the British Navy Records Society that it is not to be expected that M. de la Roncière could add much to existing knowledge. For the others he has more to say that is new. Possibly the most interesting contribution he has to make is his treatment of the Battle of Solebay. It is a mark of his general detachment that he does not seek to disguise the sorry part which the French fleet played nor can he find, as was to be hoped, a satisfactory explanation. All he can do is by a skillful selection of extracts to give a vivid impression of the controversy which raged in the French fleet itself after the battle and of the shame and anger that was felt in France in contrast with the high admiration which Michael de Ruyter inspired. As soon as the combined fleet was back in the Thames d'Estrées and Duquesne had each a party in hot altercation and there was a third abusing them both, while Colbert was denouncing d'Estrées for the modesty of his despatch and impressing the doctrine that though modesty is all very well in a private individual it is not a virtue in a commander-in-chief speaking of the arms of the king. The art of writing a despatch, he explains, is to exalt the glory of the nation by emphasizing the exploits of individuals and concealing their shortcomings. Clearly more was expected from the untried fleet, and there seems no foundation for a widespread belief that d'Estrées had instructions to husband his fleet for ulterior objects. On the contrary it appears that the French officers had formal orders from the king to show the English that they would not yield a point to them in valor and staunchness but would even surpass them. The simple explanation seems to lie in the difficulty, which in the British service had been fairly well overcome during the Commonwealth, of providing adequate command for a fleet. Sailors who were accomplished seamen had little experience of tactics or the conduct of large forces. Soldiers who had the experience knew little of the sea. Both were necessary, and

conflict and jealousy were almost inevitable. A general like d'Estrées would not brook the open contempt of an accomplished seaman like Duquesne, and Duquesne being only second in command was not too ready to repair the mistakes of his inexperienced chief. The idea that the French were purposely held back may well have arisen from a general direction that appears to have been given to captains not to engage too precipitately. It was probably the outcome of a piece of advice which M. de la Roncière tells us Charles II. gave when he visited the French fleet at Spithead. Praising the vigor and courage of his allies he warned them that too much ardor may upset the order that is essential in naval actions, and particularly the French predilection for boarding. "It is wrong", he said "to attempt boarding till the enemy is in thorough disorder and even then instead of being content with three or four prizes, the object must be the complete destruction of the enemy's fleet." Strange as it may seem there was a strong touch of Nelson in the Merry Monarch, and if the French showed a marked respect for his opinion it is no wonder.

The mystery of Solebay is but one of the many points on which M. de la Roncière throws fresh light, but it serves well to show how much the richer we are for his long and unremitting labor. Nor is it only on naval operations that his work has value. There is also a section on Colbert's administration which gives in detail a comprehensive account of everything that went to establish France as a first-class naval power and another on the collateral activities of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*. The volume concludes with the effort made in the years 1680-1683 to curb the Barbary pirates and so rounds off an imperfectly known chapter in history with a fullness of matter which must long remain indispensable for the special period and even beyond the special subject.

JULIAN S. CORBETT.

The Empire at War. Edited by Sir CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. [For the Royal Colonial Institute.] Volume I. (Oxford: University Press. 1921. Pp. xi, 324. 15s.)

WHILE the World War was in progress the Royal Colonial Institute planned a comprehensive historical work on the subject of British imperial defense, the purpose being "to trace the growth of Imperial co-operation in war time prior to the late War, to give side by side a complete record of the effort made in the late War by every unit of the Overseas Empire from the greatest to the smallest, and also to tell in what particular ways and to what extent the fortunes and the development of each part were affected by the War". When complete it is to consist of five volumes, of which the first, by the general editor, Sir Charles Lucas, has now appeared. The period surveyed in this introductory volume extends from 1655, when troops recruited in the English

West Indies participated in the conquest of Jamaica, to the great uprising throughout the empire in the August days of 1914. The author's principal object is to show how the colonies and dependencies have co-operated in the military and naval defense of the empire. His qualifications for the task need not be enlarged upon here.

Military co-operation came first in point of time. The withdrawal of the British garrisons from the self-governing colonies, which took place during the sixties and seventies of the last century, threw upon those colonies the responsibility for their own military defense, and contributed to the development among them of a new sense of imperial partnership. "I have not the smallest doubt", said Gladstone in 1861, "that in the proportion that responsibilities are accepted by communities, they will be more disposed to go beyond the bare idea of self-defence, and to render loyal and effective assistance in the struggles of the Empire," and abundantly have events justified his confidence. When in 1885, following the tragedy of Gordon at Khartoum, New South Wales, of its own free will and at its own expense, sent a military contingent to the Sudan, the greater efforts made by the dominions in the South African War and in the World War were forecast. In addition to giving a careful description of the development of defense forces in all the self-governing colonies, the author devotes several chapters to the Indian army and its activities. Here, however, he is not dealing with voluntary co-operation, as in the case of the self-governing colonies, for, as he says, "Imperial co-operation in the dependent half of the Empire was a matter of dictation by the central authority." He is not concerned to draw the line between defense and offense—perhaps it cannot be drawn sharply—but the Indian army has proved a most effective instrument for carrying on operations that can scarcely be called defensive. "Only in the light of the late war", writes Sir Charles, "have we realized the hideous possibilities which would assuredly emerge from a Germanized Asia or Africa—countless legions of coloured janissaries, trained and organized to follow leaders as ruthless as they are resolute, and to impose the will of their masters upon a terrorized world." No one who agrees with him as to the general beneficence of British imperial rule would stigmatize as "janissaries" the Indian mercenaries who have been such a potent factor in extending that rule, but unfriendly critics of British imperialism might do so. It is all a question of the point of view.

In naval as in military defense the same principle of co-operation is to be observed. Responsibility for naval self-defense was not thrust upon the self-governing colonies by any action of the mother country, but was voluntarily assumed by them, in greater or less degree, and by 1902 all of them, except Canada, which under the Laurier régime was following a policy of "friendly isolation", were contributing in one form or another, each as it saw fit. Before 1914 Australian nationality had

expressed itself in the creation of a dominion navy, entirely under Australian control in time of peace but to act as a part of the greater imperial navy in time of war. The history of the dominion defense forces, military and naval, as the author relates it, throws much light upon the constitutional character of the British commonwealth of nations.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER.

British History in the Nineteenth Century (1782-1901). By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 445. 12 s. 6d.)

"THE philosophy of Dr. Johnson's England was static, not evolutionary: the world was not expected to change. Civilisation, it was thought, had 'arrived', after a number of barbarous ages, and was going to stay comfortably where it was." The idea of "progress" did not occupy, much less haunt, the mind of Dr. Johnson and his contemporaries. Britain was a self-satisfied and reasonably happy island. Life was largely rural, simple, and essentially medieval in its methods of production. A capable aristocracy shouldered the high obligations of nobility; the lower orders accepted without question the stations to which Providence had assigned them. If there was much physical and moral degradation in the darker corners of the land, it was off the accustomed highways of those who dwelt in the sun, and, besides, as none conceived of progress, all accepted wretchedness as a matter of course.

Such was the complacent island now rudely shocked by the unthinkable and unholy ideas and processes of the French Revolution and undermined with the irresistibility of fate by the unseen forces of the Industrial Revolution. Out of this situation sprang the conflicting elements that gave distinctive character to British history in the nineteenth century. The spirit of Old England was the spirit of immobility; the spirit of nineteenth-century England was the spirit of change. The profound economic and social changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution made it difficult for the civilization of Dr. Johnson's England "to stay comfortably where it was". A "matchless constitution" no longer sufficed. This newly created problem of readjustment would have been comparatively simple if the Industrial Revolution could have run its course and congealed, but its processes were continuous and progressive throughout the century. The problem was, therefore, one of successive adjustments to keep pace with a society changing with a rapidity unparalleled in history. In a succession of crises it was British political sagacity that preserved England from the experiences of the Continent and permitted the triumphant forward march of the English constitution.

This, in essence, is Mr. Trevelyan's conception of the meaning of nineteenth-century British history. It emphasizes the vital relation of economic and social factors to political history, political history being the

surface indications of what lies deeper. This kind of study, based largely on contemporary sources, some of which have received scant attention hitherto, imparts vitality and a sense of reality to Mr. Trevelyan's narrative. In the distinctive features which flow from such a conception of his task most readers will probably find the strength and value of his book, particularly in the illuminating treatment of the confusing currents of the great reform movements and the by-play of politics. Those parts dealing with imperial and foreign affairs, displaying a fair degree of honest British prejudice, are essentially traditional in treatment and less enlightening. Readers who are sympathetic to Mr. Trevelyan's general point of view will regret to find that the splendid execution of his plan in the first part of the work is not sustained throughout. After the struggle for the Bill of 1832 the relation of economic and social to political affairs becomes blurred, and the narrative lapses noticeably to the traditional political account.

This is Mr. Trevelyan's third contribution to nineteenth-century history. With memories still vivid of the admirable biographies of Grey and Bright one can hardly lay aside this latest book without some feeling of disappointment. The author's felicity or brilliancy of phrase has lost none of its charm, but he has not marshalled his materials in so masterly a fashion. A rather strict adherence to chronological treatment has broken the continuity in the development of particular movements and has brought a medley of topics into certain chapters, producing an unpleasant sensation of scrappiness, sometimes of confusion. Some readers, too, will question the wisdom of devoting some fifty pages to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period in a work of 424 pages on British history, while the period since 1870 is crowded into 84. Be it so; whenever Mr. Trevelyan writes, American students of history will read with satisfaction, for his scholarship, his unusual opportunities to get at sources inaccessible to American students, his mastery of language, all contribute to make what he writes thoroughly worth while.

GEORGE HEDGER.

The French Revolution. By GEORGE H. ALLEN, Ph.D. Volume I. *The Prelude.* (Philadelphia: George Barrie's Sons. 1922. Pp. xxi, 319. \$9.00.)

THIS is the first installment of an extended work on the French Revolution, undertaken because the author believes that revolutionary changes are the most significant result of the recent war and that, accordingly, the study of an equally great, and somewhat analogous, upheaval will prove to be opportune. He does not look upon the French prototype as a horrible example, as do his publishers, who in a long introductory "Note", bound with the volume, declare that it was the "supreme experiment in social democracy" and that if the Russians had reflected sufficiently on its disastrous consequences they might "have

saved themselves many sorrows". He explains that it "conferred inestimable benefits on mankind". In the first volume, called *The Prelude*, he carries the story to the end of July, 1789. About half the chapters are devoted to a sketch of the development of the kingdom prior to the accession of Louis XVI. It is written in an agreeable style and with a sympathetic tone, but the treatment is superficial and is marred by too many errors. The amount of attention paid to the royal mistresses is characteristic. The life of the people and especially of the peasantry is described in a perfunctory manner. The close resemblance of certain statements to passages in Lowell's *Eve of the French Revolution* does not seem to argue serious independent investigation of the subject. For example, the résumé of the Four Articles of 1682 which Lowell gives appears with hardly the change of a word. Among the errors is the mention twice of the princes of Condé and of Conti as the sons of the Count of Artois. The number of dioceses in France is not stated correctly, apparently through a misreading of Lowell's figures. On page 211 Rohan is called "Archbishop" of Strasbourg, while on page 101 Strasbourg is rightly referred to as a bishopric. A more curious error is the explanation under a print of the Diamond Necklace that it is "From the original in possession of the French government". According to the context this can only refer to the necklace. The same print appears in Funck-Brentano's little volume on the Diamond Necklace, but the distinguished Frenchman does not intimate that his government is so fortunate as to have in its keeping the original. The Comte de la Motte is supposed to have broken up the necklace and sold the stones in London. Another error may be mentioned. It is said that "the court required that the old costumes of 1614 be worn in the States-General" to maintain the distinction between the orders. In the official directions concerning costume the only reference to the period of the States General of 1614 is to the effect that the noble deputy's hat shall be "retroussé à la Henri IV." The deputies of the Third Estate were to have "un manteau court . . . tel que les personnes de robe sont dans l'usage de la porter à la cour; . . . un chapeau . . . tel que les ecclésiastiques le portent lorsqu'ils sont en habit de cour".

B:

The Economic Causes of Modern War: a Study of the Period 1878-1918. By JOHN BAKELESS, M.A. [Williams College, David A. Wells Prize Essays, Number 6.] (New York: printed for the Department of Political Science of Williams College by Moffat, Yard, and Company. 1921. Pp. xiv, 265. \$4.00.)

A DISTINCT service has been rendered to the reading, thinking world by this clear and scholarly survey of the economic causes of the wars which have afflicted mankind during the last generation. In the forty-

year period 1878-1918 the world was free from armed conflict only four years, while over fifty wars are entered in the record. With peculiar freedom from bias the author has searched the records of the twenty major conflicts of this period to find the dominant causal influences. He discriminates between the immediate occasion of conflict, often trivial in character, and the real influences at work. It is no surprise to a geographer to see such a study go at once to the roots of things, and to find that the geographic and economic relations are predominant in the causes of most of the wars which history records.

The author devotes a chapter to the economic causes of the wars of European nations in the scramble for colonies, and punctures the hypocritical self-abnegation advertised in the phrases "advance of civilization" and "the white man's burden".

The twenty major conflicts in the modern period are discussed in a valuable chapter, and the significant economic influences noted—the Suez Canal in Egypt, gold and diamonds in South Africa, nitrates in Peru, Bolivia, and Chile, sugar in Cuba—the list runs on, an instructive survey.

In the chapter on the causes of the World War, it is shown clearly that "underneath all the clamor about making the world safe for democracy, the sins of militarism, the guilt of the German, the neutrality of Belgium, and the saving of civilization from the beast, has lain the economic motive".

The succeeding chapters discuss the prevention of war by international finance, internationalism and economic conflict, and the League of Nations. And the breadth of view, the fair statement of the causes involved, and the sanity of judgment of the author carry through to the end.

In a work so entirely excellent, it seems a bit ungenerous to criticize adversely. What the reviewer offers is intended as constructive criticism. We find (p. 18) that "an overpopulated state can not be agricultural; it must turn to industry". Patently we are here forgetting India's 300,000,000 and China's 400,000,000, nearly half the population of the earth, and almost wholly agricultural. In the Western world, states have become overpopulated by *becoming* industrial. And in this age of labor-saving machinery, it is only the state or region blessed with the inanimate power of *coal*, which can work up the iron, and run the factories and the transportation services, by which dense populations may be supported. It is the bank account of *coal* and *iron* more than it is British blood, or the position of the British Isles, that in the final analysis accounts for British commercial development and financial leadership. The material foundation of the rise of Germany, and the sanction upon which a Junker programme of world domination could be built, was the possession upon German soil of more than twice the coal resource of Britain. Moreover, it is not merely a difference in blood and culture

which marks the "decadence" of France. The rural population of Germany showed an absolute decline between the years 1871 and 1914. The increase in German population in that period was due wholly to the growth of industrial cities, made possible by the use of coal. Had the coal-fields been in France and not in Germany, it is not conceivable that the urban population would not have developed in France, with Germany showing decadence.

Nor is it true, as stated later, that there has been "a decrease in German agriculture, since an agricultural country cannot be densely populated". German agriculture did not show a decrease. In only one significant line, the number of sheep, has there been a decrease, and military strategy can give a very good reason for that. This fallacy occurs again: "Germany was . . . a state *completely* dependent upon other states for . . . almost all the food of a population which averages 310 to the square mile." This is wide of the mark. A German estimate (1914) had only 19 per cent. of the population dependent upon the outside world for food.

In his analysis of the causes of the World War the author does not mention the tremendous significance of Haber's method of the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen, nor of the integration of German capital in its syndicated banks, and their control of industry, commerce, and the press. Nor is there a proper presentation of the power of the German Kartell, and of German "dumping", nor is there a suggestion of the tragic significance (to Germany) of the anti-dumping law invented by Canada in 1908 and copied by South Africa shortly after.

And yet, the volume is a very valuable contribution to the literature of international relations, and is recommended without reservation to students and teachers in this field.

J. PAUL GOODE.

Some Revolutions and other Diplomatic Experiences. By the late Right Hon. Sir HENRY G. ELLIOT, G.C.B. Edited by his Daughter. (London: John Murray. 1922. Pp. xv, 300. 16s.)

ELLIOT enjoyed a long diplomatic career, but the reader of these interesting, though not entirely trustworthy, records of imperial policy and official eavesdropping may be permitted to doubt whether the course of his career was determined altogether by his ability. He was second son (1817-1907) of the second Earl of Minto and was brother-in-law of Lord John Russell; he belonged to the dynasty of the old British Foreign Office. Eighteen years had been spent in diplomatic service at St. Petersburg, the Hague, Vienna, and Copenhagen before 1859, when he was appointed minister to Naples. The detailed reminiscences begin with this mission, which occupies a full third of the volume, and regarding which abundant quotations are made from a diary, and from letters of the period addressed to the writer's brother George, private secretary of Lord John Russell.

The principal revelation of this section of the reminiscences is the animus against Italy, and against Italians of all parties, shown by Elliot throughout. The uninitiated have been led by historians hitherto to suppose that the British minister at Naples in 1860 had much sympathy for Italy; but the error is now made clear from the minister's own contemporary statements. He is particularly hard upon the Neapolitans, who, he says, "will not tell the truth when a lie will answer their purpose" (p. 101), and who, according to his view, did nothing to help Garibaldi in his famous revolutionary undertaking; "Sicilians" are "fit for nothing" (p. 86); Garibaldi's Thousand had "scarcely a shred of character among them" (p. 18); Victor Emmanuel II. is accused of "treacherous duplicity" (p. 24), and Garibaldi of having encouraged assassination (p. 88). Yet in the end Elliot favored the annexation of the Two Sicilies to Piedmont as best for British interests.

One should remember, in reading these light-hearted accusations, not only that Elliot had had no experience in Italy prior to 1859, but that his most mature previous diplomatic experience, saving a brief stay at Copenhagen, had been at Vienna, where all that made for the reawakening of Italy was decried as detrimental to the interests of Austria; and even Palmerston had pronounced support of Austria as of primary importance to England herself.

The principal events of the Neapolitan mission described in the reminiscences had already been given in Elliot's despatches published in contemporary British blue-books. But many new details of interest are given; reports of conversations with the Sardinian minister Villamarina are valuable; and Elliot's account of Captain Palmer's secret gift of American powder to Garibaldi in the critical hour of Palermo is amusing: Palmer's warship, the *Iroquois*, was left "so short of powder that she cannot even fire a salute" (p. 39). Elliot's gravest error was in sweepingly condemning Sicilians and Neapolitans for having rendered no effective aid to Garibaldi: "The Sicilians, Calabrians and other south country volunteers" were "absolutely useless" (p. 94); not a single Neapolitan "that I have heard of joined Garibaldi or risked the tip of his nose" (p. 93). How then, we may ask, did Garibaldi, with one thousand badly equipped volunteers, beat Francis II., who had a trained army of 130,000 men? Had Elliot, who declined to believe in the miracle by St. Januarius (p. 14), been persuaded to believe in a miracle by Garibaldi? Furthermore, in criticizing deficiency of revolutionary activity on the part of the Neapolitans themselves, he fails to take into consideration his own statement that 150,000 liberals had been condemned to such police surveillance as to make early revolutionary action on their part impossible (p. 9); and he forgets that there were 46 Neapolitans who had managed to enlist in Garibaldi's Thousand, their risk having been, if captured, reasonably certain death.

Elliot had quite as little sympathy for the French as for the Italians, and could never get on pleasantly with his French colleagues, with Brenier

at Naples, with Bourée at Athens, which was his next post, or with Bourgoing at Constantinople, where he remained from 1867 till 1876. He hated the Russians fiercely and consistently, and the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, Ignatiev, in particular.

Those with whom he deeply sympathized were the Austrians and the Turks, the two peoples which represented the negation of the great principle of nationality. His prejudice in favor of Austria blinded him to the latter's deliberate design of aggrandizement and annexation during the revolution in Bosnia and Herzegovina of 1875-1877 (p. 212). And it was his well-known prejudice in favor of the Turks as against the Christians in the Near East which made him a leading figure in the scandal of withheld information upon the Bulgarian atrocities, which nearly overthrew the Beaconsfield cabinet in 1876. Elliot, charged with having misinformed his own government then, devotes to his defense several pages of the recollections, which in this part are of later date; he endeavors to throw upon Sir Philip Francis, British consul-general at Constantinople, blame for having withheld from the embassy a vice-consular despatch. But the son of Francis has impugned the truth of the recollections in this regard (*London Times Literary Supplement*, May 4, 1922), claiming that vice-consuls were accustomed to send duplicates of political despatches directly to the embassy, so that the consul-general could not have been expected to forward his copy to Elliot; in any case the latter had culpably ignored at this time a signed report containing similar information upon Bulgarian atrocities received from Drs. Long and Washburn of Robert College.

This volume was privately printed by Elliot during his lifetime (1900); the editing of the present issue is by his daughter, who has faithfully supported the writer's prejudices in introduction, appendix, and notes.

H. NELSON GAY.

Russia's Foreign Relations during the Last Half Century. By Baron S. A. KORFF, D.C.L., Professor of Political Science, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. 227. \$2.25.)

THOSE who had the privilege of hearing the lectures so ably delivered by Baron Korff before the Institute of Politics at Williamstown last year, and a much wider public besides, will be rejoiced that these lectures have now appeared in book form. Russia's foreign policy of the past half-century has seldom been presented to American readers from the Russian standpoint; and in this case the author is not only a distinguished scholar, but a prominent Liberal, and one who has had close personal contacts with the men and affairs to be described.

The Congress of Berlin forms the starting-point of this survey, and the March revolution of 1917 its terminus. Within these limits the

author reviews successively the history of Russia's relations with France, England, China, Japan, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan states, Germany, and Sweden. This method of procedure inevitably involves a considerable amount of repetition, but it makes for clarity, and was probably preferable to a strictly chronological treatment. The final chapter is devoted to a very sensible analysis of the problem of secret diplomacy.

Dealing in brief compass with so vast and difficult a subject, and made up of lectures addressed primarily to what may, with all respect, be called a popular audience, this volume contains scarcely any facts not known to professional historians, and no diplomatic "revelations". It offers a clear, comprehensive, and concise summary of Russia's foreign relations during a momentous period. It presents many interesting views and side-lights, such as, for instance, the author's explanation of the disillusioned attitude of the Russian Liberals toward the alliance with France, or his regret that President Roosevelt forced on the Peace of Portsmouth prematurely, before the Autocracy had been forced to surrender at home, or his characterization of Panslavism as "prompted much more by hatred of Germany than by love of [the] Slavs" (p. 96). The book is written with serene impartiality, moderation, and freedom from patriotic rancor or prejudice. Indeed, the author criticizes his country's statesmen and policies rather more severely than those of foreign countries.

On the other hand, a fair number of errors have crept into the volume. One is a little surprised to read that the first deposition of Alexander of Battenberg on August 21, 1886, was the work of Stambolov (p. 120); that Germany at the end of 1897 first established herself in the Kwang-Tung peninsula and later exchanged that position for Kiao-chow (pp. 63-64); or that the Young Turkish revolution of 1908 was altogether the work of Germany (who "deliberately let loose the Turkish revolutionary forces and carried out her eastern plans with great precision". "And everything was accomplished exclusively through German help and German inspiration"—pp. 136-137). The reviewer has been much mystified by the alleged proposal of Aehrenthal to the Powers in July, 1908, that Austria be allowed to annex the sanjak of Novibazar (p. 107). There are obvious contradictions between the statements made on pages 85 and 176 about Russian policy toward Sweden, and between the dates given on pages 45 and 141 for the treaty by which Russia was promised Constantinople.

The author remarks that in tracing Russia's foreign relations "one must keep in mind not only the social forces that move nations to certain ends and achieve national aims, but also the rôle played by the various personalities, the statesmen at the helm of their countries" (pp. 1 and 2). One could wish that Baron Korff had found the opportunity to discuss more at length both of these two great sets of factors; to give

a more detailed and adequate characterization of the leading Russian statesmen of the period, and a more systematic and complete analysis of the needs, motives, and aims that directed their foreign policy.

R. H. L.

Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Entente politik der Vorkriegsjahre. Herausgegeben von B. VON SIEBERT, ehemaliger Sekretär der Kaiserlich Russischen Botschaft in London. (Berlin and Leipzig: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger. 1921. Pp. vi, 827. \$2.70 bound.)

Entente Diplomacy and the World: Matrix of the History of Europe, 1909-14. Translated from the Original Texts in his Possession by B. DE SIEBERT, late Secretary of the Imperial Russian Embassy at London. Edited, arranged, and annotated by GEORGE ABEL SCHREINER, Political and War Correspondent in Europe during the War of the Associated Press of America. (New York: Harper and Brothers.¹ 1921. Pp. xxxii, 762. \$9.00.)

THIS collection includes what are presumably the most important despatches exchanged between the Foreign Offices of St. Petersburg, London, and Paris, and the reports of the Russian diplomatic representatives at all the important European capitals. It covers the greatest variety of diplomatic action: the Far East, Persia, North Africa, the Balkans, the Austro-Serb problem, Constantinople, the Bagdad Railway, and the general relations of the Entente with the Triple Alliance. It is so complete that the main lines of Russian policy before the war can be drawn with a degree of accuracy rarely possible so soon after the events in question. The political significance of this publication is greater in that the German defense to the indictment of the Versailles Treaty (and the reparation clauses rest to a large extent upon Germany's responsibility therein stated) is based chiefly upon counter-charges directed against Russia.

There is nothing that leads the reviewer to doubt the authenticity of the documents, but it seems probable that the editors have not been entirely candid as to their provenance. De Siebert (as he is called in the American edition) or von Siebert (as he appears in the German), who was formerly secretary of the Russian Embassy at London, implies that the originals came into his possession in the course of his diplomatic duties. But such officials do not ordinarily retain copies of correspondence passing through their hands. It is curious also that he should have taken the trouble to translate the originals, which he states are in Russian, French, and English, into German, the language of the

¹ The book bears the name of this firm as publishers, but we are informed by them that they do not publish it, nor does the firm of Putnam, who printed it; copies can be obtained from the office of the periodical *Issues of Today*, 132 Nassau Street, New York. Ed.

European edition. Mr. Headlam-Morley, in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1922, asks whether these documents are not in fact copies taken before the war by German secret agents, whose success in securing Russian diplomatic papers is attested by the disclosures of the late Professor Schiemann and the memoirs of von Bethmann-Hollweg. If we accept this plausible explanation, it follows that this collection is fathered by the German government, which evidently hoped that the documents would discredit Entente policy. The same thought was perhaps in the mind of the American editor, Mr. Schreiner, who is well known as an anti-Entente journalist and who asserts in the periodical *Issues of Today* of June 18, 1921, that Sir George Buchanan at the orders of his government paid half a million pounds in a fruitless attempt to suppress these documents; no evidence accompanied this assertion and it is explicitly denied by Headlam-Morley.

However much we may regret that the historical introductions and annotations of the American edition have not been written by one possessing a more scholarly background and a less pronounced anti-Entente bias, the value of the documents remains; and their significance is the more to be emphasized if, as seems probable, Wilhelmstrasse had them in its possession before 1914. For they seem to indicate definitely that English policy was always essentially defensive; in every crisis England did her utmost to discover a peaceful solution. The understanding with Russia was obviously conceived not with the purpose of threatening Germany but merely to protect England from the menace of the German fleet. On the Russian side the defensive character of the Entente appears equally plain whether we cite the report of the Reval conversations or the documents of 1912 and 1913, which show that Russia insisted that she would not go to war to secure a port on the Adriatic for Serbia and continually exercised a restraining influence on the ambitions of the latter power. On the other hand, if the documents tend to acquit the Entente of aggressive intentions, they point the danger and stupidity of the complex system of alliance in which before the war all European statesmen were caught.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

What Really Happened at Paris: the Story of the Peace Conference, 1918-1919, by American Delegates. Edited by EDWARD MAND-
DELL HOUSE and CHARLES SEYMOUR, Litt.D. (New York:
Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. xiii, 528. \$4.50.)

THE volume edited by Colonel House and Professor Seymour consists of a series of eighteen lectures delivered in the spring of 1921 by members of the American Delegation to the Peace Conference. A general idea of their range and value may be gathered from the following chapter heads: Preparations for Peace, by Sidney Edward Mezes; the Atmosphere and Organization of the Peace Conference, by Clive

Day; the New Boundaries of Germany, by Charles Homer Haskins; Poland, by Robert Howard Lord; the End of an Empire: Remnants of Austria-Hungary, by Charles Seymour; Fiume and the Adriatic Problem, by Douglas Wilson Johnson; Constantinople and the Balkans, by Isaiah Bowman; the Armenian Problem and the Disruption of Turkey, by William Linn Westermann; the Protection of Minorities and Natives in Transferred Territories, by Manley Ottmer Hudson; the Trial of the Kaiser, by James Brown Scott; Reparations, by Thomas William Lamont; the Economic Settlement, by Allyn Abbott Young; the Labor Clauses of the Treaty, by Samuel Gompers; the Economic Administration during the Armistice, by Herbert Hoover; the Atlantic Fleet in the Great War, by Admiral Henry Thomas Mayo; the Problem of Disarmament, by General Tasker Howard Bliss; the Making of the League of Nations, by David Hunter Miller; the Versailles Peace in Retrospect, by Colonel House.

Many of the authors were also members of the "Inquiry", brought together in 1917 to prepare data for the formulation of peace terms. There can therefore be no question as to their competence to present the American attitude. Professor Mezes tells us in the first chapter that President Wilson's Fourteen Points were based on a preliminary report of the "Inquiry" submitted early in January, 1918. Many of the contributors naturally therefore felt themselves committed to the defense of the Fourteen Points and it was hardly to be expected that we should find any serious *critique* of the latter in the light of practical experience at the Conference.

It is generally assumed that the question of nationality was equally acute everywhere in Europe and that the application of the principle was in all cases just and wise. Such was not the case. Investigators who visited the district can testify, for instance, that nationality was, at the time of the Armistice, not an issue in the grand-duchy of Teschen. Events have proved that it likewise was not so in the Prussian district of Allenstein. Nevertheless, the principle was invoked here as elsewhere and the flood-gates opened to intrigue and propaganda. From the point of view of statesmanship, it may have been as unwise to invoke it in this case as it would have been to do so in such settled political units as the state of Wisconsin or the once Italian district about Nice in France. Yet Professor Lord criticizes the Council of Ambassadors for awarding to the Czechs the whole mining region of Teschen "with slight regard for the rights and the vehemently expressed wishes of the Polish-speaking majority of the population". Nevertheless a plebiscite in the district of Allenstein proved that in spite of its "Polish-speaking majority" as determined by the experts, the district was overwhelmingly for union with a defeated Germany. Professor Lord is evidently so deeply committed to the principle of nationality as a panacea for the determination of just boundaries, that he feels called upon to explain that it is a backward population "among which the Polish national

movement was only in its first faint beginnings". May it not be equally true that the movement was here showing its last faint glimmerings, and that philosophic historians like Spengler and Count Keyserling are right when they hold that the nationalistic movement has now spent itself? If they are right the settlement at Versailles should be regarded as the end and not the beginning of the nationalistic era.

As the particular chapters of the volume were evidently prepared independently by their authors it was inevitable that in so large a field there should have been a number of divergencies of attitude. There are, however, occasional contradictions in statements of fact. For instance, Professor Seymour quite correctly states in his discussion of the Austro-Hungarian settlement (p. 102):

The demands of the Italians for annexation of the Tyrol as far north as the Brenner Pass were granted, as promised in the secret Treaty of London. It should not be forgotten that this problem was not considered by any territorial commission, since Italy refused to permit any discussion of her territorial claims except by the supreme council. France and Great Britain were bound by their promises, and President Wilson, early in the history of the Conference, agreed to Italian demands in this quarter.

Professor Johnson in his discussion of Fiume and the Adriatic Question contradicts this in stating (p. 118): "The American Government not only consistently refused to recognize the Treaty of London, a document held to be . . . fundamentally in opposition to the principles for which America was fighting, but early recognized the right of the Jugo-Slavs to rule themselves."

Professor Johnson failed to make clear that Fiume was not included in the territory to be ceded to Italy by the London Pact, and that Italy had never accepted the Fourteen-Points boundary line, even in the armistice with Austria. His discussion of the whole question is strongly *ex parte* and fails to present the reasons for the Italian claims, nor is there any hint that there was a group even in the American delegation who favored granting the Italian claims.

The ineffectiveness of the organization of the Conference is recognized by several of the writers, though later historians will probably insist more frankly upon its failure to square with the Fourteen Points. A Supreme Council which consisted of representatives of the Great Powers only, seemed to indicate that the recognition of the equal rights of great and small states was merely academic, especially after Japan was included, whose national rights were far less seriously involved than those of Belgium or Serbia.

In this connection there are contradictory statements as to how generally the members of the Supreme Council or the Council of Four accepted the views of experts. Professor Mezes assures us that only "in the rarest instances" were they modified (p. 8). Mr. Day is in accord with Professor Mezes. Professor Lord, however, says that

on "several occasions" the recommendations of the commission (on Poland) were "very substantially modified or quite set aside" (p. 72). Dr. Bowman goes even further. "Directly thereafter the Council of Four was organized, where decisions could be reached without the bother of territorial experts" (p. 161). There are also contradictions apparent between the chapter on Constantinople and the Balkans, by Dr. Bowman, and that on the Armenian Problem and the Disruption of Turkey, by Professor Westermann. Both of these are particularly interesting and able discussions, but Dr. Bowman writes as skeptic and realist while Professor Westermann writes as a disappointed enthusiast and idealist. In spite of such overlapping, the incompleteness of the record is evident from the fact that Shantung is nowhere mentioned.

The volume is therefore very far from being in any sense a history of the Conference and it was doubtless not so intended by the individual contributors. It is valuable as giving the attitude of American delegates and their impressions of the Conference shortly after the events. Since discussion almost everywhere centres on the American attitude, and of necessity slights the claims of other nations involved, it is unfortunate that Colonel House and Professor Seymour should have chosen the title *What Really Happened at Paris*. The contents of the volume would have been more truly denoted had it been called "The Case of the United States at the Peace Conference".

CHRISTIAN GAUSS.

Russia Today and Tomorrow. By PAUL N. MILIUKOV. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 392. \$2.25.)

THIS new volume of Professor Miliukov is the result of a series of lectures, delivered in America in the autumn of 1921, at the Lowell Institute in Boston, Columbia University in New York, the Civic Forum of New York, and the Western Reserve University in Cleveland. Since the lectures were delivered at so many different places there is a certain lack of continuity in the volume, which makes it somewhat inferior to Miliukov's first American book. *Russia and its Crisis* has long ago become a classic of Russian history, both in Europe and the United States. The historical value of *Russia Today and Tomorrow* is due chiefly to the importance of contemporary events, and to the testimony of a man who took a prominent personal part in the revolutionary months, of 1917.

The first two chapters, Why the Revolution could not be Averted and Why the Bolsheviks got the Upper Hand, are a brief summary of the historical foundation of the Revolution; the American reader will find a much more detailed explanation of the revolutionary movement in *Russia and its Crisis* and in Masaryk's volumes *The Spirit of Russia*. In chapters II. and III. the author tries to explain the main

principles of Bolshevism, giving also the reasons why these new ideas got such a firm hold on the Russian people in 1917 and 1918; much of this is already well known to the reading public of the West.

Chapter IV. is devoted to the rôle played during the Revolution by the many different non-Slavic nationalities of the former empire of the tsars; there are some very valuable parts in it, especially concerning the Baltic states, the Caucasus, and the Ukraine; historians will find here a plausible explanation of the Russian point of view, in particular toward the Little Russian question. Chapter V. is somewhat disappointing; Miliukov endeavors to sketch in it the Foreign Policy of the Bolshevik Government, but lays far too much stress on one point only, namely, the Bolshevik idea of a world-revolution; that it played a great rôle in the Bolshevik policy in general can hardly be doubted, but one has good reason to think that the Bolshevik leaders have faith in it some time ago.

The two following chapters, VI. and VII., dealing with the history of the anti-Bolshevik movements and of the decline of Bolshevism, are really the most valuable and interesting part of the volume. The author gives a detailed and impartial account of the events of these last years and explains clearly the reasons for failure and disappointment, emphasizing the liberal and progressive Russian point of view. Every impartial historian of the Bolshevik régime must carefully study Miliukov's analysis, even if some of his conclusions may seem questionable; these chapters give the volume permanent scientific historical value.

In chapter VIII., Miliukov endeavors to explain the causes of the terrible famine of 1921-1922, rightly pointing out the faults and mistakes of the Bolsheviks. Chapter IX. is a sketch of future possibilities in Russia, as seen by a thorough liberal. Chapter X., on the other hand, is devoted to the Far Eastern question and was inspired by the proceedings of the Washington Conference. The author shows how much Russia suffers from the constant baneful interference of Japan, citing very valuable proofs concerning the recent events in Siberia and the situation in the Russian Far East; some of the facts mentioned in the book relating to Japanese exploitation and selfishness are really appalling and have a great historical value, explaining many of the recent happenings in Eastern Siberia.

The last chapter, XI., deals with Russia's contribution to the world's civilization. It is far too brief to cover the whole field and leaves an impression of hurried work and superficiality; it could have been omitted without much harm done to the rest of the volume. The English style is not equal to that of his former work. Nevertheless the book of Miliukov will unquestionably retain its historical interest for a very long while.

S. A. KORFF.

A History of the Arabs in the Sudan and some Account of the People who preceded them and of the Tribes inhabiting Dárfur.

By H. A. MACMICHAEL, D.S.O., Sudan Political Service. In two volumes. (Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xxii, 347; viii, 488. 90 s.)

THIS book is far more interesting and important to students of history in general than its title would suggest. For them the primitive Arab tribes and their settlement in the Sudan are a back-water and although the migrations of the peoples are always significant, yet this was not one of the great treks of history. But the problems of history and its methods and difficulties are everywhere the same and it is the great merit of this book that it is so suggestive and illuminating for some of these. What, for example, is the value of the genealogical information furnished by family tradition? That question confronts us all, from the exegete of the Old Testament to the authority on *Mayflower* descent. Again, if such information cannot give us ironclad and exact "trees", can it be allowed the value of "a genealogical parable" in Mr. MacMichael's happy phrase? That is the direction in which the Old Testament student has long been drifting and he especially will find in these volumes many most significant analyses and parallels in very full detail—this ordered mass of detail is one of the great strengths of the book. By no single word does Mr. MacMichael suggest this possible application of his researches, but great blocks of the illustrative documents he quotes could be rendered straight into the language of Genesis, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. And it must be admitted that a net result of the whole analogy of these often quite modern Arabic traditional documents is to assign a higher real, if "parabolic", historical value to the sister genealogies and historical statements of the Old Testament. And the same analogy will hold with other historical fields.

So much as *captatio benevolentiae* for an out-of-the-way book. It consists of four parts: (i) The ethnological characteristics of the inhabitants of the northern Sudan before the coming of the Arabs as Muslims. Besides the non-Arab races, this includes the Arab filtration across the Red Sea and through Egypt from the earliest times. (ii) The Arab tribes in medieval Egypt and how they worked their way beyond into the Sudan. This involves a statement of the genealogical relationships of these tribes in Arabia itself; but is also historical for Egypt and the Sudan. (iii) A detailed and objective classified statement of the Sudanese Arab tribes, genealogical group by group, at the present day. This takes up almost half of the first volume. (iv) The whole of the second and larger volume is entitled "The Native Manuscripts of the Sudan", and contains the rough material out of which a Hexateuch might have been worked up in native hands. Mr. MacMichael has rightly given these, thirty-three in all, as they came to him, in translations with com-

mentaries, genealogical tables, and considerable extracts from the original Arabic texts. The value of this mass of documents, so elucidated, for the student of the history of North Africa, or of historical possibilities and methods generally, cannot easily be overestimated. One broad result is worth stating. The genealogies reckon about forty generations from the Muslim era to the present day. Of these the last five or six may be generally accepted as stated accurately—so far family tradition holds; the next eight or nine are less accurate; then come “seven or eight successive ancestors whose names rest more firmly on the accepted authority of contemporary ‘trees’ compiled during that Augustan age of the Sudan, the period of the early Fung Kingdom”; beyond these are some fourteen or fifteen weak links probably invented in part by genealogists of the Fung period; these join, and were meant to join, to the first thoroughly historical and accepted descents from the Companions of the Prophet. This is a very illuminative result and suggests caution in too wholesale rejection of long pedigrees.

The materials in these volumes for ethnology and folk-lore are at least equally important. On these subjects the author has already made his mark. The only possible criticism of the whole result of his labors is that it would have been well if he had collaborated in the final revision with a student of Islam and of the Arabic language and literature. This throws no discredit on his own knowledge of Sudanese Arabic, which is evidently far better for his purposes than any mere reader of literary Arabic could reach, but such collaboration would have secured due correlation between what Arabists already know and this new information. We are told here many things we know already and some things that are not so, and we are not told some things we want to know, like the persistent use of *walad* for *ibn* and of such forms as *Muhammadāb*. We should like to know also whether the frequent variation, especially in vowels, from the literary form of names is a reproduction of Sudanese pronunciation. The notes, too, often show more accurate knowledge in Arabic matters than the translations to which they are attached. Apparently there was some later revision and completion.

D. B. MACDONALD.

India Old and New. By Sir VALENTINE CHIROL. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1921. Pp. x, 319. 10s.)

It is doubtful whether any living person, possessed of equal literary ability, knows as much about India and its political history during the last generation as the author of this volume. He has at least interviewed, if he has not become the trusted friend of, nearly every actor in the great political drama which has been rapidly unfolding for the last twenty years in India. Those who took the initiative in the movement which led to the enactment of the Government of India Act of

1919 took counsel with him and were greatly influenced by his views. Gokale, the greatest statesman India has produced, was Sir Valentine's friend, while the agitator's Tilak and Gandhi have discussed at length with him the burning questions of India's political life. All this and his mastery of the historical and political literature of India have made Sir Valentine Chirol the writer most worth reading on this subject. Radical Indians bitterly criticize his lack of sympathy with Indian aspirations, but the moderates recognize in him a true friend of India.

The rapidity with which Indian affairs are moving is amazingly proven by the fact that the leaves of the author's book on *Indian Unrest* were hardly dry from the press, when he realized the need for this new book, and, now that it is published, one familiar with recent developments realizes that still another volume is necessary to place one abreast of this swift-moving political evolution.

The historical background of the present political unrest is admirably sketched in the first five or six chapters. The clash of the two civilizations, the Indian and the European, is drawn with a fine feeling for the essentials. There follows a masterly chapter on the enduring power of Hinduism, which emphasizes the two salient features of Indian history up to the time of the Moslem invasion, the failure of the Aryan Hindus to achieve any permanent form of political unity, and their success, nevertheless, in building on rock foundations a complex but vital social system, Hinduism. When the Mahommedan flood in the eleventh century began to flow down into India and wave succeeded wave for three centuries, the plunder and carnage and cruelty and lust failed to destroy Hinduism, "because it consisted of such an infinity of water-tight compartments each vital and self-sufficing", and never breaking up, though almost submerged by the waves. The succeeding Mogul dynasty, from Timur to Akbar and Aurangzeb, again found that Hinduism would bend without breaking to the storm. With no political independence Hindu life and manners remained. Then came the British traders, and in time the traders became administrators and rulers, and once British power was fully established India enjoyed peace more universal and enduring than through all the ages of her troubled past. The author traces the growing British sense of responsibility toward the alien races which they ruled, and points out that as early as 1824 Sir Thomas Munro, governor of Madras, expressed the hope in a public document that "we shall in time so far improve the character of our Indian subjects as to enable them to govern and protect themselves". From that time on this spirit was never entirely absent, though often weak and too much subdued by Mammon. The chapter on the Mutiny and Fifty Years After makes clear the good and ill effect of that event on British administration, and "the first great wave of unrest" was in part at least the result. It is shown how British education bred radicals and discontented elements in Indian society,

which once created seized every opportunity that the government gave to raise opposition to it. The Morley-Minto reforms are ably analyzed and criticized, and their failure to satisfy Indian demands which grew apace with every concession to them. The last half of the book shows how the Great War led to the Indian Reforms Bill, and makes clear why these reforms were initiated under the most unfavorable circumstances. Perhaps no other person could have told with such sympathy the story of Mr. Gandhi's fight against the introduction of these reforms, the elections which preceded the birth of an Indian Parliament, and the difficulties in its path. The concluding chapters on the economic factors and the Indian problem as a world problem are very suggestive. On the whole few men can write of contemporary history with as great impartiality as Sir Valentine Chirol.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

New Viewpoints in American History. By ARTHUR MEIER SCHLESINGER, Professor of History in the University of Iowa. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xi, 299. \$2.40.)

PROFESSOR SCHLESINGER purposed in his heart "to bring together and summarize, in non-technical language, some of the results of the researches of the present era of historical study". He succeeded admirably, even to the "non-technical language". His story flows easily, smoothly, with here and there a refreshing eddy of humor, as, for example, his likening of the two great parties to "two armies that have been sitting opposite each other for so long a time that they have forgotten the original cause of their quarrel".

As the author suggests in his "Foreword", most of his chapters deal with viewpoints not new to historical scholars. On geographic factors he follows Semple, Brigham, and others; on the influence of the frontier, Turner and Paxson; on economic influences, Beard and his confederates. In the chapter on the American Revolution he has an easy mastery due to his own valuable contribution to the study of that period, and to the work of such scholars as Andrews, Osgood, and Beer. While these chapters deal with facts and viewpoints familiar to most historical scholars, the author's summaries and interpretations will be suggestive to his professional confrères, and of much enlightenment to the general reader.

Fresher to the hardened historian are the chapters on the Rôle of Women, the State Rights Fetish, the Foundations of the Modern Era, and the Riddle of the Parties.

The most resonant and recurring note in the volume is that of economic influences, whether in the Revolution, the making of the Constitution, the Jacksonian period, or the "Modern Era". He does

not blink the facts nor the portents. Yet this is no doctrinaire history, no marshalling of hand-picked data for an Armageddon of social forces. He has come through the fires of economic determinism with even temper. He can discern some good in both conservatives and radicals—and some bad (p. 108). He seems to be a progressive with one foot on the brake-pedal.

The book is hard to find fault with, but reviewers must try. In his chapter on Geographic Factors, an interesting section might have been added on soil and climatic influences, as propounded by Ellsworth Huntington and others of the newer school of geographers. American isolation has not merely "ceased to exist" (p. 29), but never did exist. The fact that by the Constitution "the separate states were permitted to continue to restrict the franchise as they chose" is unconvincing evidence of an attempt by aristocrats to "keep the plain people in a subordinate place" (p. 81). In the Federal Convention that section of the Constitution (Art. I, sec. 2 of the final draft) was defended in the name of popular government, and adopted in the face of opposition from the "aristocrats" who wished to restrict the franchise to freeholders. (See Farrand, *Records of Federal Convention*, II. 201–206.) In the light of the Convention debates, and of the later history of the franchise, it would be fairer to say that the separate states were left free to enlarge the franchise as they chose.

These are not serious criticisms. The critic's sickle cut a meagre harvest—only enough to emphasize the general reliability and sanity of the book.

The chapter bibliographies are good above the ordinary. They are crisp, critical essays on recent tendencies in American historical research and writing. The index is very full, covering even the bibliographies. Blessed are the indexers!

R. W. KELSEY.

George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731–1791. By BURTON ALVA KONKLE. (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1922. Pp. viii, 381. \$4.00.)

PENNSYLVANIA has been fortunate in her historians. Among others Sharpless, Shepherd, Watson, and Westcott have pictured different phases of her history, all helpful to those who would understand the Quaker Colony, and Mr. Konkle, in his trilogy comprising the lives of David Lloyd, George Bryan, and James Wilson, has well supplemented the work of his predecessors. Biography seems to appeal to the author and it has given a vigor to his words which a less personal record would hardly furnish. No careful reader can fail to see the importance of George Bryan to the colony of his adoption; the danger is that the hasty reader will neglect the no less vital influence exercised by his fellow-citizens, great and small, or disregard the close connection be-

tween Pennsylvania and the outside world in making and applying the constitution of 1776.

The author prefaces his study with a chapter upon the services of David Lloyd, who laid the foundation upon which Bryan built. The ancestry and youth of the latter, as well as conditions in Pennsylvania before his arrival from Ireland in 1752, are outlined in the next ten pages, after which Mr. Konkle measures the importance of the new-comer in the field already occupied by Franklin, Galloway, Morris, Willing, and Dickinson.

Six chapters narrate the growing influence in local matters of the Irish-Pennsylvanian at the expense of Franklin, who "became less a leader in the province and more of an intercolonial leader". The contestants for supremacy were not decreased in number, as by 1773 James Wilson had won a place as the "greatest lawyer outside of Philadelphia" and gradually became recognized as a worthy successor of Franklin himself. Dickinson, who had been Wilson's instructor, was well qualified by his London education to supply "a profound philosophical conception of the principles of British liberty", and with the gathering of the Constitutional Convention of 1776 there ensued a conflict of men and ideals hardly equalled in another colony in America. The result was a reconstruction of almost everything in Pennsylvania.

Space is lacking to describe the political, racial, and religious divisions which had to be harmonized if a contented people was to result from the reconstruction. Mr. Konkle "glances at the characteristics of Pennsylvania leadership", outlines the differences among the population to be led, and in the next hundred pages shows how the royal and proprietary authority under the earlier constitution came into the hands of the commons guided by Merchant, Judge, and President Bryan. The varied plans for government presented in the convention and the decade following are carefully considered, particular attention being given to the conflict for control between the advocates of a single and a bicameral legislature. Bryan supported the former theory and, aided by the example of the Continental Congress, defeated the friends of an additional chamber. To him a second body seemed a continuance of proprietary influence or the establishment of an aristocracy, and it was not until this fear had subsided that James Wilson could replace the dominant commons by an equal senate and house.

Bryan's work upon the bench and in the more general field of legal legislation is next described, followed by an account of the aid which he gave to education, especially in promoting union between the College of Philadelphia and the University of Pennsylvania. The volume recognizes the efforts of Bryan the abolitionist and pays him a tribute as the originator of anti-slavery legislation in the United States worthy to rank with Garrison and Lincoln. The biography has twenty-three

appropriate illustrations and a fair index of fifteen pages, although the latter is hardly adequate as a guide to all the information contained in Mr. Konkle's elaborate book.

CHARLES H. LINCOLN.

The Supreme Court in United States History. In three volumes. 1789-1821; 1821-1855; 1856-1918. By CHARLES WARREN, formerly Assistant Attorney General of the United States. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 540; x, 551; x, 532. \$18.00.)

THE two works with which Mr. Warren's is most apt to be compared are Carson's *History of the Supreme Court* and Beveridge's *Life of John Marshall*. The former is a recital of decisions interlarded with short biographies of the judges, and while Mr. Warren furnishes brief statements both of the facts involved and of the decisions reached in the cases of which he treats, his book is not otherwise tangent to the earlier work. With Beveridge's *Life* there is a more obvious overlapping for the period of Marshall's incumbency, to which Mr. Warren devotes two-thirds of his first volume and one-half of the second; but this seems to have been the unavoidable result of the synchronous preparation of parallel works, and besides the method of treatment of the same material is usually very divergent.

Probably two-thirds of Mr. Warren's book consists of matter which is quoted directly or indirectly—and most of it directly. It is his purpose to preserve contemporary impressions of the court in daily action, contemporary accounts of the famous arguments before it, contemporary political gossip regarding appointments or suggested appointments to its membership, and above all contemporary comments, both the hostile and the friendly, of its principal decisions, most of which of course lay in the field of constitutional interpretation. In the performance of this task he has combed sources of every kind, newspapers, magazines, the biographies and writings of public men, to say nothing of the numerous manuscript collections which he has laid under contribution. Nor is even this the full toll of his researches. For his own observations, as well as his citations, show him fully abreast with the recent "literature" dealing with the critical phases of his subject, whether in the form of books or articles in periodicals.

The result is a work of great interest and value not only to bench and bar and to special students of constitutional law and theory, but to all students of public opinion in democracies, and especially the American democracy. Nowhere else can such a wealth of material be found bearing on the issues which at various times have been raised with reference to the institution of judicial review of legislative acts. In these pages we see how from the first the discussion of measures, and even of men, was constricted by the doctrine of constitutional

limitations into a peculiar vocabulary in which questions of public policy assumed automatically the guise of questions of individual rights. By the same sign we see the highest judicial tribunal of the country for the determination of individual rights subjected almost without intermission to the fiercest tempests of partizan and sectional rage and to every verbal brutality of denunciation. Yet the final impression conveyed is by no means unfavorable to the characteristic feature of our system of government. If it is granted that there are certain fundamental understandings which demand embodiment in a written constitution, it must be further granted that this constitution must have a final authorized interpreter; nor will anybody be apt to turn from Mr. Warren's pages, with their graphic record of the wild inconsistencies with which sections, parties, and individuals have at different times essayed the task of constitutional construction, without feeling that had this final authorized interpreter been any organ of government except the Supreme Court, the Constitution must have been torn to shreds and tatters within a generation.

In short, as compared with the violent fluctuations of public opinion as regards the crucial topics of constitutional doctrine, the Supreme Court will be found to have pursued a remarkably steady and consistent course. The fact offers striking confirmation to the so-called "mechanical theory" of judicial interpretation; given a sufficiently large and representative bench of judges, sufficiently withdrawn from the hazards of politics, and it will in the long run identify itself as the still, small voice of the law amid the babble of opinion about it. It is interesting, moreover, to see how easily and with what grace the vast majority of appointees to the court—some of them the mere wheel-horses of party—have yielded themselves to this theory and the dignifying tradition of office which it supports.

Some incorrigibles there have been, like McLean, whose perpetual candidacy for the presidency precipitated at last the calamitous Dred Scott decision, and Chase, whose similar pre-occupation was more or less responsible for the imbecility of *Hepburn v. Griswold*; but on the whole, judges with a political itch—once they became judges—have been rare.

The two principal criticisms of Mr. Warren's book are, first, that it is too long; and, secondly, that it is not long enough. Save for a perfunctory chapter or two, the work ends with the close of Waite's chief-justiceship, in other words, just as the problems of constitutional construction with which we are concerned to-day began to arise. For this omission he offers the double apology that this recent period is still within the view of living men and that the historical perspective is still lacking; but both are of transitory validity, wherefore it is to be hoped that eventually he may incorporate in a fourth volume recent criticism of the court—that criticism which is so dominated by the

strident voice of Mr. Samuel Gompers. On the other hand, a little freer use of foot-notes would often have relieved the text of a certain oppressive repetitiousness without, at the same time, sacrificing anything of the satisfying completeness of the work as a survey of opinion.

Mr. Warren's efforts to correct accepted historical verdicts are not always convincingly successful, but otherwise the work is singularly free of statements to which the informed reader will be apt to take exception. He shows, in correction of Beveridge, that the decision in *Marbury v. Madison* was widely published at the time (I. 245, note 2); yet Judge Davis knew nothing of it five years later (*ibid.*, 345, note 2). He insists that the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions did not imply a repudiation of the right of the court to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress—though the Northern legislatures so interpreted them—but only a supplementary right in the states to reject acts which the court had sustained against the constitutional objection (*ibid.*, 258-261). Even so, in rejecting the *finality* of the court's decisions, they introduced a vastly different idea of judicial review from that stated in the *Federalist*; while, moreover, some of the supporters of the Resolutions, Breckenridge of Kentucky, for instance, later came out against judicial review of Congressional acts in any form; nor do the words which Mr. Warren quotes from the closing pages of Madison's *Report* of 1799 prove more than that the author of them had discovered in discretion the better part of valor. Also, Mr. Warren's contention, based on a letter of Taney's, that Jackson "never asserted a right to decline to carry out a court decision, when acting in his executive capacity" (II. 222-224; *cf.* 246), is, in view of all the facts, entirely unpersuasive. Hailing as he does, from Boston, Mr. Warren champions Webster's claim that Marshall's opinion in *Gibbons v. Ogden* "followed closely the track of his argument" (*ibid.*, 70-71), but the fact is that this characteristically vainglorious assertion is without basis; nor should Goodrich's recollections of what the great Daniel said in the Dartmouth College case have been cited as reliable historical testimony (I. 479, note 2). Mr. Warren is also mistaken in supposing that the passage which he quotes from the original opinion of the court in *Kendall v. United States* does not appear in the printed report (II. 320; *cf.* 12 Peters, 524). Occasionally it is the lawyer who speaks in these pages, with the lawyer's tendency to "antedate the emergence of ideas" (see, *e.g.*, I. 476 and note); and occasionally the profitless inclination is indulged to conjecture what would have happened if something else had happened which didn't (*e.g.*, I. 410, 413).

But these, after all, are very minor blemishes of a highly valuable work. It should be added that the publishers have done their part most satisfactorily, even to the excellent index.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

Training for the Public Profession of the Law: Historical Development and Principal Contemporary Problems of Legal Education in the United States, with some account of Conditions in England and Canada. By ALFRED ZANTZINGER REED. [Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Bulletin Number Fifteen.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1921. Pp. xviii, 498. \$2.00.)

PREVIOUS books on legal education relate primarily to one institution, like the *Centennial History of the Harvard Law School*, 1918, or Warren's *History* of that School, 1908 (although containing much general bibliographical material); or discuss pedagogical problems, like the earlier Carnegie Bulletin by Redlich on the Case Method, 1914. Reed covers all law schools and office-training, approaching education from the fresh viewpoint of its relation to requirements for admission to the bar.

The introductory part I. discusses Comparative Development of Law and the Legal Profession in England, Canada, and the United States, and summarizes the whole book. The American lawyer is shown to be an outgrowth of the English solicitor, and our law schools to resemble the English training by lawyers, not the Continental universities. The historian will find his chief interest in parts II.-V. These survey exhaustively the early requirements for admission to the bar (II.); the rise of law schools (III.); the rise of bar associations after the Civil War (IV.); and the changes in bar-admission requirements due to law schools and bar associations (V.). Part VI. covers the broadening of the curriculum after the Civil War; VII., the intensification of training by written examinations, the case method, etc. Part VIII. on recent developments is anticipatory of a subsequent Carnegie Bulletin on the contemporary situation. The author's principal recommendation for a division of the bar into graduates of leading law schools, organized into selective bar associations, which will also admit other conspicuously able practitioners, and secondly into graduates of textbook and night schools, has been vigorously attacked by Albert M. Kales.¹

Legal education touches general American history at many points. Jeffersonian democracy resented the prevalence of Federalist lawyers suspected of a monopoly, and almost abolished bar-admission requirements. Jefferson insisted on sound Republican law professors for the University of Virginia, while Northern schools selected Federalists (pp. 119, 140). In protest against Calhoun's doctrine of state rights, Dane endowed a Harvard professorship to teach law "equally in force in all branches of our Federal Republic" (p. 143). Reed establishes a parallelism between stiffened bar admission and civil-service reform (pp. 41, 42, 102). The absence of law-school courses on government

¹ *Harvard Law Rev.*, XXXV. 96; and Reed's reply, *ibid.*, 355.

and economics (such as in France) has deprived our lawyer leaders of the opportunity for careful study of the mechanism confided to their charge (p. 296).

This assemblage at enormous labor of a mass of valuable data from widely scattered sources would hardly have been financed by an author, and demonstrates the usefulness of educational foundations. The book is, however, very hard reading. The reader jumps from state to state with bewildering frequency. Perhaps the multitude of states made this inevitable, but the interest would be far greater if the text had been limited to the opinions and rules about admission to the bar in two or three leading jurisdictions, with the others relegated to foot-notes. This might have made room among dates and statistics for more contemporaneous human touches, like Jefferson's denunciation of Virginia country lawyers as "an inundation of insects" (p. 404); or an early radical's view that lawyers should be as free from educational restrictions as doctors and clergymen—"A man's property is no better than his life or his soul" (p. 89); or the success of the early Litchfield, Connecticut, law school because of the presence of a girls' boarding-school, whose head informed an entering legal scholar, "The young ladies all marry law students" (p. 130).

Finally, excellent as Reed is on the external relations of the law schools to the bar, the fact, avowed with attractive frankness, that he is not a lawyer handicaps his discussion of their internal problems and of the law. Witness his questionable distinction between the case-method schools teaching the law as it ought to be and text-book schools showing better what it is (pp. 292, 385), his statement that the overruling of precedents first became noteworthy after the Civil War (p. 347), the analysis of the origins of American law (pp. 30-34). That our law has by no means "split off" (p. 33) from contemporary English decisions is exemplified by Chief Justice Taft's recent use of the House of Lords Taff Vale case in his Coronado labor decision. The association of a legal scholar with Mr. Reed would strengthen the forthcoming Bulletin on the contemporary situation.

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.

Papers of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851. III. Minutes and Miscellaneous Papers; Financial Accounts and Vouchers. Edited by MARY FLOYD WILLIAMS. [Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, vol. IV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. xvi, 906.)

History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851: a Study of Social Control on the California Frontier in the Days of the Gold Rush. By MARY FLOYD WILLIAMS, Ph.D. [University of California Publications in History, vol. XII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1921. Pp. xii, 543. \$5.00.)

EVERY investigator who has had occasion to consult H. H. Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals*, only to be more or less disappointed, will welcome this publication of the records of the Committee of Vigilance of 1851. As explained in an introductory note by the late Professor H. Morse Stephens, from the time that the Bancroft Collection came into the possession of the University of California in 1906 it was desired to publish the documents: "Not only were the papers themselves of surpassing interest as exhibiting a phase of frontier life under unexampled conditions, but they corrected widespread misrepresentations of early life in California" (p. iii). Parts I. and II., edited by Porter Garrett, were printed in 1910 and 1911, respectively (Academy of Pacific Coast History, *Publications*, vol. I., no. 7, and vol. II., no. 2). In 1913 Miss Mary Floyd Williams was induced by Professor Stephens to edit the remaining papers, in connection with her graduate studies at the University of California. Those in position to give assistance cordially co-operated with her, with the result that the volume of *Papers* gives ample evidence of careful editorship.

The records are published in chronological order and would be somewhat perplexing to the reader were it not for the minute analysis which has been made in the index and the addition of relevant appendixes and helpful foot-notes and cross-references. Contemporary newspapers and other sources have been consulted to explain allusions otherwise obscure. Since the public archives of San Francisco have been destroyed by fire, these papers constitute the chief record of the thought and conditions of life of an important period in the history of the city. It is a remarkably complete record of its kind, due to the fact that the president of the executive committee felt "a deep solicitude in the careful preservation of these documents" (Report on Prisoners, September 15, 1851, p. 639) and to the continuous service of a methodical and devoted secretary. "Merchants whose fortunes often turned on the chance of a single day, sat hour after hour at the bare table in the 'Executive Chamber' writing laborious, verbatim reports of the examinations and statements that fill the hundreds of pages preserved in the archives of the association" (editor's note, pp. x-xi).

The constitution of the Committee of Vigilance as "instituted the 8th of June 1851" is given in full. The minutes and miscellaneous papers cover nearly seven hundred and fifty pages of the volume, and the financial accounts and vouchers require fifty more pages. The appendixes include a list of the members of the committee, officers, and standing committees, record of attendance at meetings of the executive committee, analysis of the financial accounts, prisoners arrested by the Committee of Vigilance with a record of the disposition that was made of them, and a list of the criminals implicated by James Stuart and his confederates. The volume is illustrated by a map of San Francisco in 1851, facsimiles of certificate of membership, minutes of a general

meeting, etc.; also by a photograph of the banner presented to the Committee of Vigilance by the ladies of Trinity Church "As a Testimonial of their Approbation—Do Right and Fear Not".

The *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851*, of which Miss Williams is the author, is designed to accompany the *Papers* and is based upon them, but is complete in itself. It is an effort to interpret their meaning in the light of an understanding of the social and political conditions of the time. The author's point of view differs very materially from that presented in the writings of Shinn, Royce, Bancroft, and others. In part I. she sets forth the chaotic conditions of the California frontier from 1848 to 1851. Part II. contains a careful study of the events in San Francisco which led to the organization of the Committee of Vigilance, followed by an analysis in detail of the work of the committee as revealed in the *Papers* and checked by an examination of newspaper files and other sources of information.

The author discusses the difficult problem of determining what influence the committee exerted toward the restraint of crime and the improvement of society. She finds some evidence which indicates that "the immediate result was a diminution of crime that deserves respectful attention" (p. 390). Lasting reforms in local politics or in local courts were not effected, however, although men who led among the Vigilantes were also leaders in other forms of civic activity (p. 392).

Miss Williams devotes a chapter to lynch law as a national problem, placing the California vigilance committees in their historical setting and deprecating the slowness with which we are developing in this country through our democratic institutions an effective legalized means of social control.

Much detailed work is required in a study of this nature and there is abundant evidence in these volumes of the author's perseverance and thoroughness. She has shown good judgment in handling her material. Both volumes have the earmarks of sound scholarship based on research. A few more or less obvious errors have been noted, chiefly typographical. Her work is a contribution of permanent value to the history of lynching as practised in the western part of the United States. The carefully edited *Papers* are also a reliable source of information on other matters of historical and sociological interest.

J. E. CUTLER.

The Life of Clara Barton, Founder of the American Red Cross. By WILLIAM E. BARTON. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 348; 388. \$10.00.)

THE definitive *Life of Clara Barton* fills two large volumes. It is properly so divided, for there are two stories. One is an *Ilias Malorum*, the story of the miseries and sufferings of a war—our Civil War—as

seen by this little school-teacher and department clerk of New England birth and nurture and as lightened by her womanly ministries, then so unusual in such "rough and unseemly positions", but now become the bright commonplace of war. The other is an Aeneid of her wanderings in other lands (after her physical post-war collapse), of incidental nursing adventures in the Franco-Prussian War, and of the founding of what through her official descendants has become an empire of mercy—the American Red Cross.

It is no Strachey portrait that a kinsman of Clara Barton has painted of this Florence Nightingale of America, whose life was almost exactly contemporaneous with that of Florence Nightingale; for the latter was born but a few months before Clara Barton and preceded her in death by about the same number of months, both being beyond ninety. The resemblances, as pointed out by Dr. Barton, are many. If Strachey had not made his sketch of Miss Nightingale, they would have been more marked, for Clara Barton was more like the traditional "Lady of the Lamp". Each, says Dr. Barton, protested to the end of her life that her real work was not that of the popular imagination, that of personally ministering to any considerable number of sick or wounded soldiers, but a work of direction and organization. But the first volume of the life of Clara Barton leaves the reader with a consciousness of her individual ministration, instead of a feeling that as an organizer she was fighting against principalities and powers, as did Florence Nightingale. Not that Clara Barton did not, as her English sister, have to contend with red tape and inefficiency and selfishness and prejudice. She was a patient, diplomatic, persistent, calm person, whose voice "lowered with anger" and had no store of vitriol—a person who got things done. Yet they seemed for the most part to be individual things, directly of her own doing or getting done. She seemed to be going "on her own". All this makes her story all the more dramatic and subjective. As late as the spring of 1864, she said in answer to those who asked her why she worked independently of the Sanitary and Christian commissions, that she began before the commissions had an existence and that such skill as she had acquired by practice (for she had no training) belonged to her "to use untrammelled". She might not be able to "work as efficiently" or "labor as happily" under the direction of those of less experience. This is the natural disposition of a forceful character, whom, as Dr. Barton says, "people sometimes found arbitrary, impatient and obstinate". The account of her own nursing experiences is of particular interest because of the contrast it presents to the highly organized service in the care and relief of the wounded in the World War—a service which she above all others initially made possible. The first volume becomes thus the preface to the great achievement of the second volume—the founding of the American Red Cross. But it has an added value because of the comments by a very intelligent observer on the stirring events and on the great mili-

tary and political figures of that day seen from a point of view from which no one else was permitted to look upon the great events and characters of that time.

The second volume, the Aeneid of her travels, of her lonely struggle for the founding of the Red Cross in America, of her patient endurance of the seemingly interminable official delay, of her final triumph, of the perils and trials of her success, of her peace programme for the Red Cross, of her broken-hearted retirement, and of her death on the eve of the "blazing forth" of the Red Cross in every community between the oceans—it is a heroic story told by one who has faithfully and brilliantly performed his duty as a literary executor and made a unique contribution to American history.

Railroads and Government: their Relations in the United States, 1910-1921. By FRANK HAIGH DIXON, Ph.D., Professor of Economics, Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1922. Pp. xvi, 384. \$2.25.)

WHILE Professor Dixon's book was written primarily for the use of teachers, and will serve well as a text-book on federal regulation of railroads from 1910 to 1921, it is intended also for the general reader. It should be widely read. Never before has it been so important that the electorate should have an intelligent conception of the fundamentals of the railroad problem. The author has made a real contribution to a subject of national interest. The book is written in lucid style and the vital points, succinctly stated, are accompanied by just enough of detail to make their application clear.

The volume is in three parts: (1) "Federal Regulation, 1910 to 1916"; (2) "The War Period"; and (3) "The Return to Private Ownership". The first part contains an excellent discussion of the 1910 amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act and a good review of the short-lived Commerce Court. The second part deals mainly with the organization, achievements, and after-effects of the United States Railroad Administration. The concluding part contains an excellent summary of the legislation under which the railroads were restored to private operation and a new rule of rate-making was adopted.

The review of the 1910 amendment to the Interstate Commerce Act and the discussion of the leading cases decided by the Commission from 1910 to 1918 are well written. For the war period, the author gives a good summary of the work of the Railroads' War Board, and he effectively summarizes the reasons why voluntary unification under private control had to give way to compulsory unification under federal control. The account of the period of governmental operation is well balanced and the controversial features are handled impartially. The author concludes, so far as the first year of federal control (1918) was concerned, that "while mistakes may have been made in operating policies, these are

more readily discernible now than they could have been at the time", and that "on the whole, the results were gratifying and the year must be regarded as a success". As to the year 1919, or the interim between the signing of the Armistice and the return of the roads to private control, Professor Dixon is more guarded in expressing opinions. The results were not as satisfactory as those of the first year, but they may be excused because the Railroad Administration "was engaged in the thankless task of holding the properties together until the day of official dissolution".

The chapters which deal with labor relations, both under private control and federal operation, are particularly illuminating. The author displays an intimate knowledge of the ramifications of the labor problem and is fearless in expressing his personal views in criticism of certain policies adopted during federal control. "A careful survey of the last year of federal operation reflects little glory upon its handling of the labor situation in its broad national aspects."

The concluding part of the book contains an excellent summary of the Transportation Act of 1920, and in the last chapter the author suggests "a line of development which seems to promise for the years immediately ahead the most satisfactory outcome". That line of development is based upon the acceptance of four principles: (1) Railroads under private operation cannot be operated successfully without earnings sufficient to attract new capital; the rate of return upon property value should not be less than six per cent.; (2) if six per cent. cannot be earned, government aid must be sought, and that will mean ultimate government ownership; (3) under present rates and operating conditions there can be no assurance that six per cent. can be earned continuously, and as higher rates are inadvisable, the necessary earnings must be assured through the development, on a national scale, of a programme of efficient and economical operation; and (4) the results cannot be attained by any of the minor economies frequently suggested and practised—they must come through a nation-wide introduction of methods of co-operation.

Professor Dixon's long connection with transportation, both as a teacher and, for several years before the war, as chief statistician of the Bureau of Railway Economics, has enabled him to write authoritatively and with confidence. He has presented an admirable history of railroads, from the viewpoint of governmental regulation, during the critical period since 1910.

WILLIAM J. CUNNINGHAM.

MINOR NOTICES

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth series, volume IV. (London, the Society, 1921, pp. 258.) Sir Charles Oman's presidential address, with which this volume of the *Transactions* opens, is an

entertaining, but not more than entertaining, discourse on *Some Medieval Conceptions of Ancient History*. Of the seven other papers embraced in the volume, the most valuable are those of Miss Margaret L. Bazeley on the Extent of the English Forest in the Thirteenth Century, carefully worked out, with maps; of Miss Caroline A. J. Skeel on the short-lived Council of the West, established in 1539, respecting which she seems to have collected all the evidences; and of Professor Alexander Bugge of Christiania on the Norse Settlements in the British Islands. The society availed itself of Dr. Bugge's presence in England and lectures in All Souls' College, Oxford, to secure this expert and authoritative survey and pronouncement, based on full knowledge of the Scandinavian languages, on place-names, on inscriptions, and on the evidence of chronicles and documents. It will long be valued by students. In another paper, Rev. W. Hudson endeavors, by combination of Domesday evidence with that of a thirteenth-century survey of the manor of Martham in Norfolk, which he had already treated in the first volume of this series, to illustrate the status of *villani* and other tenants, in Danish East Anglia at least, in times before the Conquest. From Professor Joseph Redlich, of Vienna, there is a general description of the composition of the Austrian Haus-, Hof-, und Staats-archiv. The clerk of the records at the London Guildhall, Mr. A. H. Thomas, gives some illustrations of the medieval municipal history from those records, and Mr. F. W. X. Fincham, superintendent of the department of literary inquiry in the principal probate registry, gives some notes from the ecclesiastical records at Somerset House.

The History and Nature of International Relations. Edited by Edmund A. Walsh, S.J., Ph.D., Regent, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xi, 299, \$2.25.) This little book reproduces ten lectures on international relations that were delivered in Washington, D.C., to the general public and students of the School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University during the winter and spring of 1920-1921. Although the lectures contain nothing new or strikingly original, they form a fairly consistent organic whole. This fact, together with the fact that the contributors are all men of distinction, and authorities in their respective fields, may be said to constitute a sufficient justification for the publication of the volume.

The only contribution for which any degree of novelty or originality, or even of scholarship in the academic sense, might be claimed is the thirty-page discussion of "International Relations in the Ancient World", by Professor M. I. Rostovtseff, formerly of the University of Petrograd. (This is not said by way of disparagement of the other contributors, who are all honorable men and whose contributions are all highly respectable, even if, as we may suspect, somewhat perfunctory in several instances.) The main novelty of this contribution by a Russian authority consists

in the return to an older and (as the reviewer considers it) outworn view that "the system of the modern European States is in no way a creation of the so-called middle ages", or that "the foundations of civilized life in modern Europe were laid during the classical period and the type of our European and American mentality was inherited by us from our classical predecessors" (p. 32). If the brief essay by Professor C. J. H. Hayes, "Medieval Diplomacy", presents fewer points of interest to one in search of originality and academic scholarship, it seems to furnish a much sounder and safer guidance to one in search of the truth.

If the reviewer were asked to award a prize on the score of brilliancy of treatment, he would unhesitatingly award it to Professor E. M. Borchard for the contribution entitled "The United States as a Factor in the Development of International Relations". And this in spite of the fact that he (the reviewer) feels himself obliged to dissent strongly from the lecturer's fundamental viewpoint and arguments in defense of our traditional policy of diplomatic isolation and aloofness. Here again we should consider the lecture by Hon. L. S. Rowe on "Latin America as a Factor in International Relations" a much safer and sounder guide.

Among the other contributions, "The Far East as a Factor in International Relations", by Hon. P. S. Reinsch, though all too brief, is perhaps the most noteworthy, especially in its insistence upon the non-political or personal and social character of the Chinese civilization.

It was hardly to be expected that there should be an index to a volume of this character, but various and more specific page-headings than the uniform and general one of "international relations" would have been highly convenient to the reader.

AMOS S. HERSHEY.

L'Empire Romain: Évolution et Décadence. By G. Bloch, Professeur Honoraire aux Universités de Lyon et de Paris. (Paris, Ernest Flammarion, 1922, pp. 313, 7.50 fr.) This, like its predecessor by the same author—*La République Romaine: les Conseils Politiques et Sociaux*—is one of a popular series, Le Bon's *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique*. This accounts for its cheap format, and must be taken into account in judging it. Being French, it is of course readable. Would that we had in English a book on the Roman Empire to compare with it in that regard! On the other hand, it contains nothing new, except some novel errors. Thus, we are told that the oath sworn to Octavianus by Rome and the western provinces before Actium was a *conjuratio* ("conspiracy"), a statement which at the time would have cost M. Bloch his head. He means, of course, a *sacramentum* (p. 12). Augustus's proconsular powers were not renewed every decennium (p. 17), but at intervals of five or ten years. The jurisdiction conferred on the procurators of Claudius is confounded with the *jus gladii* (p. 95). Agricola is referred to as "Agrippa" (p. 138). But much more serious than such slips—particularly in a book which professes, not to tell the

history of the empire, but to give an account of its evolution—is M. Bloch's failure to understand the nature of the Augustan Principate. Augustus, according to him, was "un magistrat", "régulièrement investi de ses pouvoirs en vertu de sénatus-consultes" (p. 16). He was granted in 23 B.C. an *imperium proconsulare maius*, not only over the senatorial provinces (an idea which most historians, though not the reviewer, share), but over the city itself (pp. 22 ff.). "C'était là une grave innovation"; indeed, so great a one as to be incredible. As if this were not enough, however, M. Bloch invests Augustus in 18 B.C. with the *potestas consularis* for life (p. 31), on the basis, doubtless, of a statement of Dio's to which no one since Mommsen has given credence. Augustus's proconsular and tribunician powers together endowed him with criminal jurisdiction (p. 27). M. Bloch is thus estopped from telling the true story of the evolution of the Principate, the story of how the restored republican institutions failed to function, and the *Princeps* was permitted, or compelled by force of circumstances, to act *extra-legally*, until the constitutional authorities faded away and the monarchy took their place. M. Bloch's evident lack of training in Roman constitutional history unfits him for the task he has undertaken.

DONALD MCFAYDEN.

Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages. By Maurice De Wulf, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Louvain and in Harvard University. [Louis Clark Vanuxem Lectures for 1920.] (Princeton, University Press, 1922, pp. x, 313, \$3.00.) "The purpose of the study as here presented is to approach the Middle Ages from a new point of view, by showing how the thought of the period, metaphysics included, is intimately connected with the whole round of Western civilization to which it belongs." The author's intimate acquaintance with medieval philosophy, as shown in his *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale* and in his various studies on the philosophers of the Low Countries, enables him to present the most satisfactory outline of scholasticism to be found in English. In the later chapters of the book the fundamental concepts of the thirteenth century and their relation to each other are set forth in the clearest manner. While emphasizing the symmetry and logical completeness of the scholastic system of thought, the author maintains a strict historical point of view, avoiding exaggerated praise and finding it "positively distressing to see historians, under the spell of special sympathies, proclaim the thirteenth century the best of all centuries of human history and prefer its institutions to our own".

In relating the philosophy of the Middle Ages to other aspects of its life, the author characterizes the twelfth century as one of differentiation and definition. Philosophy becomes distinct from theology, and the various fields of knowledge are classified and lines of demarcation drawn. Elsewhere, a similar movement seeks to define royal preroga-

tive, the rights of lords and vassals and bourgeoisie, the distinction between spiritual function and temporal charge in the Church, the establishment of artistic standards and the formation of types of architecture; while the metaphysical conception of the scholastics that "the only existing reality is individual reality" is in harmony with the feudal sense of personal worth. Above this work of definition and classification emerges the medieval tendency toward unity and the dream of universal harmony. This finds its full expression in the thirteenth century and is seen not only in the perfected system of scholastic philosophy but in the organization of new national states, of the papacy, of the friars; in the art of the Gothic cathedrals, a synthesis of all the beliefs and learning of the time; in Dante's *Divine Comedy* and Jacopre de Voragine's *Golden Legend*; in the codification of the canon law.

In addition to these general connections between scholasticism and the civilization of the Middle Ages, Wulf examines the chief doctrines of that philosophy and shows their relation to the religious spirit of the time, to its ideas of the physical universe, to its social philosophy, its theories of the state, and its conception of human progress. The author's knowledge of historical details is not always equal to his understanding of the thought of the period and certain errors of fact are to be noted. But these do not invalidate his general conclusions, which will be found most suggestive and provocative of further thought.

A. C. HOWLAND.

The Public Records of Scotland. By J. Maitland Thomson, LL.D. (Glasgow, MacLehose, Jackson, and Company, 1922, pp. ix, 175, 10 s. 6 d.) The material contained in this volume formed substantially the Rhind Lectures delivered by Dr. Thomson in 1911. He confines his attention to records made by "recording authorities", and thus excludes chronicles, diaries, and such like.

In six chapters Dr. Thomson discusses the adventures of the public records of Scotland, the records of the Lord Clerk Register's Department, records of the Chancery, Treasury, and Household, the land registers, ecclesiastical records, and records not in charge of the Clerk Register. Each chapter deals carefully with its material, its nature and worth. Details are given of documents already published, and the references to those still in manuscript will stir up enthusiasm for historical research. The volume constitutes the best available short guide to the public records of Scotland, and it possesses an excellent index.

Dr. Thomson's pages abound in references to societies and historians, through whose labors much has been accomplished. The diversity of these activities suggests, however, the organization of some central body which by its personnel and attainments would command confidence in direction and advice. Dr. Thomson is doubtless right in looking for the present to local effort; and, with perhaps the most learned

ministry in the world, each manse in Scotland might easily become a centre of zeal. For public documents doubtless the present official services as outlined by the author will widen their activities which have already provided such magnificent guides for students, but local interest will always be needed to deal with the vast quantity of less official material. On the other hand, every historical student knows how frequently inexpert enthusiasm makes him almost wish that material had been left severely alone. It is in this connection that a central body of scholars, sufficiently small to avoid becoming another society and large enough to handle organization in historical activities, would be invaluable as an advisory council of research. It may well be, as was suggested, I think, at the opening of the School of Historical Research in London, that Scottish records in the possession of public authorities in England will be returned to Scotland; a magnificent opportunity would thus be provided for a thoroughly new national organization. As it is, Dr. Thomson's volume draws attention to so much unorganized material that he will secure the gratitude of all students if he is able to transfer some of his skilled industry to the creation of such an organization as will map out expert research.

W. P. M. KENNEDY.

Das Zeitalter der Normannen in Sizilien. Von Dr. Willy Cohn, Breslau. (Bonn and Leipzig, Kurt Schroeder, 1920, pp. 212, M. 10). One of the interesting publishers' enterprises in Germany since the War is the *Bücherei der Kultur und Geschichte* of the firm of Kurt Schroeder, a series of small manuals "for scholars, students, and laymen". According to the prospectus, they are to be prepared by scholars with scientific exactitude, yet printed in such a form as not to repel the educated general public. Dr. Cohn's *Zeitalter der Normannen in Sizilien* forms the sixth volume of this series. The period covered is that from the first landing of the Normans in southern Italy to the death of Tancred and the triumph of Henry VI. in 1194. The work is without notes; the text is compressed within some 190 pages; and there follow 21 closely packed pages of bibliography, in which sources and secondary works are run in together in alphabetical order without criticism. Since all critical apparatus has been excluded from the text, says the author, the bibliography has been made "as extensive as possible". Nevertheless, the volume is more attractive than this summary description indicates. The author does not claim that it makes any original contribution; but he has used the works of Caspar, Chalandon, and others to good advantage. The history of the southern Norman kingdom is well placed in the broader current of European affairs; and the outstanding characters and events of a stirring age and the salient features of a brilliant cosmopolitan civilization are seized upon with insight and vividly presented. The style is concise and lucid, and the

pages are not overcrowded; yet space is found for special chapters upon administration and legislation during the reign of Roger II.

C. W. DAVID.

France and England: their Relations in the Middle Ages and Now. By T. F. Tout, M.A., D.Litt., F.B.A., Professor of History and Director of Advanced Study in History. (Manchester, University Press, 1922, pp. viii, 168, \$2.50.) This little book is substantially a series of four lectures, delivered at the University of Rennes in 1921, on the identical or interwoven civilizations of the French and the English from the Conquest to the close of the Hundred Years' War. The lectures deal with race, language, literature, architecture, education, religion, law, administration, parliamentary institutions, the art of war, and much other culture material, skillfully woven into a text which marches and makes progress. Anyone who has a cursory acquaintance with medieval history will find them pleasant reading, and the specialist will also get hints and *aperçus* of value. The cosmopolitan outlook of Henry II. is particularly well characterized. He was "almost as little Norman or Angevin as he was English. He was rather the sublimation [*corr.*] of that cosmopolitan French-speaking type which was as much at home in one part of the western world as another" (p. 66). Stubbs is chided for underestimating the French element in English culture (pp. 96 ff.), Edward I. and Philip IV. are recognized as promoters of parliamentary institutions for equally selfish ends (p. 99), and the theory of a real *ecclesia Anglicana* in the Middle Ages is again dismissed (p. 110). The suggestion that the economic disorders and proletarian class-consciousness in Western Europe *circa* 1381 may have been due in part to the destruction of capital in the Franco-English war (p. 147) might well lead to useful research.

The aim of the lectures was the promotion of friendship between the French and the English of to-day. Would that medieval comradeships might really promote modern understandings! There is little relating to the present day in the book (pp. 152-162), but what there is is generally sound and is graciously said. A plea is made against the biased history text-books of the two peoples (p. 162), which contribute their quota to mutual suspicion.

There are a very few contradictions and errors. The alliance of Burgundy with England was not treasonable to France (p. 15); yet it was a "national betrayal" (p. 139). John of Paris is erroneously lauded over Pierre Dubois for denying "the obligation of a universal realm" (p. 19). Dubois in the first part of *De Recuperatione* does that very thing. *Per contra* there is an index—an unexpected boon in an English book of this type. These lectures may be professedly a tract, but they are really first-rate history.

G. C. SELLERY.

Sainte Catherine de Sienne, Essai de Critique des Sources. I. Sources Hagiographiques, par Robert Fawtier, Docteur ès Lettres. [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. CXXI.] (Paris, E. de Boccard, 1921, pp. xv, 245, 20 fr.) Is history a mere "thought-form"? The rueful question rises, as one solid tradition after another disappears before relentless critical study. The turn of the noble legend of Saint Catherine of Siena has long been overdue; and M. Fawtier, continuing the labors of Edmund Gardner, "le rénovateur des études catheriniennes" and others, is making the close examination to be desired. The present volume, discussing sources hagiographical and historical, is to be followed by one discussing the letters of the saint. It has long been obvious that in the mass of her correspondence, much is "scuola" writing or has been edited with special intent; and M. Fawtier's discrimination will be eagerly awaited. Meantime, this keen and careful first volume is welcome.

The results are in the main destructive. There was a Catherine, older at her death than is supposed; she lived in Siena and she went to Avignon. But the superb figure of the great stateswoman, counsellor of popes and kings, vanishes. Peace between Florence and the pope was never intrusted to her; she had nothing to do with persuading the pope to leave Avignon; her one political interest was the Crusade. Nor is her private life left intact. The most moving episode in her career, subject of a famous and beautiful letter, is her attendance on Niccolo Toldo, a young Perugian conspirator, on the scaffold. Alas! Niccolo was probably never executed; story and letter are mere puffs of mist.

What remains? It is too soon to say. But M. Fawtier seems to have established his contention, that the legend as we have it is a deliberate tendency-record, inspired by the ambition of the Dominicans, especially Raymund of Capua, to magnify the prestige of their saint.

We acquiesce: we are grateful for the author's acumen. We also remember the many cases in which the first results of scientific criticism are later modified, and early records find more credence than was at one point deemed possible. . . . It will be a long time before the last word is said about Catherine of Siena.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

Histoire de Rome de 1354 à 1471. L'Antagonisme entre les Romains et le Saint-Siège. By E. Rodocanachi. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1922, pp. viii, 520.) After his many studies during the last thirty years dealing with papal Rome the distinguished author was very properly moved to produce this ambitious volume covering the city's last medieval phase. His subtitle communicates the true purpose of the book, which, by its limitation to the municipal interests of the Eternal City, enters into rivalry less with Pastor than with Gregorovius. The abundant material, especially of an economic nature, which in recent years has seen the light, has made it possible to deal with facts and forces

necessarily concealed from writers of an earlier date, and particularly interesting as bringing Rome into line with the other Italian cities. What Rodocanachi has, above all, successfully brought out is that the Rome of the fourteenth century entered, with certain undeniable handicaps, into the commercial movement of the period and attempted, not without notable courage in the face of such a stubborn opponent as the papacy, to work out a system of republican liberty. Of course the effort failed when the end of the Great Schism brought the pope back to the Vatican in the enjoyment of steadily increasing revenues and commanding the services of professional troops. Probably no living scholar possesses an equally solid command of the material, both published and unpublished, dealing with the struggle and failure of the democratic movement in Rome, and certainly not Gregorovius himself maintained more consistently a tone of sympathetic interest coupled with judicial detachment. Inevitably the close pursuit of purely local affairs occasionally carries the reader into the tedious minutiae of a communal development which, in spite of the glamor cast upon it by the world institution of the papacy, essentially lacks pith and substance, while the strictly chronological method adopted by the author produces some humdrum pages suggestive of the capricious movement of a medieval chronicle. Such defects are probably inherent in this form of study, the excellence of which will always be measured by the noteworthy of the evidence adduced and the sincerity of the author's craftsmanship. In both these respects Rodocanachi's work, which he would have us think of as a continuation of his *Cola di Rienzo*, maintains a high level.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

England under the Lancastrians. By Jessie H. Flemming, M.A. With a Preface by A. F. Pollard, Litt.D., F.B.A. [University of London Intermediate Source-Books of History, no. III.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1921, pp. xxi, 301, 12s. 6d.) "This, the third volume in the series of Intermediate Texts, links up the first, Miss Hughes' *Illustrations of Chaucer's England*, with the second, Miss Thornley's *England under the Yorkists*, and the three provide a continuous series of contemporary documents illustrating all aspects of English history, from the accession of Edward III. to that of Henry Tudor" (Preface). The general scheme of Miss Flemming's book is that of the preceding volumes,¹ the materials being arranged under these heads: Political (pp. 1-149), Constitutional (pp. 150-209), Ecclesiastical (pp. 210-240), Economic and Social (pp. 241-281). A short section is added on Ireland (pp. 282-288). Miss Flemming ends it and the book with an extract from *The Libel of English Policy*, written about

¹ *Amer. Hist. Review*, XXVI. (1921), pp. 569-570.

1436, which closes with these lines:

These seyde expensis gedred in one yere,
But in iij yere or iij gadred up here
Myght wynne Yrelonde to a fynalle conquest
In one soole yere, to sett us alle in reste.

The volume is drawn from a great variety of printed materials and in no small measure from unedited manuscripts. It is clear that the editor has designed not only to illustrate the standard themes but to introduce fresh illustrations. In this way she presents much unhackneyed matter for the meditations of students and also indicates the richness of the sources for the period. Professor Pollard insists on this point, again, in the preface to the volume. It "provides ample evidence", he says, "of the hollowness of the commonplace"—"that the materials for English history grow scantier as the Middle Ages draw to a close". This volume is assuredly a first-rate production. A straight-away reading of its varied materials gives a clear impression that, although Lancastrian times were rough and turbulent, nevertheless government and society were healthier, more merciful, less corrupt, and less vicious than in the Yorkist period which followed. The notes on sources (pp. xi-xx) are excellent and the index is of high grade.

G. C. S.

The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine. Text and Translation into English. By Christopher B. Coleman, Ph.D., Professor of History in Allegheny College. (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1922, pp. 183.) Professor Coleman, already favorably known through his excellent monograph *Constantine the Great and Christianity* (1914), offers in the present volume what seems a natural outgrowth of his studies preparatory to that undertaking. It consists of two parts, the text of the *Donation*, with an English translation, and Valla's famous exposure of the forgery, also accompanied by a translation on opposite pages. The text is the fragmentary one given by Gratian, Dr. Coleman having printed the full text in his earlier book. Why he should have borrowed the translation from Henderson's *Select Documents* does not appear. Certainly he is quite capable of doing his own translating, and the reader would feel an added confidence if the versions of text and comment could have been by the same hand.

The text of Valla's treatise is given from the Vatican manuscript, the only complete text known to the editor. Of critical apparatus we have here very little. Only brief reference is made to the several modern editions, and there is no critical description even of the manuscript on which the present edition is based. The translation is spirited, reproducing without exaggeration the pungent style of the original.

Dr. Coleman closes his brief introduction by a reference to his experience in using Valla's treatise with students as an illustration of

sound historical criticism. We welcome his contribution, trusting only that he and other teachers who may make such use of it will give due weight to the circumstances under which the treatise was composed. It would greatly enhance its value if, in a future edition, there were added some really adequate treatment of Valla's personality and the motives which led him to employ his caustic pen in so furious an assault upon the papal administration—not forgetting the final chapter of his repentance (?) and reconciliation.

La Conjuration d'Amboise et Genève. Par Henri Naef, Docteur ès Lettres. [Extrait des *Mémoires et Documents de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, t. XXXII.] (Geneva, A. Jullien; Paris, Édouard Champion, 1922, pp. 406, 15 fr.) Criticism of this careful and valuable study of the relations between the conspiracy of Amboise and Geneva has been somewhat disarmed by the author's frank admission in the foreword that it is badly proportioned. Many things in the text might with better wisdom have been relegated to the already voluminous foot-notes and appendixes. Certain chapters for which there seems to be no compelling necessity appear to have been laboriously compiled from the secondary accounts; others are distended by the chance accumulation of interesting but not always relevant fact. There is, however, an admirable table of contents, statements of fact are usually clear, and a brief but excellent summary is to be found in the concluding chapter. In spite of obvious defects, the book constitutes an important contribution to the historical literature of the subject and period.

A large amount of new material has not warranted new conclusions of importance either in regard to the character of La Renaudie, the part played by Calvin and his colleagues in the preparations for the insurrection, the accusations made by the Guisard faction and others, or the defense of Geneva against its enemies. We are still to believe that Calvin never actually approved the plans of the conspirators. Some of his followers were undoubtedly indiscreet, he himself might have viewed a successful outcome in a more favorable light, but the available evidence will support the Reformers in their assertion that they bore no real responsibility either for the plot or for its implications. It is this phase of his subject that the author has attacked with the greatest enthusiasm: it forms by far the best portion of his work.

The documents upon which the book is based are to be found almost exclusively in Swiss depositories. One rejoices that the archives at Geneva and at Bern have been searched so thoroughly, but it is a pity that the great French collections have been neglected. Twelve appendixes, comprising more than a third of the volume, facilitate the work of future investigators by giving in full many of the more important letters and papers utilized. The list of the principal works cited, obviously intended to serve as a bibliography, should prove a useful guide.

Several French titles of recognized excellence are omitted; the works of English and American scholars have been completely ignored, with the exception of Walker's *Calvin*, cited in the French translation.

SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

Catalogue of Manuscripts [in] the National Library of Wales. Volume I. *Additional Manuscripts in the Collections of Sir John Williams, Bart., G.C.V.O.* By John Humphreys Davies, M.A., Principal of the University College of Wales. (Aberystwyth, the Library, 1921, pp. xiii, 381, 15 s.) The National Library of Wales is one of the youngest institutions of the sort in the British Isles. But it is already a great library, so administered as to render notable service to literary and historical scholarship. Since it opened its doors in temporary quarters in 1909, it has been established in a suitable building and has acquired very important collections of books and manuscripts relating to the Principality. Mr. Ballinger, the librarian, and associated scholars, by a succession of excellent bibliographical publications, are making information concerning its treasures generally accessible to Celticists and other interested specialists.

The volume now under review is the first part of a *Catalogue of Manuscripts*. It comprises "additional manuscripts" in the collections presented to the library by Sir John Williams, that is to say, manuscripts not included in the *Plâs Llanstephan* catalogue published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1903. A second volume is promised, to cover the Peniarth Manuscripts not in Welsh, and therefore not included in the *Catalogue of Peniarth Manuscripts* issued by the Commission. The additional manuscripts now described are for the most part later and less important than those previously catalogued, but they are nevertheless of much value for the modern literature and history of Wales, particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They include the greatest variety of matter—history, genealogy, grammatical treatises, sermons, and miscellaneous literature in prose and verse. There are copies of the works of the older poets, though the texts are in general of inferior value. But on the modern poets and antiquaries—on Edward Jones ("Bardd y Brenin"), Theophilus Jones, the historian of Brecknock, Dr. Thomas Rees, the historian of Welsh Nonconformity, or Thomas Edwards ("Twm o'r Nant"), to name a few examples—there is abundant material of interest.

The catalogue has been compiled by Principal Davies of the University of Wales, with the assistance of Mr. A. J. Herbert, the late Dr. E. H. Quiggin, and Professor Bensly, who dealt respectively with Arthurian, Gaelic, and Latin items. Their work, as would be expected, measures up to the best bibliographical standards. The descriptions and analyses of manuscripts are minute and thorough, the excerpts in some cases being so numerous that the catalogue reads like a chrestomathy of verse.

F. N. ROBINSON.

Manon Phlipon Roland: Early Years. By Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922, pp. xv, 383, \$3.50.) This volume is the first half of a work in which the lamented author planned to embody the results of a long labor of love upon the history of Madame Roland. Of the second part there remain only notes, several of which her husband, the distinguished painter, has added as appendixes. One is a discriminating discussion of the "Portraits of Mme. Roland". In his introduction Mr. Blashfield has given further information on the same topic. Among the dozen portraits reproduced in the volume the most curious is the "Physionotrace Profile" made by a process popular in the later years of the eighteenth century. Mr. Blashfield says that the result, as in the case of the silhouette, "is only nominally correct and would depend in part on the skill, light-handedness, and art-knowledge of the executant". This example makes Madame Roland's countenance appear heavy, although the effect may be due to the fact that the original at the Carnavalet Museum has been colored, which, Mr. Blashfield explains, "tends to make the photograph harder and coarser". Mrs. Blashfield's work is based upon a painstaking study of all the material left by Madame Roland and her friends, and the amount is enormous, for Madame Roland from girlhood obeyed an irresistible impulse to record her impressions. The author's work has naturally been facilitated by the labors of her predecessors, notably M. Perroud, editor of the Roland letters and memoirs. She has sought other sources of information at the residences of the Rolands in Paris, Amiens, Le Clos de la Platière, Villefranche, and Lyons. Those who know Madame Roland chiefly as the Egeria of the Girondin party will be delightfully surprised by the story of her earlier life. She evidently possessed not only a genius for leadership in times of revolution, but also the traditional virtues of the French wife and mother, readiness for self-sacrifice, dependableness, and skill in management. And her middle-aged husband called for self-sacrifice, for when they were married, being already far on in his career as inspector of manufactures, member of sundry academies, writer of endless reports, soon to become editor of a great *Dictionnaire des Manufactures, Arts et Métiers*, he promptly turned her into an industrious amanuensis and secretary. Not the least surprising incident in the pre-Revolutionary career of the Rolands was the effort in 1784 to obtain letters of nobility. It seems that the family had once held that rank and through reverses of fortune had lost it. The attempt failed and Madame Roland's discovery of the character of the influences requisite for success did not add to her respect for the court and the bureaucracy. It is unfortunate that we are denied the sequel to this valuable study.

H. E. B.

British Diplomacy, 1813-1815: Select Documents dealing with the Reconstruction of Europe. Edited by C. K. Webster, M.A., Professor

of Modern History in the University of Liverpool. (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1921, pp. xlvii, 409, 12s. 6d.) Under this title Professor Webster collects 230 despatches, taken from a possible sixty thousand. They have been chosen to exhibit the views and the negotiations of the British Foreign Office, and its agents on the Continent, during the winding-up of the Napoleonic era. Of the documents, five are reproduced from miscellaneous sources, 43 from the *Castlereagh Correspondence* and 49 from the *Wellington Supplementary Despatches*; the remaining 133, from the Foreign Office Records, are here printed for the first time. The labor of selection and transcription has been heavy; it will be repaid by the use which students of the period will make of a published diplomatic correspondence hitherto accessible only to those who could consult the manuscripts in the Record Office.

It is to be regretted that the printing of so valuable a set of letters should have been undertaken without sufficient regard to the needs of students likely to refer to them. To take an instance in point: a certain writer of despatches from Berlin appears in the text under the singular name of "Jackson". He remains there simply as Jackson, with no initials, no statement of official position, and no further means of identification. In places the editing lacks precision to the point of being misleading. Thus, in calendaring the letters a précis of each is given—the only guide furnished to the contents of the volume; for no index has been provided. Turning, for example, to the précis for Letter II., we find: "Castlereagh to Cathcart. Instructs him to press for the consent of Prussia to the incorporation of various territories in Hanover." Reading the despatch itself we discover that it concerns a representation to be made to the Tsar, and not to the King of Prussia; in fact the letter recites that a second despatch of similar tenor is being forwarded to Berlin. In many other cases the wording of the précis is too vague and loose to serve as a correct guide. Professor Webster obviously had in mind only the few who may read his book through from cover to cover. Should a second edition appear, it might be well to alter the system of editing, so as to render the book usable by students interested in tracing particular despatches, or in pursuing particular questions arising from the general negotiations of the settlement at Vienna. And to this end an index also would be desirable.

C. E. FRYER.

Il Generale Raffaele Cadorna nel Risorgimento Italiano. Per Luigi Cadorna. (Milan, Fratelli Treves, 1922, pp. 401, 30 lire.) This is the most important volume upon *Risorgimento* history which has appeared in Italy in a twelvemonth. Raffaele Cadorna was not one of the first group of the makers of modern Italy, but he bore an active part in events from 1848 to 1870, in which latter year he commanded the Italian armies which occupied Rome. The present volume by his son General Luigi Cadorna is based largely upon his unpublished papers, and contains a great

number of new documents, including his valuable diaries of Piedmontese participation in the campaign of the Crimea, 1855-1856, in which he took part as major of infantry, and of the campaign of 1859, in which as lieutenant-colonel chief-of-staff of the Fifth Division (Cucchiari) he distinguished himself at the battle of San Martino. Cadorna was Tuscan minister of war, 1859-1860; as general commanding the Thirteenth Division he participated in the campaign of 1860, and as commander of the forces of the three Abruzzi he operated against the brigands of southern Italy, 1861-1862. From 1864 to 1873 he held command of the division of Florence, a command which suffered, however, four important interruptions in the course of ten years: first, from the campaign of 1866, in which Cadorna commanded first a division and then an army corps; second, from the revolt of Palermo in the same year, which he was sent to quell as commander of the military forces of the island and special royal commissioner; third, from the disorders in the Emilia in 1869; fourth, from the Roman expedition of 1870.

The Roman expedition is not described in the present volume, because it had already been exhaustively treated by General Raffaele Cadorna himself in his fully documented work, *La Liberazione di Roma nell'anno 1870 e il Plebiscito* (third ed., Turin, Roux, 1898). Upon all of Cadorna's other activities mentioned, important new documents are given. Revelations such as that upon the character of General Cialdini and his quarrel with Cadorna in 1866 (pp. 223-224) are of unquestionable interest. The military criticisms, particularly of the campaigns of 1859 and 1866, are also important as from the pen of General Luigi Cadorna, who was Italian chief-of-staff during the first three years of the Great War, and is a military critic of recognized authority. There is much that is polemical in the volume, which is throughout an uncompromising defense of the career of the father by the son; but the impartial historian must admit the success of the writer's attacks upon General Della Rocca's *Autobiografia* (pp. 123-124), upon General Pollio's *Custoza* (pp. 267-268), and upon General Angioletti's *Alcune Memorie* (pp. 308-313). Both Cadornas were firm believers in the traditions and discipline of the regular army, and it was difficult for them to do full justice to the volunteer troops of Garibaldi; but many of their criticisms of the volunteer forces are just.

H. NELSON GAY.

Corpi Volontari Italiani dal 1848 al 1870. Per Cesare Cesari. (Rome, Stabilimento Poligrafico per l'Amministrazione della Guerra, 1921, pp. viii, 122.) This dictionary of over three hundred different volunteer corps which were organized in various parts of Italy during the last twenty-three years of Italy's struggles for independence and unity has been published by the Historical Bureau of the General Staff of the Italian army, and is a contribution of the first importance to

military history of the *Risorgimento*. A few monographs upon individual corps were published in the valuable series of *Memorie Storiche Militari*, issued by this same Historical Bureau between the years 1909 and 1914, but no synthetic work upon the subject has been prepared until now, and it has been hitherto impossible for the historian to deal adequately with this phase of military history.

The dictionary gives a brief description of each corps, with many references to the various archives scattered throughout Italy, in which the unpublished records of the corps may be found. Colonel Cesari was one of the principal contributors to the *Memorie*, and as head of the Historical Bureau he has become one of the leading authorities on the modern military history of Italy. The dictionary has been compiled almost entirely from unpublished documents, and is richly illustrated with plates, giving portraits of leading volunteer officers and the characteristic uniforms of many of the corps.

H. NELSON GAY.

Le Travail dans l'Europe Moderne. Par G. Renard, Professeur au Collège de France, et G. Weulersse, Professeur au Lycée Carnot. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1920, pp. 524, 16.80 fr.) This volume is the sixth in the series entitled *Histoire Universelle du Travail*, edited by Georges Renard, and the second of which the editor of the series is joint author. The course of foreign and domestic commerce and the industrial and agricultural development of Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries are ably outlined and the generalizations are those of trained historians.

The pleasing style, the short but carefully selected bibliographies, the summarizing captions, and the excellent illustrations make it a valuable compilation for the general student of industrial history. It is probable that the student who turns to it in quest of fresh information and analysis of industrial and agricultural labor and the effect of the stupendous changes described on the lives of the workers will find the facts meagre and the attention of the authors rarely focused upon these problems. They are dismissed in the old style with a few generalizations which do not illuminate. This is even true in the case of France, where the account is by far most detailed and colorful. Indeed the emphasis put by the French authors on this country is misleading, for while we are without doubt in need of more and better histories of economic conditions in France from 1500 to 1800, the amount of space devoted to the country is not in scale with that of the rest of the volume. In comparison, England and Holland appear to have minor or less important rôles.

In spite of disproportionate brevity, the manual does afford opportunity for comparative study of industrial conditions in Europe during the three centuries through which the authors trace the development of nationalism and the progress of capitalist economy. The characteristics of the development emphasized are the subordination of industry

to commerce, the priority of the textiles in point of time, the slower progress of agriculture, and the increasingly hereditary and monopolistic character of control, in the hands of the capitalists, opposed by a newly emerged proletariat and the consequent intervention of the government.

AMY HEWES.

Der Untergang der Donau-Monarchie: Diplomatische Erinnerungen. Von Baron J. von Szilassy, ehemaligem Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Gesandten in Griechenland und ehemaligem Gesandten der Ungarischen Republik in Bern. (Berlin, E. Berger und Co., 1921, pp. 424, M. 60.) Baron Szilassy is a Magyar magnate who received his education in French Switzerland and England and who served Austria-Hungary as counsellor and chargé at Bucharest, Tokio, Petrograd, Constantinople, and elsewhere, becoming finally minister to Greece for Austria-Hungary in 1914 and minister to Switzerland for Hungary in 1919. During various crises he was a confidential adviser of Counts Aehrenthal and Berchtold. On two occasions he was slated for the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Baron Szilassy's contribution is a very important one, and there is hardly a subject discussed by him, from the annexation of Bosnia to the break-up of the Habsburg monarchy, upon which he does not cast new light. Most important, however, is his testimony that the appointment of Count Berchtold was a colossal blunder, which gave minor officials in the Foreign Office and the war-party led by Baron Conrad von Hoetzendorf their great opportunity to bring about the "inevitable" war with Serbia. He also points out that it was the Magyar policy of oppression against the non-Magyars and the unbending opposition of the Magyar oligarchy to the federalization of Austria-Hungary which brought about the break-up of that state. Baron Szilassy believed in an entente with Russia and a dual-federalization of the Habsburg monarchy.

The volume should be read by those who still believe Count Berchtold was a sort of Austrian Bismarck because his name is boldly signed on the vital documents. Szilassy, who spent much time as Berchtold's confidential adviser, shows him to have been "weak of will", "timid", "with the judgment of a child", "vacillating" and "inconscient" (p. 224). Chaos reigned in the Foreign Office in Count Berchtold's régime. "Everybody" gave advice, and the origins of vital decisions became so uncertain that it was common to hear that "X. or N. (officials there) made the decision, or perhaps even the porter" (p. 225).

Further information on Emperor Charles's *coup d'état* to "federalize" Austria-Hungary is given, and the emperor is shown to have been reluctant to give up the crown of Poland. The author, in discussing the period since 1918, believes that Hungary was unjustly made the "scapegoat of the World War".

Szilassy's book is worth translating into English. Its contributions are vital to the history of the period, and its point of view (with few exceptions) is that of a very liberal, broad-minded, intelligent, and sympathetic statesman.

ROBERT J. KERNER.

Die Stellung Hollands im Weltkrieg, Politisch und Wirtschaftlich. Von Dr. N. Japikse. Nach der Handschrift übersetzt von Dr. K. Schwendemann. (Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G., 1921, pp. vii, 383, M. 40.) The story which this volume has to tell bears an aspect of tragedy. As the author indicates, by her position as a minor power encircled by great and warlike neighbors, by her exposed boundaries and vulnerable colonies, by her tradition of independence and non-intervention, and, not least, by the widespread feeling of her citizens that the War of 1914 was primarily another episode in the secular struggle for the hegemony of Europe, the rôle indicated for Holland during the war was that of neutrality, most difficult and thankless of rôles. It could scarcely be otherwise: only a great and self-contained nation, such as America, could afford the grand gesture and vindicate the rights of humanity.

Behind the author's detailed and sober account of the reaction of Dutch opinion to the issues of the war and of the measures adopted by the extra-parliamentary government of Cort van der Linden in attempting honorably to maintain the impartial policy adhered to by common consent, we read of poignant difficulties. Most serious were the crises engendered by the German submarine campaign and by the so-called "blockade" of Germany by the Allies. It were impossible here even to summarize these questions. Suffice it to say that they are the episodes of a story which can scarcely be quite satisfying to citizens of the countries which were leagued against Germany; for the truth is that Holland, largely by virtue of her position as a commercial, colonial, and seafaring power, had even more to suffer from the Allies than from Germany. Some satisfaction may, however, be extracted from the fact that the Dutch were none the less definitely anti-German, though not inferentially pro-Ally. As the author illustrates, none were more outspoken in condemnation of German imperialism, of the invasion of Belgium and the *Lusitania* outrage, than Dutch publicists.

In the latter portion of the book, the author describes the economic, financial, and military measures undertaken by the government during the war; the two concluding sections discuss the problems which arose after the Armistice—the dispute between Holland and the Entente as to the passage of German troops through Limburg, the territorial controversy with Belgium, the Kaiser episode, and the effect upon Holland of the negotiations at Paris.

À l'Ambassade de Washington, Octobre 1917—Avril 1919: les Heures Décisives de l'Intervention Américaine. Par R. de Villeneuve-Trans.

(Paris, Éditions Bossard, 1921, pp. 287, 9 fr.) This book is primarily a study of American public opinion concerning four questions: the extent to which the United States would aid the allied powers, the character of the victory at which it aimed, the kind of a peace it would make, its attitude toward the League of Nations. The presentation of these subjects is based on statements in leading American newspapers, in the utterances of prominent and official persons, including Frenchmen resident in the United States, and in the debates of Congress.

President Wilson's purposes and personality are subjected to penetrating scrutiny, the essence and substance of his policies being thus epitomized: "He was a man and a philosopher before being an American and the head of a government" (p. 200). The discussions of Wilson's experiences in Europe, of the negotiations concerning the League of Nations, and of the opposition to it in the Senate have special merit, with the following words perhaps containing the fundamental reason for the President's failure: "It seemed as if a veil prevented the President from seeing clearly the realities which surrounded him . . ." (p. 202).

In addition to his main theme of America's part in the war and the Treaty of Versailles, the author tells much in a lively and discursive manner about party strife in the United States, conflicts in Congress, life in Washington; gives much space to Roosevelt's opinions about the war and to his foreign policies while President; and devotes two entire chapters to Franco-American relations.

The book is, of course, designed for French readers, who beyond question will find it instructive and entertaining. But for the serious American student of the war it contains little which is new, save additions to the story of how France tried to win American approval for intervention in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution. It does not give us that new knowledge concerning French diplomatic activity in the United States which a reader would naturally hope to find.

EARL E. SPERRY.

Arabia. By D. G. Hogarth. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922, pp. vi, 139, 7 s. 6 d.) In this little book the interest and value rise steadily from the beginning to the end. A history of Arabia, however short, must take account of the pre-Muslim times, of the rise of Islam, with the personality and life of Muhammad and the fates of his immediate successors. But all that is in the main stream of the history of the world and has been dealt with a hundred times, and by historians indefinitely better equipped than Mr. Hogarth. So 81 out of Mr. Hogarth's scant 131 pages must go before we reach the justification of his book, the history of Arabia after it—and the Arabs—ceased to hold the middle of the Muslim stage, when the Desert and its people had become as strange and terrible to Muslim travellers as to any stray Christian. These 81 pages are good and the often-told tale is freshly put; that is

the one great advantage of a historian who is not a specialist. Of course, there are many slight inaccuracies and no one should quote details from this book as of authority; there is not a single probative reference in it. But these pages do not take us far toward the Arabia of the War or into those dark centuries between of which we still await the full historian.

So seventeen pages must cover from the middle of the tenth to the last quarter of the eighteenth centuries, when modern Arabia began with the rise of Wahhabism. These sketch very lightly the origins of the great Sherifate houses and especially of that of Qatada about 1200 A.D., still regnant at Mecca; the coming of Europe by sea and the broken yet persistent Turkish domination. Zaidism, perhaps for the first time in a popular book, is given its due place. The last 31 pages are practically of our own time and tell of the Wahhabite rising, the intervention of Egypt, the Turkish restoration under the policy of Abd al-Hamid, the uniting of Arabia against the Turks in the recent war, and the breaking up again, which followed, into the old, essential elements. This is the nub of the book, although it would be unintelligible without the hundred pages which precede, and is well and clearly done. The only considerable addition necessary since Mr. Hogarth wrote is that Ibn Sa'ud from Riyadh has now captured Hail and has united for the time all inner Arabia. Thirty years ago Hail ruled Riyadh.

There is an index and a good map.

D. B. MACDONALD.

A Short History of American Literature, based upon the Cambridge History of American Literature. Edited by William Peterfield Trent, John Erskine, Stuart P. Sherman, and Carl Van Doren. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922, pp. v, 407, \$3.50.) This title is likely to mislead, for the book is not a complete history of American literature, condensed to scale from the larger work, but, except for a few unimportant changes, is merely a reprint of certain chapters, chiefly those on the greater authors. The colonial and revolutionary periods are represented only by chapters on Edwards and Franklin; minor writers of the nineteenth century are largely ignored, although some space is given to lesser novelists and to historians, scholars, and philosophers; and the chapters on newspapers and magazines, explorers, transcendentalism, etc., are omitted. The *Short History* therefore lacks the perspective and the lights and shadows which a real history of literature, even on a small scale, may and should have. The volume is, in brief, a collection of essays, most of them excellent, upon individual authors, and will doubtless be welcomed by the general reader who does not care to read the larger work or to make his own selections from it.

W. C. BRONSON.

État de l'Église Catholique ou Diocèse des États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Par Jean Dilhet. Translated and annotated by Rev.

Patrick William Browne, S. T. D. [Catholic University of America, Studies in Church History, volume I.] (Washington, D.C., *Salve Regina* Press, pp. xxv, 263, 140.)

Thomas Cornwaleys, Commissioner and Counsellor of Maryland. By George Boniface Stratemeier, O.P. [*Id.*, volume II.] (*Ibid.*, 1922, pp. x, 140.)

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, 1822-1922. By Edward John Hickey, Ph.D. [*Id.*, volume III.] (*Ibid.*, 1922, pp. x, 196.)

The Catholic Hierarchy of the United States, 1790-1922. By Rev. John Hugh O'Donnell, C.S.C. [*Id.*, volume IV.] (*Ibid.*, 1922, pp. xiv, 223.)

A cordial welcome is to be extended to the new series of *Studies in American Church History* which has been founded by Professor Peter Guilday, in charge of that department in the Catholic University of America, and of which the first four issues are here presented. Their nature is varied—documentary text, narrative monograph, and compiled manual. The first and largest is an edition of a general account of Catholicism in the United States prepared in the early days of the nineteenth century by Father Jean Dilhet, who was in this country from 1798 to 1807, serving at Detroit from 1798 to 1805, and then at Baltimore and in Pennsylvania. His manuscript, preserved in the archives of the Sulpician seminary in Baltimore, extends to 140 printed pages of French. A translation, not wholly accurate, is printed on opposite pages, and there are some 85 pages of notes, learned and useful, though at times redundant. Father Dilhet, after some general remarks, goes over the whole area of the United States, state by state, county by county in some instances, and mission by mission. The error of the earlier copyist whereby the valuable list of Catholic priests in the United States and the account of the mission at Newcastle, Maine, are interjected amid the counties of Maryland should have been rectified. Father Dilhet had of course not seen all the places of which he writes, and his observations are not always accurate, but, taken all together, they cast a flood of light on the situation of his church in 1807 which is to be obtained from no other one source, and which makes a most valuable addition to our knowledge. Many if not most of the page-numbers in the index are incorrect by one number. Father Stratemeier's monograph on Thomas Cornwaleys may be questioned as belonging only in a sense to the field of church history, but is industrious and thorough. Father Hickey's history of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (missionary society founded at Lyons in 1822) is an admirable piece of work, based on thorough study in European archives and at home, and written with an unusually broad apprehension of the society's relation to the church and to the world of which it formed a part. The fourth study is a very useful book of reference, in which the student will find listed all the archbishops and bishops consecrated for provinces and sees in the United States, with a

brief biography of each and a body of references for the further study of his life.

Washington and his Comrades in Arms: a Chronicle of the War of Independence. By George M. Wrong. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XII.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1921, pp. xii, 295.) We are under deep obligations to Professor Wrong for giving us in brief compass an unbiassed but sympathetic account of the American Revolution. We have had Belcher's acrimonious Tory view, and Trevelyan's admiring Whig view of the Revolution, and we have had the labored detachment of Lecky and Mahon. Bancroft has deified the Revolutionary fathers, Fiske has glorified them, and we have had them cynically presented by Sydney George Fisher. It is a great boon to have them soberly, judiciously, capably handled by a distinguished scholar who has given, perhaps, a more balanced account because he is not a specialist in the field. One is always conscious that the author feels as an American feels upon a matter where there is room for controversy, and yet he keeps the balance on the cool side of sentiment in all the problems that he weighs. Perhaps none but a Canadian could have done it so well.

The main criticism one would make is of the neglect of certain fundamental subjects like the powers and business methods of Congress, the making of the state constitutions, the evolution of political forms and institutions, and the development of political ideals. Since the whole outcome of the war depended upon the diplomatic activities in the European courts it would seem that much more space might have been given to an account of them. Unless there is another volume in the series which has not appeared, and which deals with those questions, it would seem a serious fault of the editor or of the author that these subjects are either omitted or lightly touched upon. All of these omitted subjects had vastly more influence upon all the American future than most of the problems actually dealt with. No one who knows the author can have the slightest doubt of his ability to deal with these problems in the ablest manner if it were his intention to do so, and the reflection therefore would seem to lie upon the plan of the series. Such an omission could hardly have been due to the need that the treatment be popular, for the subjects are full of human interest if handled with imagination, a faculty which in its best sense Professor Wrong displays in a high degree. It is unfortunate that so satisfying a treatment of a vital period of American history should have been marred by this fault.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano. [Biblioteca "La Cultura Cubana", volume III.] By Raúl de Cárdenas. (Havana, Sociedad Editorial *Cuba Contemporánea*, 1921, pp. viii, 284.) Señor Cárdenas's evident aim is to give his Spanish-American reader an accurate conception of the manner in which the United States has reached its present position of power and influence in the American

continent. The first section of his book sketches briefly the history of each successive addition to the territory of the Union. The second describes the origin and history of the Monroe Doctrine, and the third discusses the more recent relations between the United States and the countries bordering on the Caribbean Sea. There are numerous quotations from North American writers and statesmen by which the author seeks to give an unprejudiced picture of the motives which have guided the policy of the American government and to show that the expansion of American influence is merely a necessary consequence of the geographical situation and of the economic development of the United States. The book is notably free from the exaggeration and tendency to propaganda which have too often characterized the treatment of these subjects both by Latin-American and by Anglo-American authors; and the advantages which our nearer neighbors have derived from their relations with the United States, as well as those aspects of our Caribbean policy which the author believes open to criticism, are discussed in a spirit of fairness which lends a special interest to the author's concluding pages.

Based as it is mainly upon the writings of North American authors, the book contains relatively little that will be new to the historical student in this country. The reader cannot but feel that the author has derived his historical material largely from works of a rather popular nature. The book is nevertheless an important contribution to the literature in Spanish upon the relations between the United States and Latin America.

DANA G. MUNRO.

The American Embargo, 1807-1809, with particular reference to its Effect on Industry. By Walter Wilson Jennings, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Commerce. [University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. VIII., no. 1.] (Iowa City, the University, 1921, pp. 242, \$1.50.) A sizable monograph, like this, issued under scholarly auspices, treating a well-worked, limited theme, incurs heavy liabilities. Intended primarily for scholarly readers, it must justify itself by its immediate pertinence, vital contributions, or, certainly, definitive scholarship. Yet any enhanced pertinence of the Embargo problem due to recent world events—intimations of its "Editorial Introduction" notwithstanding—this study apparently ignores. Fundamentally it represents just a painstaking utilization of fairly representative contemporary journals—material with inherent limitations, already adequately exploited, evidently, since this fuller search adds to findings of precursors little besides a plethora of old-newspaper puns and prejudices.

The limitations of this research, in scope and character, are regrettable. Having been restricted to a few Midwest libraries, it ignores the whole body of American and foreign manuscript materials indispensable for any real restudy of its problem. Moreover, its considerable bibliography of printed materials omits essential sources like *Niles' Register*, the

Girard and the Morse letters, also vital scholarly studies of Mahan, Updyke and others, although it lists some new items of merit with others more dubious and mere text-books. Nor is the listing always logical in classifications and exact in citations. Moreover, miscitation and persistent misspelling, in William Pinkney's case, is aggravated by implying the misspelling of that diplomat's signature in *American State Papers* (p. 31 n.). Yet more to be deprecated than such lapses are deficiencies of grasp, perspective, and critical acumen. Evidences of such deficiencies are the effort for an unreal, mechanical simplicity in handling diplomatic and political background, the use of inadequately controlled statistics, and a pervading penchant for mere contemporary opinion, such as citing American hearsay editorials and Congressional speeches for Embargo effects abroad, despite vital contrary evidence published from foreign archives. Such fundamental faults give the study an inconclusiveness which is not remedied by another marked tendency to overmuch cautious balancing of contradictory evidence at the expense of logical unity and clarity. Nevertheless, thanks to its dominantly traditional conception, largely, the deductions from this research are essentially those of the standard authorities and text-books regarding the Embargo. Consequently, although this readable monograph seems to have the marks of the usual dissertation, it scarcely can be appraised a really valid or distinctive contribution to historical scholarship.

F. E. M.

E. H. Harriman: a Biography. By George Kennan. In two volumes. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xvii, 421; ix, 421, \$7.50.) Theodore Roosevelt and Edward Henry Harriman were the great protagonists of the two principles whose conflict gives the meaning to the first decade of the present century. The historian has thus far been forced to seek a judgment upon the merits of their struggle from the formal documents created in the course of public business, and the partizan and fragmentary details that have from year to year leaked into the hands of editors. The time is now approaching when the biographical data concerning the leaders in the contest will make it possible to reach conclusions of permanent utility. And this book by a seasoned journalist adds greatly to the materials upon which such a conclusion may be based.

Like many historical personages of our day, Harriman did not leave an important archive of working papers; or at least his biographer makes no parade of one. There are letters justificatory, and memoranda prepared by Harriman to preserve special data, as well as many memoirs prepared for Mr. Kennan's use by the men who worked with Harriman. There is much analysis of financial reports, and of details concerning the railroad mergers. Throughout the volumes there is a spirited defense of Harriman's view and acts. The altruistic side of his life is brought forward to give testimony to character, though with less grace

and carrying less conviction than John Muir's sketch. The book is written in the full assumption that the beneficial and useful work of the leaders of our industrial age has been hampered at every turn by demagogues and ambitious adventurers.

Unquestionably there is a case to be made for the consolidators, though it cannot be made complete by one who like Mr. Kennan sees no virtue in the attempt of government to establish a control over industry and traffic. Harriman is brought out as a builder rather than a speculator. By chapter and verse it is proved that his properties were made more productive because of his management of them. His great adventure in Union Pacific, and the southwest merger, is described with much useful detail. And the literature of railroad consolidation has been combed for expressions of opinion that the Northern Securities decision, if good law, was at least bad policy.

The Harriman-Roosevelt controversy receives attention that will interest any student attracted by the merits of various memberships in the Ananias Club. The letters that are printed tend to strengthen the conviction that the facts immediately involved did not warrant the outburst, and that the explosion was more directly due to accumulated irritation and congested emotions. After all, when Harriman and Roosevelt, or Harriman and Sherman engaged in private converse and subsequently disagreed, neither was good authority for the motives of the other.

If Mr. Kennan had been less of a partizan, he would possibly have been less effective as a biographer.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

American Portraits, 1875-1900. By Gamaliel Bradford. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xvii, 249, \$3.50.) The author says in his preface that this group of portraits is the first of a series of seven volumes, in which he hopes "to cover American history", including "representative figures in all the varied lines of life, statesmen and men of action, writers, artists, preachers, scholars, professional men, and men prominent in the business world"—a sufficiently ambitious project, the difficulty of which is recognized by the author, who says, however, "I am concerned with their souls and deal with their work only as their souls are illustrated in it."

In the present volume the difficulty has been lessened by choosing figures—writers, artists, politicians (Mark Twain, Henry Adams, Lanier, Henry James, Whistler, Joseph Jefferson, Blaine, Cleveland)—who afford a biographer plenty of material for the understanding of their souls. The sketches first appeared in magazines, and are short, less than thirty pages each. They are based upon study of the subjects' letters and other writings and upon the standard lives of them, reminiscences and estimates by their friends, etc.; there is no evidence of personal knowledge or of original research by the author.

The value of *American Portraits* must depend, therefore, upon the insight and judgment of the biographer in studying the published mate-

rial and upon his skill in precipitating the results of his study into a brief sketch. In general the value is considerable. Mr. Bradford has the gift of penetrating to the centre of the nature he is analyzing; he is both sympathetic and critical; and his style, although marred by some "modern" carelessness and smartness, is vigorous and vivid and always readable. Each sketch leaves with the reader a distinct picture of a real and interesting personality. The narrow limits forbid full portraiture, and in focusing for unity and sharpness of outline, the biographer necessarily sacrifices something of the modifying effect of minor details; but, on the whole, breadth of view and truth of perspective are fairly well preserved.

The sketch of Jefferson is the slightest and the least worthy of a place in the group; that of James is the feeblest. Mark Twain is painted *con amore*, with great verve, yet the painter sees clearly the limitations and faults of his subject and is perhaps too severe on the whole. The contrasts between the slippery brilliancy of Blaine and the stolid, blunt honesty of Cleveland are brought out with a delicate yet sure hand. Although these two are the only members of the group who were prominent figures in American political history, the relations of Mark Twain, Adams, and Lanier to American life in general receive due emphasis.

W. C. BRONSON.

Making Woodrow Wilson President. By William F. McCombs, Chairman, Democratic National Convention. Edited by Louis Jay Lang. (New York, Fairview Publishing Company, 1921, pp. 309, \$2.50.) Every avenue and boulevard of approach to this book should be placarded "Detour", so as to warn off students and others seeking to acquire a knowledge of the history of our times. There are as many ways of making Presidents as there are "of writing tribal lays", but not "every single one of them is right". The making of a President is a curious, complicated, and interesting business. A true and comprehensive account by an actual participant is not yet available. Certainly this book does not nearly live up to its title. It was apparently written to ease a grudge against Mr. Wilson. Mr. McCombs did not write all of it. He died before the book was published. His assistant, or editor, Mr. Louis Jay Lang, is a veteran worker in the Hearst vineyard. It is enough to say that the material is badly arranged, full of inaccuracies, and does not inspire confidence. It will prove particularly annoying and distressing to those persons who had any knowledge of the preliminary campaign leading up to Mr. Wilson's nomination at Baltimore in 1912. If the narrative has any value at all, it is in its unconscious revelation of Mr. McCombs, who seems to have kept voluminous notes about his grievances against Wilson, but to no end.

This is the sort of book that is best left in obscurity.

Our Navy at War. By Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, 1913 to 1921. (New York, George H. Doran Company, [1922], pp. vi, 390, \$3.00.) A volume of nearly four hundred pages describing the activities of the United States Navy by an official who was the administrative chief of that navy during the whole period of the World War must, from that very fact, command attention, whatever its character may be. Mr. Daniels's book is just the kind of a work one would expect from a journalist; graphically and chattily written, with a wealth of anecdote, and copiously and interestingly illustrated. Here and there may be found accounts of activities contained in no other published volume, such as chapter XXIII., which describes the working of the secret service under the Office of Naval Intelligence. The book possesses many of the merits and most of the weaknesses of an intentionally popular work; but it has evidently been too quickly thrown together, and is too inaccurate to be accepted in any manner as history.

History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919. By Philip Alexander Bruce, LL.B., LL.D. Volume V. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. vii, 477, \$4.50.) Dr. Bruce has successfully avoided in this closing volume of his extensive work all temptation to huddle his narrative at its close. He covers the period 1904-1919, the last of the nine into which the five volumes are divided, with all the dignity of manner and the authoritative copiousness of material to be found in his preceding installments, and, although he is describing changes which appear to have diminished, if the phrase be admissible, the uniqueness of the institution of which he is the historian, it would be unfair to infer that his pages have suffered in consequence an appreciable decline in interest or in philosophical significance. His treatment of what is probably the main change, the substitution of a permanent president for the less effective chairman of the faculty, is balanced and sympathetic, and his account of the expansion of the university under the new system of government established in response to the needs of the much altered South is comprehensive and optimistic. The attitude of the institution toward the vexed question of extending educational privileges to women is discussed without partizanship, and even in the pages which deal with the achievements of students and alumni during the World War the emotion displayed suggests no essential loss of the impartiality we expect of a historian. In wealth of details illustrative of the growth of the university during the period covered the volume is inferior to none of its predecessors, and to the younger alumni, as well as to persons interested in the South of to-day, it may well seem the most attractive portion of the narrative. An index of more than forty pages closes fitly a very notable work, which is not merely a history of the fortunes of an important university, but also a valuable source of information with regard to the culture of the South during the past hundred years.

W. P. TRENT.

The Convention of 1846. The Struggle over Ratification, 1846-1847. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vols. XXVII., XXVIII.; Constitutional Series, vols. II., III.] (Madison, the Society, 1919, 1920, pp. 827; 716, \$2.00 each.) These volumes, together with the first volume of the series, on *The Movement for Statehood, 1845-1846*, present a full documentary history of Wisconsin's first effort to form a state constitution. The editor is to be complimented upon the thoroughness with which the record has been reconstructed from official records and from the newspapers of the period. When the series has been completed by the publication in equal detail of the material bearing upon the framing and adoption of the constitution of 1848, it will be possible to write definitively the history of the formative period of constitution-making in Wisconsin.

When so much has been offered, it may perhaps be ungenerous to ask for more; but the usefulness of these volumes, both to students and to others, would be increased by historical introductions to each volume, calling attention in some detail to the significance of the documents printed therein. The historical introduction to the first volume of the series is useful, but it should be supplemented by critical comment in each volume. This defect may perhaps satisfactorily be met by a full account of the state's constitutional history, after the completion of the series.

The University of Chicago Biographical Sketches. Volume I. By Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed. (Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. ix, 393, \$3.20.) This is a filial volume. It records a part of the debt owed by the University of Chicago and its community to the men who earned greatly and gave wisely in their behalf. From the fact that it is numbered volume I., it may be inferred that the record is not yet complete. But no succeeding volumes in this *Acta Sanctorum* can have the variety of interest that this possesses. Without exception the Chicago benefactors of first rank were American born; and in nearly every case they came of families colonial bred. In a community whose wealth and whose present management are so largely in the hands of the recent alien, this fact is of much significance. The men who had the vision to reorganize and endow the university in 1892 were not visionaries, or of the idle rich. They were intensely practical in affairs. John D. Rockefeller, the greatest of the donors, is yet living, and hence is excluded from this volume. His creative hand, and those of his co-workers touch our modern social evolution at every novel side. The bench and bar are here among the benefactors. But alongside these are exponents of Yankee ingenuity as well as New England culture. The refrigerator car is here, and the stock-yards, and the slaughter-houses. Petroleum, the department store, the railroad, the cracker-bakery, the steam radiator, the windmill, and the Diamond Jo line of river steamers, have all paid tribute to higher education. It is

a highly American composite that is portrayed. The historian owes something to the university for so firmly establishing the indigenous character of its culture. The individual biographies are naturally somewhat uncritical and laudatory.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Seventy Years of Progress in Washington. By Ezra Meeker. (Seattle, the Author, 1921, pp. 381, 52, \$5.00.) Through a striking personality in old age and through recent crossing and recrossing of the American continent with ox-teams while marking the old historic Oregon Trail, Ezra Meeker has become the best-known pioneer in this country. Heretofore he has published a number of books, such as *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound*, *The Ox Team*, and *Eighty-Five Years of a Busy Life*. This present work is larger than any of the others. Of course it traverses the same ground as the others. He has added statistics about temperatures, about schools and industries, to justify the word "progress" in the title. The author does his best writing when dealing with pioneer home experiences. Such portions of his book will live longest.

Unfortunately, Mr. Meeker felt it necessary to repeat on pages 345-350, from his former work—*The Tragedy of Leschi*—certain statements to the effect that Chief Leschi had been wrongfully executed for murder. He seems to have forgotten that his brother Oliver P. Meeker was chairman of an indignation meeting and that he himself was a member of the committee which drafted resolutions condemning those who retarded justice by delaying the execution of which he now complains. The proceedings of that meeting were published in the *Pioneer and Democrat* on January 29, 1858, and were republished in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, January, 1914.

On pages 351 to 381, Mr. Meeker includes a chapter on Indian Wars from the pen of Maurice FitzGerald, a former Indian scout with General O. O. Howard.

The author has also added, as an appendix of 52 pages, the reprint of a rare pamphlet which he had issued in 1870 under the title *Washington Territory West of the Cascade Mountains*. That certainly adds materially to the value of the present work.

The interesting illustrations include a portrait of the venerable author (with a place for his autograph) on his ninety-first birthday, December 29, 1921, which was also the date of publication.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

The Railroads of Mexico. By Fred Wilbur Powell, Ph.D. (Boston, Stratford Company, 1921, pp. vii, 226, \$2.00.) This small volume is partly the result of investigations carried on while its author was connected with the Doheny Research Foundation, which had its headquarters at the University of California, and partly the result of later research. It constitutes a needed chapter in the history of transportation on the North American continent. The task essayed in its writing was of no small

proportions, for Dr. Powell was confronted by the fact of the breakdown of the facilities for obtaining information after 1910, the last normal year of Mexico. Hence, the data obtainable were at times only fragmentary and not entirely trustworthy, either because of delay in the publication of reports or of contradictions in the published reports, both official and unofficial. In view of the difficulties encountered, the author, whose special training has well fitted him for an investigation of this character, has with commendable caution considered his task to be that of reporting "the results of a study of all available information which will contribute to an understanding of the situation and to a consideration of its remedy".

The book is divided into three parts: (1) a study of the present and of the period following the Diaz régime; (2) a brief summary account of the development of that great system of land transportation which so rapidly brought Mexico out of a long period of economic stagnation; and (3) certain background considerations and conclusions (consisting of chapters on the relations with the government, and results, political and economic). In treating his subject, the author has made considerable use of direct quotations from reports and accounts, by which he has shown the conditions of the railroads and the disaster that has overtaken them, and the methods employed in their working. It seems to the present reviewer that the author might with profit have followed a more logical arrangement of the valuable material which he presents by giving the background and historical matter first and following this with a review of the present condition of the railroads and the future outlook. In any such arrangement as that suggested, the second part would naturally precede the first. However, this criticism cannot be dogmatically defended, for it is apparent that Dr. Powell has been chiefly interested in the present unsatisfactory condition of transportation, and he has evidently deliberately chosen his method of presentation.

A great deal of valuable information concerning concessions, construction, financing, and operation of Mexican railroads has here been brought together for the first time. Other data may be found that will supplement those here gathered together, but they will scarcely affect the basic conclusions to be deduced from the present work. The history of the various lines that have been built in Mexico adds materially to the value of the book. The bibliography of twenty-four pages is the most voluminous and valuable of which the reviewer knows. The index is rather better than is generally found in books of this nature. There is a railroad map of Mexico, which was prepared in the War College in Washington in 1916. A few slips in proof-reading have been noticed.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association is to take place at New Haven, beginning on the afternoon of Wednesday, December 27, and ending Saturday noon, December 30. The chairman of the committee on the programme is Professor David S. Muzzey of Columbia University; the chairman of the committee on local arrangements, Professor Max Farrand of Yale University. The programme is to be made simpler and shorter than usual, giving the members more opportunity to talk with each other or otherwise dispose of their time. It is hoped that a high official of the United States government, and Sir Robert Borden, late prime minister of the Dominion of Canada, may address the Association. The sessions thus far provided for are sessions in the history of the United States, for which the programme is in charge of Professor Dixon R. Fox; in English history, Professor Robert L. Schuyler; in Latin-American history, Professor Charles E. Chapman; in the history of the Far East, Professor Kenneth S. Latourette; in that of the Near East, Professor W. L. Westermann; and in legal history, Professor George E. Woodbine. The first edition of the programme may be expected to be sent to members before the end of November.

In advance of the publication of the other two volumes of the *Annual Report* for 1919, the Government Printing Office has brought out as a supplementary volume Miss Grace G. Griffin's annual bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1919* (pp. xxii, 227). The volume, prepared with the same admirable care as its predecessors, in accordance with forms which we may trust are by this time familiar to most members of the Association, records 2782 items of books and articles on United States, Canadian, and Hispanic-American history.

By the will of Professor Dunning (see the next page), the sum of \$5000 is bequeathed to the Association, subject to the payment of the income to a relative during her lifetime.

It is perhaps desirable to mention in this place that the bills for annual dues, sent out to members of the American Historical Association in September by its treasurer, have been made out in accordance with the vote passed by the Association at its last annual meeting, amending the constitution in such manner that after September 1, 1922, the beginning of a new fiscal year, the annual dues were to be five dollars instead of three. From the same date, the fee for life-membership became one hundred dollars instead of fifty.

PERSONAL

We have with great regret to record the death of William Archibald Dunning, professor of history and political philosophy in Columbia University, who died in New York on August 25, aged 65. A graduate of Columbia (A.B. 1881, Ph.D. 1885), he began teaching in that university in 1886, and was a professor in it—and an exceptionally useful one—from 1891 till his death. As a member of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association, 1892-1902, and chairman of its committee on publication, 1906-1910, he rendered most valuable services to the Association. He was its president in 1913. To this journal he was from the beginning a constant and helpful friend, though his relation to the *Political Science Quarterly*, of which he was managing editor from 1894 to 1903, prevented him from being a frequent contributor.

His chief published work was his *History of Political Theories* (1902, 1905, 1920), a masterly survey of the writers on political theory, from the Greeks to Spencer, marked by learning, insight, sound criticism, and clarity of thought and style. The other chief field of his interest was that of American history in the period indicated by the title of his *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1898); besides these essays in the constitutional history of that period, he published an admirable volume, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic* (1907), in the *American Nation* series, which showed more amply his gifts of style, in telling narrative and effective portrayal. With his keen powers of analysis and his humorous detachment from the ancient prejudices with which that portion of our history had been environed, he was able to view it with a wholesome freshness and to make its history a rational story. Similar qualities, with a freer hand, marked his book on *The British Empire and the United States* (1916). But that which after all gave most distinction to Professor Dunning's career was his achievement as a teacher, for his work with graduate students resulted in what may fairly be called a school of younger investigators and writers on the history of the United States in the period of Civil War and Reconstruction, and a still larger host of students were bound to him by ties of well-deserved affection. His lively wit and kindly disposition made him a most engaging companion, and he was a warm and genial friend.

Ernest Lavisse, of the French Academy, *doyen* of French historians, died on August 18, at the age of 79. Beginning his career as private secretary of Victor Duruy, he taught for several years in various lycées, then, 1875-1880, in the École Normale Supérieure, of which he was afterward director, and from 1888 till 1920 he was professor of modern history in the Faculty of Letters in Paris. His earlier publications lay in the field of Prussian history; among them were his *Études sur l'Histoire de Prusse* (1879); *Trois Empereurs d'Allemagne: Guillaume I., Frédéric III., Guillaume II.* (1888); *La Jeunesse du Grand Frédéric* (1891); and *Le Grand Frédéric avant l'Avènement* (1893). His re-

markable little *Vue Générale de l'Histoire Politique de l'Europe* (1890) is familiar to many students in the English translation provided by the late Professor Gross. His chief historical work in more recent years consisted in editing, with the late Alfred Rambaud, the twelve volumes of the *Histoire Générale* (1893-1904), and, individually, the nine volumes of the *Histoire de France des Origines jusqu'à la Révolution* (1901-1911), of which he himself wrote the two half-volumes devoted to Louis XIV., and the eight volumes of the *Histoire de France Contemporaine, 1789-1919* (1920-1921). For many years he had been a man of great influence in French education, both because of the vigor of his thought in that field and because of the extraordinary hold he won upon the affections of young men; only two or three men of the recent generation have done so much for the improvement of the higher education in France.

We regret to announce the death, on July 10, of Sir George Prothero, friend of many American historical scholars, and well known in the United States by reason of visits and lectures here. Born in 1848, he was for some eighteen years a teacher of history in King's College, London, then, 1894-1899, professor of history in the University of Edinburgh. Since that date he had been editor of the *Quarterly Review*. He was for four years president of the Royal Historical Society, and was chairman of a committee, with which a committee of the American Historical Association co-operated, for the preparation of a large bibliography of modern English history. His volume of *Select Statutes and other Documents bearing on the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.* (1894) has been widely used in colleges. He was editor of the *Cambridge Historical Series*, and one of the editors of the *Cambridge Modern History*. As director of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office during the latter part of the war, he prepared the series of *Peace Handbooks* issued by that department; it was indeed his public services in war-time that undermined his health. Along with great learning and abilities, he was marked by extraordinary kindness of disposition and charm of manner.

Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent visits the United States this autumn in the interest of the Educational Foundation established by the Commission for Relief in Belgium, but is, unfortunately for us, not able to remain long enough to attend the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Another eminent European historian who lectures in the United States this autumn is Hon. John W. Fortescue, president of the Royal Historical Society, author of the *History of the British Army*.

Dr. Abbott P. Usher, hitherto of Boston University, has been made assistant professor in Harvard University, charged with instruction in economic history.

Dr. Lawrence Martin, drafting officer in the Department of State, formerly associate professor of geography in the University of Wisconsin, will give courses on the historical geography of post-bellum Europe during the first semester of the present academic year at Clark University. He will be followed in the second semester by Professor A. L. P. Dennis, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, who will give courses on the recent history of the British Empire and on the foreign policies of Soviet Russia.

Professor Sidney B. Fay of Smith College and Professor Dana C. Munro of Princeton have leave of absence during the second half of the present academic year.

At Princeton University Mr. Dayton Voorhees has been promoted to an assistant professorship of history.

Mr. Wayland F. Dunaway has been promoted to associate professor of history in Pennsylvania State College.

Dr. George A. Wood, formerly of Ohio State University, has been made professor of history at Lake Forest College, Illinois.

Professor W. M. Gewehr, formerly of Morningside College, Sioux City, has been appointed professor of history in Denison University as successor to Dr. K. S. Latourette. Dr. Warner Woodring of the University of Chicago goes to Morningside as professor, and Mr. John W. Hoffman of Chicago as assistant professor.

In the University of Minnesota Professor A. B. White has returned to his duties after a year's leave of absence, but Professor Samuel B. Harding, acting professor of history in his absence, remains as director of the academic work in the Extension Division, and will also hold a lectureship in the department of history.

Mr. Theodore C. Gronert, professor of history in the Texas College of Industrial Arts, has been elected professor of European history in the University of Arkansas, and entered on his duties there in September.

On appointment offered by the government of Mexico to the University of Texas, Dr. Charles W. Hackett spent a large part of the summer in the Mexican capital, occupied in researches in the federal archives.

The surname of Professor Carl Christophelsmeier of the University of South Dakota has been changed to Christol.

Professor Waldemar C. Westergaard of Pomona College has received an appointment as travelling fellow on the American-Scandinavian Foundation, and will spend most of the present academic year in Sweden, occupied with the study of Baltic problems.

Professor J. L. Morison of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, has resigned his position there and returned to England, where he has be-

come professor of history in Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne. His place at Kingston is taken by Dr. D. M. MacArthur, formerly of the Public Archives of Canada.

Dr. Hubert Hall, who for forty-two years has been connected with the Public Record Office in London, most of the time as an assistant keeper, and in that office has rendered constant and invaluable service to American investigators and students, retired from the Public Record Office some months ago. We make the fact known in order that Americans seeking information from that office may look elsewhere; but Dr. Hall continues his work for the Royal Historical Society and his lecturing in the University of London.

Friends of the late Professor Alfred Cauchie will be interested in reading a careful and excellent survey of his life-work by one of his chief pupils, Abbé F. Baix, *Alfred Cauchie* (Charleroi, *Terre Wallonne*, pp. 29). Another excellent account, by Professor Léon Van der Essen, appears in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for April-July.

GENERAL

The Fourth International Congress of Historical Studies, held in London in April, 1913, voted that the next should be held in St. Petersburg in April, 1918, but no such meeting has occurred in these nine years. It is now arranged that such a congress shall be held at Brussels, April 8-15, 1923, under the patronage of the King of the Belgians. The invitations are sent out by the Royal Academy of Belgium; Professor Henri Pirenne is president of the committee of organization, Father Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J., and Professor Franz Cumont the vice-presidents; the address of the secretary is: Dr. F. L. Ganshof, 12 rue Jacques Jordaens, Brussels. Provision has been made for thirteen sections, representing the various divisions and aspects of history; and for co-operation, by committees in many lands, in the work of organization. The president of the American Historical Association has appointed a committee to act for it in making such preparations as may be requisite for participation by historical scholars in the United States. It consists of J. F. Jameson, chairman, Clarence W. Alvord, Carl R. Fish, Tenney Frank, Waldo G. Leland, James T. Shotwell, and Paul Van Dyke. The chairman would be glad to receive the names of any persons who think of attending, and to supply desired information. It is hoped that many Americans will be present; the Belgian committee has expressed this hope in terms especially cordial. The fee for membership is fifty Belgian francs. Preceding congresses were held at Paris in 1900, at Rome in 1903, at Berlin in 1908, and at London in 1913.

The Historical Congress, mentioned in previous issues of this journal, which accompanies the Brazilian celebration of the centennial anniversary of independence, opened in Rio de Janeiro on September 7. It was

attended by several members of the committee appointed for the purpose by the American Historical Association.

The American Library in Paris is endeavoring to strengthen its department of American history, economics, and political science, and would be glad to receive gifts of books in this field, especially of standard or more recent works. In order to avoid duplication it would be well for those who have books which they are willing to dispose of in this way to communicate first with the director of the library, Mr. W. Dawson Johnston, 10 rue de l'Elysée, Paris VIII. An advisory committee on American history has been appointed, consisting of Professor Bernard Moses, M. Bernard Faÿ, Mr. Robert W. Neeser, and Mr. Waldo G. Leland, chairman.

The prize of \$3000 offered by the Historical Committee of the Knights of Columbus (among other prizes) for the best historical work submitted by a university or college professor of history has been awarded to Professor Samuel F. Bemis, of Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, for a monograph on the Jay Treaty, the fruit of long researches, which will soon be published.

The quinquennial prizes, of \$1000 and \$400 respectively, known as the Loubat Prizes, will be awarded at the commencement of Columbia University next June, for the best work printed and published in the English language (but not necessarily by a citizen of the United States), on the history, geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, or numismatics of North America. Correspondence on the subject, and works submitted in competition, should be addressed to the secretary of Columbia University, New York City.

Mr. C. Graham Botha, formerly archivist of the Cape Province, was in 1919 appointed chief archivist for the Union of South Africa, and presently sent on a tour of inspection in foreign countries, of which the fruits are now presented in a *Report of a Visit to Various Archives Centres in Europe, United States of America, and Canada* (Pretoria, Government Printing Office, pp. 67). The report not only amply justifies the effort made by the government of the Union to inform itself as to the best practices of foreign archives, for the future benefit of its own archive establishments, central and provincial, but it will also be of much interest and value to readers elsewhere, as the latest comprehensive survey. The archives inspected were those of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, the United States, and Canada. In a short time an astonishing amount of information was collected, nearly all of it accurate. The practices of the various countries in respect to the centralization of archives, to the relations between central archives and those of ministerial departments of government, to housing, custody, care, arrangement, repair, destruction of useless papers, administration, publications, and public use are all intelligently summarized, and applications which we should suppose to be wholly judicious are made to the

special problems of South Africa. The classical *Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Records*, though little heeded thus far by officials in London, seems likely to bear good fruit at the Cape; but the admirable methods of the Dutch will naturally have their weight, and those of the French and Belgians as well. What the Americans have said about archives comes in for commendation and quotation by Mr. Botha; he cannot well praise what they have done.

The many who have read with interest and enjoyment Professor Harry E. Barnes's article on "History: its Rise and Development" in the *Encyclopedia Americana* will be glad to know that reprints of it, from the revised edition, can now be obtained from the author, at Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, at a nominal cost.

Mr. H. G. Wells is following up his *Outline of History with A Short History of Mankind*, a simpler endeavor of the same general sort, at less than half the length. Another attempt to sketch the history of the world in brief compass is Dr. Hendrik W. Van Loon's *The Story of Mankind*, which has attained wide popularity.

The fifth series of lectures arranged for by Mr. F. S. Marvin for summer sessions in England, and subsequently edited by him as essays, is published under the title *Western Races and the World (Unity Series V., London, Humphrey Milford)*. The general trend of the lectures is to exhibit the unity of the main stream of development in Western civilization.

On March 9 last, the sixtieth anniversary of the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, after commemorative exercises, undertook to forward, as amply as possible, the collection of material relating to the work of Cornelius H. DeLamater and Captain John Ericsson during their fifty years' association (1840-1890) as the leading factors in the DeLamater Iron Works and in the great advances in naval, merchant-marine, ordnance, and industrial engineering, which marked the career of that institution during the period named. The committee plans to send the portions of material relating to Captain Ericsson to the tercentenary exhibition of the city of Gothenburg in Sweden, to be held there next summer, but the ultimate destination of the whole collection will be the National Museum in Washington. It is hoped that it will later be the nucleus of a great National Engineering Museum recording the accomplishments of the engineering profession in the upbuilding of the nation. The chairman of the committee is Mr. H. F. J. Porter, 29 West 39th Street, New York City.

American and English friends of the late George Louis Beer are joining in preparation of a volume commemorative of his work for history, for the promoting of better Anglo-American relations, for the Peace Conference at Versailles, and for other public ends. Among the

contributors are Professors James T. Shotwell, Charles M. Andrews, and Alfred E. Zimmern, and Mr. David Hunter Miller. The volume will have an introduction by Colonel House, and will commemorate a career and character of great distinction.

By the will of the late Miss Sara Norton, daughter of Professor Charles Eliot Norton of Harvard University, \$5000 is bequeathed to the University of Oxford, and a like sum to Cambridge, as a foundation for prizes to be awarded for essays or studies in the political history of the United States. Lord Bryce's will bequeathed to the University of Oxford £5000 for the encouragement of historical study and research.

In the S. P. C. K. series of *Helps for Students of History* the latest issues, nos. 47-49, are a *Student's Guide to the Manuscripts relating to English History in the Seventeenth Century in the Bodleian Library*, by G. Davies; *History and Ethnology*, by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers; and *Some Aspects of Boundary Settlement at the Peace Conference*, by Alan G. Ogilvie. A publication of similar intention, though larger (pp. 96), is *The Monastic Chronicler and the Early School of St. Albans*, by the Rev. Claude Jenkins, librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth.

In *History* for July we note an address on History and Philosophy by Dr. Ernest Barker, principal of King's College, London, one on the Monastery School of Jarrow, by Dr. R. B. Hepple, and an argument on the Origins of the Punic Wars, by M. Cary.

Students of modern history will be glad to know of the foundation of a new American quarterly review entitled *Foreign Affairs*, of which the first number appeared on September 15. The journal, as its name indicates, will deal with the international aspects of America's political, economic, and official problems. Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard University will be the editor, with an editorial advisory board, acting under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations, an incorporated body of which Mr. Elihu Root is the honorary chairman, and Mr. John W. Davis president. The announcements afford every promise of high quality and most useful service.

The *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, which came to a pause after the publication of the first part of volume XXIII. in August, 1914, has resumed publication with the issue of the second part of that volume, dated 1920.

The *Revue des Questions Historiques*, publication of which was suspended during the war, resumed publication in July, under the editorial care of MM. Jean Guirand and Roger Lambelin.

In the *Catholic Historical Review* for July we find a survey of the Recent Activities of Catholic Historians, by Professor Patrick J. Healy of the Catholic University of America, reprinted from the *Papers* of the American Society of Church History; one on the Pactum Callixtinum or Concordat of Worms, by Professor Patrick W. Browne of the same

institution; one on the Milan Decree of Constantine and Licinius, A.D. 313, by Rev. Francis Betten, S. J.; one on Lamennais by Rev. Dr. W. P. H. Kitchin of Newfoundland, and one on the American College at Louvain by Rev. J. Van der Heyden of that place.

The July number of the *Journal of Negro History* has papers on the Canadian fugitive slave case of John Anderson, by Fred Landon of Ontario; on the negro Senator Bruce, by G. David Houston; on Lincoln's Emancipation Plan, by Harry S. Blackiston; and on the Journal of Isaaco (pub. 1815), the Mandingo priest who accompanied Mungo Park on his last journey, by Louis N. Feipel. There are also extracts from the Greensborough *Daily Record* of 1911, setting forth reminiscences of a participant in Reconstruction troubles in North Carolina, especially the murder of Stephens, and South Carolina materials of 1874-1876 from the scrap-book of William A. Hayne of Charleston.

A series of volumes entitled *Chapters in the History of Science* has been planned under the general editorship of Dr. Charles Singer of Oxford, for publication by the Oxford University Press. The first volume, which is nearly ready, is devoted to *Greek Biology and Greek Medicine*, and is by Dr. Singer himself.

Miss Ellen L. Osgood bases her excellent text-book, *A History of Industry* (Ginn, pp. vii, 430), on the scheme of study she has been using in the Julia Richman High School in New York. The treatment begins with the dawn of history and concludes with five valuable chapters on the economic development of the United States.

Volume XCVIII. of the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* includes *Origins of Modern German Colonialism, 1871-1885* (no. 1), by Mary E. Townsend, and *Japan's Financial Relations with the United States* (no. 2), by Gyoju Odate. Volume CI. includes *State Taxation of Personal Incomes* (no. 1), by Alzada Comstock, and *The Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (no. 2), by Henry R. Mueller.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Hugo Preller, *Rationalismus und Historismus: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Aufklärung und der Gegenwart* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXVI. 2); Ernst Troeltsch, *Eine Angelsächsische Ansicht der Weltgeschichte* [Wells] (*ibid.*); E. Vermeil, *Un Prophète du Déclin de l'Occident: Oswald Spengler* (*Correspondant*, April 25).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: R. Lantier, *Chronique Ibéro-Romaine, 1919-1921* (*Bulletin Hispanique*, July).

After an interruption since 1914, *Babyloniaca, Études de Philologie Assyro-Babylonienne* has again resumed publication. It remains under the direction of Charles Virolleaud.

A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform and other Epic Fragments in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Yale University Press, pp. 86, pl. 7), edited by Professor Albert T. Clay, presents text and translation of an Akkadian tablet of the twentieth century B. C., containing a deluge story; the editor, from internal evidence and comparison with the deluge stories in the Gilgamesh epic and elsewhere, argues an Amorite or Hebrew origin of the whole legend.

A report of recent excavations in Mesopotamia by the German Oriental Society is embodied in Lidzbarski's *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur: Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1921).

The best history of Persian religion which has yet appeared is *La Religione di Zarathustra nella Storia Religiosa dell'Iran* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, pp. xix, 260) by R. Pettazzoni, professor of the history of religions in the University of Bologna. *Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrier* (Jena, Diedrich, 1921, pp. vii, 344), by A. Ungnad, comprises a collection of myths and songs designed to give an introduction to the religious life of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

P. Herfst has made the first approach to the study of *Le Travail de la Femme dans la Grèce Ancienne* (Utrecht, 1922, pp. 122). The volume studies the subject from many angles, including the importance of women's work, the social position of women workers, and the thought of the time on the subject.

Messrs. Putnam's announcements include a volume on *Aspects of Roman Morals in the Time of Tiberius*, by the late T. Spencer Jerome, an American scholar long resident in Capri.

In a small book entitled *The Roman Fate: an Essay in Interpretation* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 80) Professor W. E. Heitland discusses the various factors entering into the decay of the Roman Empire.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Ungnad, *Zur Rekonstruktion der Altbabylonischen Königslisten* (Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, May); A. Poebel, *Ein Neues Fragment der Altbabylonischen Königsliste* (ibid.); M. Tierney, *The Origins of Greece: an Epoch in Modern Research* (Studies, June); R. C. Bosanquet, *The Realm of Minos* (Edinburgh Review, July); K. Ziegler, *Solon als Mensch und Dichter* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XLIX. 5); G. Corradi, *L'Asia Minore e le Isole dell'Egeo sotto i Primi Seleucidi*, II. *Antioco II. e le Città Greche dell'Asia* (Rivista di Filologia, January); Matthias Gelzer, *Das Römertum als Kulturmacht* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVI. 2); R. S. Conway, *The Portrait of a Roman Gentleman* [the elder Scipio, in Livy] (Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, July); E. G. Sihler, *Distintegration of the Roman Empire and Augustine's City of God*, I, II. (Biblical Review, April, July).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Dr. James Moffatt's Hibbert Lectures of 1921 on the *Approach to the New Testament* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 240) is a volume of great importance to the historical student, not only because of the subject, but because of its discussions of the aims, methods, and limitations of historical criticism.

The Catholic University of Louvain and the Dominican and Jesuit theological colleges of that city unite in announcing a series of publications, some of them studies, some of them volumes of documents, others manuals of research, in the fields of patristic and medieval ecclesiastical literature, with the general title *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*—one more of the many signs of what we may call the "will to recuperate" and to advance, on the part of Belgian scholars. The editors will be Canon J. Lebon, professor in the university, Father Raymond Martin, O. P., and Father Joseph de Ghellinck, S. J. In the score or more of issues already announced we note a study of Saint Jerome, in two volumes, by Professor F. Cavallera of Toulouse, two volumes by various hands on the history of the word *sacramentum*, a study of the Gregorian reform by Professor A. Fliche of Montpellier, an edition of the unpublished Latin sermons of Eusebius of Emesa, by Dom A. Wilmart, O. S. B., of Farnborough, an unpublished commentary on Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, and the English library catalogues of John Boston of Bury, edited by the Benedictines of Stanbrook.

Much the greater portion (pp. 154) of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, XL. 1-2, consists of a single contribution by that astonishingly fertile scholar, Father Hippolyte Delehaye, the first part of a treatise on the Egyptian martyrs, in which he considers the passages respecting them in early historical and theological writings, the martyrologies and Greek and Coptic *synaxaria*, and the Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic *passiones*, and the critical problems raised by these various kinds of material.

The Greek patrology of the Berlin Academy excluding writers posterior to the Nicene Council, the resources of a fund established in honor of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff have permitted the issue of a first volume of the *Opera* of Gregory of Nyssa, ed. Werner Jaeger (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. x, 391), containing the text of the books against Eunomius, with the critical notes.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Lynn Thorndike, *Early Christianity and Natural Science* (Biblical Review, July).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

K. Hampe, in his brief volume *Mittelalterliche Geschichte* (Gotha, Perthes, 1922, pp. vii, 150), undertakes to embody fresh results of investigation as well as to survey the Middle Ages.

Bishop John E. Mercer (formerly of Tasmania) adds to the recent books on the history of science a readable and sympathetic little book on *Alchemy, its Science and Romance* (London, S. P. C. K.).

Mr. Humphrey Milford of London announces two books of much value to the student of medical history, *The Life and Times of Ambroise Paré*, by the American Dr. Francis R. Packard, including a translation of Paré's *Apology*; and *The School of Salernum*, a history by the same author, containing also the text, and a translation, of the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, and a note on its origin by Dr. Fielding H. Garrison, of the Surgeon-General's Library in Washington.

G. Schlumberger has published a second volume of *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades* (Paris, Plon, 1922). As in the previous one, which appeared in 1916, the material is picturesque and dramatic.

The Franciscans of the College of San Bonaventura at Quaracchi have illustrated a century of Palestinian history by publishing *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide pro Terra Sancta*, part I., 1622-1720 (pp. xxxii, 429), edited by Father Leonardo Lemmens, president of the college.

A valuable addition to the literature on monastic life in the Middle Ages is *Klosterleben im Deutschen Mittelalter* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1921, pp. viii, 258), by J. Bühler.

A collection of documents on the papacy of Celestine V. has been published by Professor F. X. Seppelt of Breslau, *Monumenta Coelestiana; Quellen zur Geschichte des Papstes Coelestin V.* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1921, pp. lxiv, 334). The introduction comprises a careful and scholarly account of the documents.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir Thomas Arnold, *The Decline of the Abbasid Caliphate* (Edinburgh Review, July); Dom Ursmer Berlière, *Écoles Claustrales au Moyen Age* (Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, Académie Royale de Belgique, 1921, 12); J. Mathorez, *Notes sur le Pénétration des Espagnols en France, du XII^e au XVI^e Siècle* (Bulletin Hispanique, January); Horatio Brown, *British Students in Padua* (Quarterly Review, July); Justus Hashagen, *Laieneinfluss auf das Kirchengut vor der Reformation* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVI. 3).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

In the *Bibliothèque* of the French Institute of Florence established by the University of Grenoble appears a solid volume of Florentine documents, 628 in number, 1510-1512, relating to *Le Concile Gallican de Pise-Milan* (Paris, E. Champion, pp. xiii, 732), edited by Professor Augustin Renaudet, of Bordeaux.

E. Raitz von Frentz has written a careful biography of *Der Ehrwürdige Kardinal Robert Bellarmin* (Freiburg, Herder, 1921, pp. xiii, 229). Personal touches make the volume especially interesting.

An impartial and scholarly account of *L'Influence Allemande en France au XVIII^e et au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, Hachette, 1922, pp. 318) is by L. Reynaud.

The first volume of *Der Politische Katholizismus* (Munich, Drei-Masken-Verlag, 1921, pp. 313) by L. Bergstrasser, well known for his previous study of the Centrum, covers the period between 1815 and 1870. It presents a collection of documents of much interest on the development of Catholic political activity.

In an article entitled "Bismarck's Foreign Policy", by Professor A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, translated from the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* and published in the *Living Age* of July 22, the reader will find a summary description, by one of the three official editors, of the official compilation of documents of the German Foreign Office, relating to the foreign policies of the German and other European cabinets from 1871 to 1914, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914* (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte), of which the first six volumes have just been published.

Der Deutsch-Englische Gegensatz und sein Einfluss auf die Balkanpolitik Oesterreich-Ungarns (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1922, pp. 105), by A. Hoyos, discusses not only the subject indicated by its title but also other important political questions of the last two decades. The author looks to a closer relationship in the future between England and Germany.

The German book previously mentioned as published by Freiherr von Schoen, ambassador in Paris in 1914, and previously secretary for foreign affairs in Berlin and ambassador at Saint Petersburg, has been translated into English and published by Allen and Unwin as *The Memoirs of an Ambassador*.

A study of the manner in which the papacy has improved its international status since 1914 is published by M. Georges Goyau under the title *Papauté et Chrétienté sous Benoît XV.* (Paris, Perrin, 1922).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Marquis de Forbin, *Les Missions à Rome du Cardinal de Forbin-Janson sous le Pontificat d'Alexandre VIII., 1689-1691*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXXVI. 1); M. de Germigny, *Les Brigandages Maritimes de l'Angleterre au Début de la Révolution* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July); G. E. Sherman, *Orders in Council and the Law of the Sea* (*American Journal of International Law*, July); M. Sepet, *La Politique Religieuse de Bonaparte en Italie; Bonaparte et Pie VI.* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July); G. Gautherot, *Bourmont à Waterloo* (*ibid.*); A. Hasenclever, *Sinn und Bedeutung der Orientalischen Frage im 19. Jahrhundert* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, CLXXXVII. 2); P. Matter, *Les Voyages de Cavour à Paris* (*Revue de France*, July 1); H. W. C. Davis, *The Conference at Paris* (*Quarterly Review*, July); Gino Speranza, *An Italian Ambassador's Diary of the Peace Conference* [Macchi di Cellere] (*Political*

Science Quarterly, June); R. Recouly, *L'Égypte et les Intérêts Français* (Revue de France, July 1); A. Guignard, *La Paix Française au Soudan* (Revue de Paris, July 15).

THE GREAT WAR

The August, 1921, number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, issued in May, 1922, is devoted to an "Introduction à l'Histoire de la Guerre Mondiale". The principal articles are: P. Caron, Sur l'Étude de l'Histoire de la Guerre; M. Bloch, Réflexions d'un Historien sur les Fausses Nouvelles de la Guerre; C. Bloch and P. Renouvin, Centres d'Études et de Documentation pour l'Histoire de la Guerre, I. Bibliothèque et Musée Français de la Guerre, II. La Documentation de la Guerre à l'Étranger; P. Renouvin and J. Cain, La Presse et l'Histoire; un Instrument de Travail; le "Bulletin de Presse", I. Les Principaux "Bulletins de Presse" Français et Étrangers, II. Le Bureau Français d'Étude de Presse Étrangère et ses Publications; and R. Viallate, Les Documents Cartographiques sur la Guerre.

The Houghton Mifflin Company are preparing to issue, in a revised edition consisting of four volumes, the remarkable *History of the Great War* prepared by John Buchan, who had during the war, as director of the Intelligence Office, an official position giving him many advantages besides those springing from his literary skill.

Professor Shotwell, general editor of the *Economic and Social History of the World War* projected by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, has in hand the manuscripts of volumes on the bibliography of the French aspects of the war, by Dr. Camille Bloch; on the bibliography of Austro-Hungarian materials, by Professor Othmar Spann; on British archives in war and peace, by Dr. Hubert Hall; on the Italian war archives, by Commendatore Casanova; on the British coal industry, food production, and the labor unions during the war, by Sir Richard Redmayne, Sir Thomas Middleton, and Mr. G. D. H. Cole, respectively; on the food supply of Belgium during the German occupation, by M. Albert Henri; on the deportation of Belgian workmen, and forced labor, by M. Fernand Passelecq; and on war government in Austria-Hungary, by Professor Joseph Redlich.

A book certain to attract widespread notice is F. von Bernhardt's *Deutschlands Heldenkampf, 1914-1918* (Munich, Lehmann, 1922, pp. 544). It is a compact history, well supplied with maps. A strong personal note permeates the work. H. Stegemann has published the fourth volume of his useful *Geschichte des Krieges* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921, pp. xi, 708). M. Schwarte's ten-volume account of *Der Grosse Krieg* (Berlin, Barth, 1921, pp. xii, 517) has reached the eighth volume. He has written with clarity and painstaking.

Major-Gen. Ernst von Wrisberg, during the war a high official of the Prussian Ministry of War, has published two volumes of *Erinner-*

ungen an die Kriegsjahre im Königlich-Preussischen Kriegsministerium (Leipzig, Koehler), which add much to knowledge of the conduct of the war. The first volume, *Der Weg zur Revolution*, is compiled from the records of that section of the Ministry of War which watched political affairs at home; the second deals with mobilization, supply of reinforcements, and other business of the ministry.

An entertaining account of the experiences of a field officer in the Tyrol is Major Tanner's *Bergfahrten in Ladinien (Südtirol), 1915-1916* (Innsbruck, Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, 1921, pp. 128).

Several noteworthy memoirs and studies of the war by Italian military men have recently appeared. First place goes to General L. Cadorna's *Memorie di Guerra* (Milan, Treves, 1921, 2 vols.), already mentioned in these pages. Others are G. Caprini, *Sommario Storico della Guerra Universale* (Florence, Barbera, 1921); L. Marazzi, *Luci ed Ombre della Nostra Guerra* (Milan, Casa ed. Risorgimento, 1921); Colonel R. Corselli, *La Battaglia del Piave, Studio Storico-Militare* (Palermo, Garibaldi, 1921). The most important book, apart from the memoirs and apologetics of military men, is A. Valori's *La Guerra Italo-Austriaca* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921). It gives an account of the Italian phase of the war from a critical and historical standpoint. The author is a journalist of good training.

The Macedonian Campaign: a History of the Salonica Expedition, 1915-1918 (London, Fisher Unwin), by Luigi Villari, son of the late historian Senator Pasquale Villari, has importance from the fact that the author was Italian liaison officer with the various allied armies.

Colonel H. Baginski of the Polish general staff has written a very careful and serviceable account of *L'Armée Polonaise en Orient, 1914-1920* (Warsaw, 1921, pp. 173). A. Gorski deals with a larger topic in *La Pologne et la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. 301).

The activities of the German war cruisers under von Spee are set forth by A. Raeder in the first volume of *Der Kreuzerkrieg in den Ausländischen Gewässern* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. 456), which bears the title *Das Kreuzergeschwader*. S. Toeche-Mittler has published the last volume of a series of four under the title *Halbstocks die Flagge* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. 80). It deals with the achievements of the German fleet to the beginning of 1918 and touches upon the work of the fleets of Austria-Hungary and Turkey. A. Gayer continues his account of *Die Deutschen U-Boote* (Berlin, Mittler, 1921, pp. 68) with the third volume of his series covering the period from October, 1915, to April, 1916. A French account of the most striking German personality in the naval warfare is G. Raphael's *Tirpitz* (Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 198), a critical review of Tirpitz's memoirs.

The director of the German air service, von Hoepfner, has written *Deutschlands Krieg in der Luft* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1921, pp. viii, 184),

which records the organization and work of that branch of the military forces.

The story of the work of the American Red Cross in and for Belgium is recounted in a full and very interesting manner by Dr. John Van Schaick, jr., in a small book entitled *The Little Corner Never Conquered* (Macmillan, pp. 282).

An account of the French counter-offensive against German propaganda is given by Hansi and Tonnelet, *À travers les Lignes Ennemies* (Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 192). It furnishes a fascinating and dramatic story. Another book which deals with a similar topic is G. Demartial's *La Guerre de 1914: Comment on Mobilisa les Consciences* (Paris, Rieder, 1922, pp. 328). A French account of the way in which Germany was prepared for war with France is *Les Semeurs de Haine: leur Oeuvre en Allemagne avant et depuis la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1922, pp. 468) by A. Fribourg. It must be used with care.

G. von Gleich, who served with the Turkish army during the war and who was in a position to acquire a thorough knowledge of the fighting on the eastern front, has written *Von Balkan nach Bagdad: Militärisch-Politische Erinnerungen an den Orient* (Berlin, Scherl, 1921, pp. 185).

A careful and useful account of the diplomatic battle which followed the Armistice is Mermeix's *Le Combat des Trois* (Paris, Ollendorff). It pictures the result as an Anglo-Saxon triumph. A series of lectures on *Les Conséquences de la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 198) by A. Liesse, General Malleterre, A. Tardieu, and G. Teissier, deals with military, economic, and financial questions.

Two recent studies on phases of the Versailles Treaty are *Les Confins Franco-Suisses et le Traité de Versailles* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1922, pp. xiv, 125), and *Le Principe des Nationalités et son Application dans les Traités de Paix de Versailles et de Saint-Germain* (Paris, La Vie Universitaire, 1922, pp. 458) by V. Blagoyévitch.

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne*, I. (Revue Historique, July).

As a *Festgabe* in honor of the seventieth birthday of Dr. Felix Liebermann, to whose labors the earliest portions of English history are so much indebted, there has been put forth a volume of *Texte und Forschungen zur Englischen Kulturgeschichte* (Halle, Niemeyer), by eleven German scholars, among whose contributions we especially note a study of the development of the law as to accessories and accomplices in Anglo-Saxon times, by Clemens Freiherr von Schwerin, an elaborate treatise on "Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen", by Dr. Max Förster, and an especially valuable study of the ownership of churches in England, by Dr. H. Boehmer.

The *Collected Historical Works of Sir Francis Palgrave* are now completed by the publication of volume VIII., embracing the *Merchant and the Friar*, and an unpublished and unfinished story entitled *Three Generations of an Imaginary Norfolk Family*, and of volumes IX. and X., containing reviews, essays, and other minor writings.

In 1912 the Glasgow Archaeological Society resolved to continue the study of the Antonine Wall by excavating the site of the Roman fort, which formed a part of it, at Balmuildy, some two miles outside the municipal boundaries of Glasgow. When the war broke out, in 1914, the work of excavation had been completed, but the results have but just been published, in a handsome volume, well illustrated, prepared by S. N. Miller, lecturer in Roman history and antiquities in the University of Glasgow, *The Roman Fort at Balmuildy* (Glasgow, MacLehose, 1922, pp. xix, 120, pl. 58). The volume describes, with scholarly care, the structural remains, inscribed and sculptured stones, coins, pottery, and miscellaneous small objects found, and concludes that the fort, built about A.D. 142, was occupied by a cohort for almost forty years.

Sir D'Arcy Power makes a valuable contribution to the knowledge of medieval English surgery by translating from the manuscript in Stockholm and editing with learning and skill the *De Arte Phisicali et de Cirurgia* of Master John Arderne (b. 1307,) surgeon to Henry Plantagenet, duke of Lancaster (London, Bale, Sons, and Danielsson).

For its tenth volume the British Society of Franciscan Studies publishes a second volume of *Collectanea Franciscana* (Manchester, University Press, pp. 166), containing contributions by various hands. The longest is a body of additional materials for the history of the Grey Friars in London, derived by Mr. C. L. Kingsford chiefly from wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Mr. Charles Cotton contributes notes on documents in the cathedral library of Canterbury relating to the Grey Friars; Miss Margaret Deanesly gives an account of the Harmony of the Gospels attributed to St. Bonaventura (or to John de Caulibus of San Gemignano); Mr. J. P. Gilson of the British Museum, of an historical interpretation of the Apocalypse by one Friar Alexander; Dr. M. R. James, of the list of libraries (a list of Franciscan origin) prefixed to the Benedictine John Boston's "union catalogue", of which, as is mentioned on another page, the Benedictine nuns of Stanbrook are preparing an edition; and Mr. A. G. Little, of Friar Henry Wodstone and the expulsion of the Jews in Edward I.'s time.

In the series of *Cambridge Studies in English Legal History*, edited by Professor Harold D. Hazeltine, the second volume will be one on *Statutes and their Interpretation in the Fourteenth Century*, by T. F. T. Plucknett.

The Royal Historical Society has inaugurated a publication of diplomatic instructions of the period from 1689 to 1789 by publishing the first

volume (1689-1727) of a series of the instructions given to British ministers to Sweden, edited by Mr. James F. Chance.

A second edition of volume IV. of *A History of England and the British Empire*, by Arthur D. Innes, has recently been published by Messrs. Rivington (London). The four volumes were originally brought out in 1913-1915 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIX. 859, XXI. 587). In the new edition volume IV. covers the period from 1802 to 1922, the text having been brought up to date by the addition of an appendix containing a chronological record of the course of the Great War and a brief summary of events from January, 1919, to the acceptance of the Irish Treaty on January 7, 1922.

A Life of George, Fourth Earl of Aberdeen, in two volumes, by Lady Frances Balfour, is announced for autumn publication by Hodder and Stoughton.

Some Political Ideas and Persons, by John C. Bailey, is concerned with English political life from Queen Victoria to the present time (New York, Dutton).

Old Diplomacy and New: from Salisbury to Lloyd George, 1876-1922 (Murray), by A. L. Kennedy, is a study of the part which Great Britain has played in the world through the medium of her Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and her diplomatic corps, written by one whose father and grandfather were members of the diplomatic service, and who himself has observed foreign affairs as a member of the foreign department of the *London Times*.

Messrs. Constable will soon publish *The Life of Sir William Harcourt*, in two volumes, by A. G. Gardiner, and *Sir Douglas Haig's Command, Dec., 1915- Nov., 1918*, by George A. B. Dewar, assisted by Lieut.-Col. J. H. Boraston.

British government publications: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.*, 1247-1251; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1585-1586, ed. S. C. Lomas; *Report on the Palk Manuscripts* [Sir Robert Palk, governor of Madras 1763-1767], ed. Col. H. D. Love (Historical Manuscripts Commission).

Other documentary publications: *Transcripts of Charters relating to Gilbertine Houses*, ed. Professor F. M. Stenton (Lincolnshire Record Society); *Final Concords of the County of Lincoln*, vol. II., ed. Canon Charles W. Foster (*id.*); *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. H. E. Salter (Canterbury and York Society); *Flint Pleas*, 1233-1285, ed. J. G. Edwards (Flintshire Historical Society); *Diocesis Wyntoniensis, Registrum Johannis de Pontissara*, IX. (Canterbury and York Society); *Year Books of Edward II.*, XVI. 1, 1312-1313, ed. Sir Paul Vinogradoff and Dr. L. Ehrlich (Selden Society); *Calendars of Administrations*, 1540-1659, ed. Canon C. W. Foster (Lincolnshire Record Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Sir J. H. Ramsay, *Roman Advance in Britain and the City of Perth* (Scottish Historical Review, July); Helena M. Chew, *Scutage under Edward I.* (English Historical Review, July); A. F. Pollard, *Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors*, I. *The Council* (*ibid.*); George Unwin, *The Transition to the Factory System*, II. (*ibid.*); Sir Sidney Lee, *Edward VII. and the Entente* (Living Age, July 22); A. R. G. M'Millan, *The Scottish Admiralty Court* (Juridical Review, March); *Relation of the Manner of Judicatorios of Scotland* [A. D. 1605 ca.] (Scottish Historical Review, July).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see page 211.)

The recent civil warfare in Dublin caused the destruction of the Public Record Office of Ireland, an excellent building, specially constructed for the purpose in 1868. It is not thought that the destruction of the archives of the kingdom has been complete, but at the present time we are unable to say how much has been preserved or is capable of reparation. A small inventory of the moderate amount of materials for American history contained in them was prepared in the summer of 1921 for the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, by Professor Herbert C. Bell, but it is not now likely to be published. The collection as a whole was of priceless value, as may be seen from Mr. Wood's *Guide* published in 1920.

Among the autumn announcements of the firm of Fisher Unwin is noted a volume on *Scandinavian Relations with Ireland during the Viking Period*, by Miss A. Walsh.

The *Life* of Dr. Leander S. Jameson, celebrated for the Jameson Raid and as prime minister of the Cape Colony, written by Ian Colvin, is about to be published in London by Messrs. Arnold.

The Macmillan Company has lately published *The Discovery of Australia*, by G. Arnold Wood, professor of history in the University of Sydney (pp. xvi, 541, and 68 maps and illustrations).

A new series (ser. IV.) of the *Historical Records of Australia* (Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament) is opened by the publication of a thick volume of *Legal Papers* (pp. xlv, 1027), running from 1786 to 1827, and chiefly bearing on constitutional law and history.

The *Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry*, by Rev. Eris M. O'Brien (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, pp. 389), is the biography of a vigorous and original character, who played a great part in the early and rough days of Australia and in the development of Catholic religion there.

The late William Irvine, of the Indian civil service, had planned a history of the Mughal empire from the death of Aurangzib in 1707 to

Lake's capture of Delhi in 1803; he lived to carry down to 1738 a narrative of high scholarly quality, but not to publish it. Under the competent editorial care of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar the first volume, 1707-1720, has now appeared (London, Luzac), under the title *The Later Mughals*, I.

In the series of source-books for the history of British India, edited by Messrs. G. Anderson and M. Subedar, the second is *The Development of an Indian Policy* (London, Bell), and covers the period from 1818 to 1858.

FRANCE

General reviews: R. Reuss, *Histoire de la Révolution* (Revue Historique, May); E. Driault, *Napoléon au Centenaire de sa Mort, 1921: Étude Bibliographique*, I, II. (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January, March).

An important announcement comes from the house of Édouard Champion of Paris, namely, of the issue of a series embracing the leading original narratives of French medieval history, texts and translations into French, edited, without undue elaboration of method, by many of the best French scholars. The series will be entitled *Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age*, and will be under the general editorship of Professor Louis Halphen of Bordeaux. The pamphlet announcement, which can be obtained from the publisher, lists already some fifty volumes, including Gregory of Tours, Fredegar, Eginhard, Flodoard, Richer, Dudo of St. Quentin, Ordericus, Guibert de Nogent, Villehardouin, Froissart, Jouvenel des Ursins, Monstrelet, Commynes, and many writers less known, with some volumes of documents—capitularies, treaties, pamphlets of the Hundred Years' War, etc. The first volume will be issued early in 1923; publication will continue at the rate of several volumes a year.

A well-selected variety of documents illustrative of French economic history has been compiled by J. Haymen under the title *Mémoires et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire du Commerce et de l'Industrie en France* (Paris, Hachette, 1921, pp. xxvii, 278).

The author of the remarkable *Histoire de la Gaule*, M. Camille Julian, has published *De la Gaule à la France, nos Origines Historiques* (Paris, Hachette, 1922, pp. 256), putting in briefer and more popular form the results of some of his studies.

Messrs. Heinemann announce a new volume in the *National History of France*, being a translation of M. Franz Funck-Brentano's volume in that series, *The Middle Ages*.

A noteworthy piece of work on the sixteenth century is L. Romier's *Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis: la France à la Veille des Guerres de Religion* (Paris, Perrin, 1922, 2 vols.). It is not based primarily

upon narratives but rather upon new research in the records of official acts, diplomatic correspondence, and private letters.

The energy, tenacity, and clear political insight of an unpopular historical character are portrayed by L. Mouton in *Un Demi-Roi: le Duc d'Épernon* (Paris, Perrin).

The vice-rector of the Institut Catholique de Paris, L. Prunel, has written an essay on the great movement of reconstruction in the French church which took place after the troubles of the Renaissance, under the title *La Renaissance Catholique en France au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Desclie, 1921, pp. viii, 317).

The first of three volumes on *Paris sous Louis XIV.* has been published by P. de Crousaz-Crétet under the title *La Vie Privée et la Vie Professionnelle* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. 319). It is a careful and scholarly piece of work. An admirable biography of one of the corps of capable diplomats who served Louis XIV. is A. F. Aude's *Vie Publique et Privée d'André de Béthoulat, Comte de La Vauguyon, Ambassadeur de France, 1630-1693* (Paris, Champion, 1921, 2 vols., pp. 356, 105).

An historical study of degenerative evolution, and of the way in which political policies were affected by it, is furnished by Dr. A. Donnadieu's *L'Hérédité dans la Maison Ducale de Lorraine-Vaudémont* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1922, pp. xxvi, 334).

Le Roi Stanislaus Grand-Père, 1725-1766 (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1922, pp. 158), by P. Boyé, combines a scholarly account of Stanislaus with a carefully edited collection of his letters to Louis XV.

L'Absolutisme en Bourgogne; l'Intendant Boucher et son Action Financière (Paris, Picard, pp. 192), by C. Arbassier, is not only a fine study of financial history but also of the manner in which the intendants of the old régime were the active builders of royal power.

A. Mathiez has begun the publication of a history of the French Revolution. The first volume is entitled *La Chute de la Royauté* (Paris, Colin, 1922, pp. 210). The same author is bringing out a new edition of J. Jaurès's *Histoire Socialiste de la Révolution Française* (Paris, Librairie de L'Humanité, 1922, pp. 432). L. Madelin has published a series of lectures on *La France du Directoire* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xvi, 284) in book form. A phase of the economic history of the French Revolution is dealt with by A. Defresne and F. Évrard and published by the Ministry of Public Instruction under the title *Les Subsistances dans le District de Versailles de 1788 à l'An V* (Rennes, Oberthur, 1922, pp. 584).

A mass of material painstakingly gathered is to be found in C. Richard's *Le Comité de Salut Public et les Fabrications de Guerre sous la Terreur* (Paris, Rieder, 1922, pp. xxiv, 835).

Souvenirs, 1840-1919 (Paris, Drivond, 1922, pp. v, 256) by Comte de Franqueville have been published. They are based on a diary faith-

fully kept for many years. The portions dealing with Morny, Prince Napoleon, and the princes of Orleans are particularly valuable.

Rev. F. A. Simpson of Trinity College, Cambridge, who published in 1909 a study of *The Rise of Louis Napoleon*, has in press an additional volume on *Louis Napoleon and the Re-establishment of the French Empire, 1848-1856* (Longmans).

A very brief but satisfactory *Histoire du Parti Socialiste en France* (Paris, Librairie de L'Humanité, 1922, pp. 72) is by P. Louis.

The important factors incident to the renewal of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican are reviewed by J. Delahaye in *La Reprise des Relations Diplomatiques avec le Vatican* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 322). Georges Goyau deals with the revived Catholic movement in *L'Effort Catholique dans la France d'Aujourd'hui* (Paris, *Revue des Jeunes*, 1922, pp. 160).

A study of French policy during the Balkan crisis of 1912 is embodied in J. Romieu's *Livre Noir et Livre Jaune* (Paris, Costes, 1922, pp. 80). He holds French policy to have been eminently pacific.

An account of the economic organization of France during the war is furnished by A. Delemer in *Le Bilan de l'Étatisme* (Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 288).

P. Gachon, in his *Histoire de Languedoc* (Paris, Boivin, 1921, pp. vii, 288), essays the difficult task of writing the history of a region which has had neither geographical nor political unity. It is an unusually successful volume, the portion on the medieval period being especially good.

The valuable *Statistisches Jahrbuch für Elsass-Lothringen* appeared for the last time in 1913. The French government is preparing to replace it. Meanwhile, H. Bunle's *L'Alsace et la Lorraine Économiques* (Strasbourg, Imprimerie Strasbourgeoise, 1921, pp. 119) surveys the situation, makes available statistics on population, agriculture, and industry, and furnishes comparisons between 1870 and 1914. It fills a gap for which there is nothing else equally satisfactory. E. Chantriot has written *Une Occupation Militaire d'après-Guerre: la Lorraine sous l'Occupation Allemande, Mars 1871-Septembre 1873* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1922, pp. 670).

The *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, X. 2, contains a chapter by M. Émile Lauvrière on Acadia under Poutrincourt, Latour, and Alexander, printed in advance from a forthcoming work by him, in two volumes, entitled *La Tragédie d'un Peuple: Histoire du Peuple Acadien de ses Origines à nos Jours*; also a continuation of M. F. P. Renaut's studies on the Family Compact and French colonial policy, the present installment relating to Turks Island, the Manila ransom, and the insurrection of 1768 in Louisiana.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Dermenghem, *Un Ministre de François Ier: la Grandeur et la Disgrâce de l'Amiral Claude d'Annebault* (Revue du Seizième Siècle, IX. 1); Lieut.-Col. Drake, *French Secret Service under Louis XV.* (Army Quarterly, July); G. Fagniez, *La Politique de Vergennes et la Diplomatie de Breteuil, 1774-1787*, I., II. (Revue Historique, May, July); C. J. Gignoux, *L'Abbé Galiani et la Querelle des Grains au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, X. 1); Otto Brandt, *Untersuchungen zu Sieyès* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVI. 3); G. Michon, *La Justice Militaire sous la Révolution*, III. *Le Directoire* (Annales Révolutionnaires, May); F. Masson, *Les Complots Jacobins au Lendemain de Brumaire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); H. Buffenoir, *Napoléon et Jean Jacques Rousseau* (*ibid.*, March); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Les Origines de l'Expédition d'Égypte* (Revue de Paris, July 15); G. Caudrillier, *La Découverte du Complot de l'An XII.* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); Maurice Levailant, *Chateaubriand et son Ministre des Finances*, I.-IV. (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1-August 1); A. Cuvillier, *Les Doctrines Économiques et Sociales en 1840, d'après un Journal d'Ouvriers* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, X. 1); P. Deschanel, *La Politique Extérieure de la France* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 15); P. Rain, *L'Histoire de France au Lendemain de la Guerre* (Revue des Études Historiques, April).

ITALY AND SPAIN

Under the charge of a national commission, of which Professor P. S. Leicht, of Bologna, is secretary, Italy is to be provided with a long series of volumes of records of her assemblies, *Atti delle Assemblee Costituzionali Italiane dal Medio Evo al 1831* (Bologna, Zanichelli), embracing assemblies or parliaments of kingdoms and other independent states, and councils of the chief communes. Two volumes have already been published, *Parlamento Friulano*, vol. I., 1228-1420, ed. P. S. Leicht, and *Consigli della Repubblica Fiorentina*, vol. I., 1301-1307, ed. B. Barbadoro.

A much needed and authoritative work upon Angevin law in South Italy has been prepared by R. Trifone under the title *La Legislazione Angioina* (Naples, Lubrano, 1921, pp. cclxxii, 419).

An important addition to the study of Mediterranean and papal politics in the early fourteenth century is E. Haberkern's *Der Kampf um Sizilien in den Jahren 1302 bis 1337* (Berlin, Rotschild, 1922, pp. xiv, 214). It continues a work begun by H. E. Rohde, who lost his life in the war.

An important, thorough, and in many ways original study of Machiavelli is Signor Giuseppe Toffanin's *Machiavelli e il "Tacitismo": la "Politica Storica" al Tempo della Controriforma* (Padua, Angelo Draghi).

Another volume of the Italian section of the great Jesuit history has appeared, vol. II. of Father Pietro Tacchi Venturi's *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia* (Rome, *Civiltà Cattolica*, pp. lx, 421).

On March 10, the anniversary of the death of Giuseppe Mazzini, the municipality of Rome published a pamphlet, *Mazzini a Roma*, which contains many of the speeches and letters written by Mazzini during the months of 1849 when he was triumvir of the Roman Republic. The greater number of the letters are here published for the first time, several of them addressed to his mother. The pamphlet includes a group of letters written by Scipione Pistrucci during this same period, also addressed to Mazzini's mother.

The events since the armistice are reviewed in E. Lemonon's *L'Italie d'après-Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. 259).

A first-rate study of the decline of the Spanish royal house and its nadir under Henry IV. of Castile is J. Lucas-Dubreton's *L'Espagne au Quinzième Siècle: le Roi Sauvage*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Recouly, *Les Heures Tragiques d'avant Guerre*, IX. *A Rome* (*Revue de France*, August 1; trans. in *Living Age*, September 16).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A volume which will be valuable for those who have occasion to use the German archives is *Das Deutsche Archivwesen, seine Geschichte und Organisation* (Breslau, Priestbasch, 1921, pp. v, 131) by V. Loewe. It was largely prepared before the war.

An important series of volumes intended to supply documents for the whole course of modern German political history is inaugurated by the Drei-Masken-Verlag of Munich by the publication of the following books: *Der Deutsche Staatsgedanke von seinen Anfängen bis auf Leibniz und Friedrich den Grossen*, ed. Paul Joachimsen; *Justus Moser, Gesellschaft und Staat*, ed. K. Brandl; *Freiherr von Stein, Staatsschriften*, ed. Hans Thimme; *Josef Görres, Rheinische Mercur*, ed. Arno Duch; 1848, *Die Erste Deutsche Nationalversammlung*, ed. Paul Wentzcke; and *Grossdeutsch-Kleindeutsch*, ed. Adolf Rapp.

There is much that is significant in the volume of studies put forth in commemoration of the sixtieth birthday of Professor Erich Marcks, *Vom Staatlichen Werden und Wesen* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1921, pp. 233), including papers by A. O. Meyer on Kant's Ethics and the Prussian State, by O. Westphal on the development of *Staatslehre* in Germany, by M. Laubert on Prussian Posen and the Prussian Constitution, 1815-1818, by V. Valentin on Prussia and Baden in 1849, and by K. Wild on the history of the "friendly relations" between Great Britain and Turkey.

Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte, vol. I., by Professor Karl Holl of the University of Berlin (Tübingen, J. C. Mohr, 1922,

pp. 458), contains eight lectures and essays on various matters relating to Luther, of much importance to students of historical as well as of systematic theology. The seventh, on the Cultural Significance of the Reformation, and the eighth, on Luther's Significance for the Progress of the Art of Biblical Interpretation, may be especially mentioned.

Dr. Hartmann Grisar has set down his matured opinion on one of the great moments of Luther's life in the first volume of his *Luther zu Worms und die Jüngsten Drei Jahrhundertfeste der Reformation* (Freiburg, Herder, 1921, pp. vii, 89).

The rise of Prussia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is briefly reviewed in G. Küntzel's *Die Drei Grossen Hohenzollern und der Aufstieg Preussens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, pp. 169).

A good portrayal of an interesting character is to be found in Wilhelm von Bippen's *Johann Schmidt, ein Hanseatischer Staatsmann* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921, pp. v, 331). The book emphasizes that portion of Schmidt's career which centres about the Congress of Vienna.

A study of one of the leading figures in the history of German liberalism is *Friedrich Christoph Dahlmann's Politische Entwicklung bis 1848* (Leipzig, Haessel, 1921, pp. 248) by H. Christern. It is satisfactorily done.

The defeat of Germany has revived interest in the empire's most successful statesman. Among recent books dealing with Bismarck are A. von Schotz's *Erlebnisse und Gespräche mit Bismarck* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1922, pp. 150); Maria Fehling's *Bismarcks Geschichtskennntnis* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1922, pp. 126) and O. Baumgarten's *Bismarcks Religion* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1922, pp. 153).

K. Obser has edited and published *Jugenderinnerungen Grossherzog Friedrichs I. von Baden, 1826-1847* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1921, pp. xvi, 124). These memoirs were dictated while the author was recovering from a severe illness and suffer both from the fact that they do not cover his most active years and because they were done from memory, which was often inaccurate. The position and action of a much lesser prince, and the constitutional and political relation of a very small state to the empire, are illustrated by Dr. Friedrich Schneider's *Aus den Tagen Heinrichs XXII., Souveränen Fürsten Reuss ä. L., 1867-1902* (Greiz, 1921, pp. xvi, 114), comprising memoirs of two ministers and letters of the prince.

The background of the war is the main theme of W. Spickernagel's *Fürst Bülow* (Hamburg, Alster-Verlag, 1921, pp. 264). So also V. Valentin, in *Deutschlands Aussenpolitik, von Bismarck's Abgang zum*

Ende des Weltkrieges (Berlin, Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1921, pp. xv, 418), pays most attention to the diplomatic background of the war. He defends Bethmann-Hollweg vigorously. F. Immanuel in *Fünfzig Jahre Deutscher Geschichte* (Berlin, Verlag Veteranen-dank) also makes the background of the war the chief item of interest.

To the *Cambridge Historical Series* edited by the late Sir George Prothero, the Cambridge University Press has added a *History of Switzerland, 1499-1914* (pp. xiv, 480), translated from the German of the late Professor Wilhelm Oechsli of Zurich.

M. Paul E. Martin, sub-archivist of the canton of Fribourg, has published *Études Critiques sur la Suisse à l'Époque Mérovingienne, 534-715* (Geneva, A. Jullien, pp. xxxii, 469), in which he presents the history of Switzerland from the Frankish conquest to the death of Pepin II., and discusses the condition of the population and the characteristics of the Frankish administration.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Schneider, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft in Deutschland* (Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, XLIX. 3); Max Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte der Preussischen Heeresreform von 1808* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVI. 3); W. Platzhoff, *Die Anfänge des Dreikaiserbündnisses, 1867-1871* [using archival materials withheld from Sybel] (Preussische Jahrbücher, June); Lieut.-Col. De Thomasson, *Le Règne de l'Aristocratie Allemande de la Chute de Bismarck à nos Jours* (Revue Universelle, July 1); A. Rivaud, *La Propagande Allemande* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, April); A. W. G. Randall, *The Origins and Influences of Spenglerism* (Contemporary Review, July); K. Müller, *Calvin und die "Libertiner"* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XL.).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

A full account of Dutch historical writings throughout the years 1913-1919, prepared by Professor H. Brugmans of Amsterdam, is to be found in pp. 135-150, 311-331, of the current volume (CXXVI.) of the *Historische Zeitschrift*.

Volume XIX. of the *Werken* of the Linschoten Vereeniging is a translation into Dutch, well edited by Mr. S. P. L'Honoré Naber, of Robert Juet's journal of Henry Hudson's voyage of 1609 to Nova Zembla and America. Appendixes of documents relating to the voyage are added.

La Haye d'autrefois et pendant la Guerre (Paris, Chiberre, 1922, pp. 308), by E. Melvill de Carnbee, contains much information on the history of the Hague. In particular it relates little known facts about the international situation at the Hague during the war. It deals also with the internment of the German emperor and the crown prince.

C. de Lannoy's *L'Alimentation de la Belgique par le Comité National, Novembre 1914 à Novembre 1918* (Brussels, 1922, pp. xii, 422) is of especial value inasmuch as part of the records of the Commission for the Relief of Belgium, on which it is based, have been destroyed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Moullé, *Les Corporations Drapières de la Flandre au Moyen Age* (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, July).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Swedish Historical Academy's *Handlingar*, XXXIV. 1-2, is entirely devoted to a memoir of the great archaeologist Oscar Montelius, by Bernhard Salin, and a bibliography of his writings, 408 in number.

J. Meisl has begun a *Geschichte der Juden in Polen und Russland* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1921, pp. xii, 342), of which the first volume has appeared. The book is serviceable rather than brilliant.

Professor K. Stählin of the University of Berlin has given a vivid picture of a famous personality in *Der Briefwechsel Iwans des Schrecklichen mit dem Fürsten Kurbskij, 1564-1579* (Leipzig, Schröpler, 1921, pp. 175).

A volume long suppressed by the Russian censor is A. N. Radishchev's *Reise von Petersburg nach Moskau, 1790* (Leipzig, Schröpler, 1921, pp. 189), which has been translated into German by A. Luther.

A. Boudon has studied in detail *Le Saint-Siège et la Russie: leurs Relations Diplomatiques au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xlvii, 580), with admiration for the policy of the Vatican.

L. von Schlözer has edited and published K. von Schlözer's *Petersburger Briefe, 1857-1862* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1921, pp. xv, 303). These letters of a German diplomat are written in clear and humorous style. They are especially good in the analysis of character.

An attempt to analyze the causes of the breakdown of the Russian government, in so far as they lay in the industrial situation, is made by S. Köhler in *Die Russische Industriearbeitschaft von 1905-1917* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. viii, 107).

The *Memoirs of an Ambassador*, of which the first volume is to be published this autumn by Messrs. Hutchinson of London, and the second volume later, is a translation into English of the *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre* of M. Maurice Paléologue, the last French ambassador to the Russian imperial court, a book which we have already mentioned, and of which the second volume, June 3, 1915-August 18, 1916, has appeared in Paris (Plon).

Gabriel Hanotaux has published *Histoire des Soviets* (Paris, Makowsky), the first part of which gives an objective presentation of the

facts arranged in chronological order. The succeeding portions consist of a series of studies by competent writers. Freiherr von Freytag-Loringhoven has made use of material not previously available in *Die Entwicklung des Bolschewismus* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1921, pp. iii, 110). He has written other volumes upon revolutionary Russia.

An account of the dramatic events which ushered in the war after the war in Poland, written by the commander of the defensive forces, C. Maczewski, is *Les Luites de Léopol* (Warsaw, 1921, 2 vols.). The same subject has been studied by Dr. J. Bogonowski under the title *La Lutte pour Léopol* (Danzig, 1921). Another phase of the war between 1918 and 1921, *La Lutte pour la Silésie* (Warsaw, 1921), is discussed by the commander of the Polish forces, J. Pryzinski.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Paléologue, *Les Énigmes de l'Empereur Alexandre I^{er}* (Revue Universelle, August 1); Graf M. Montgelas, *Der 30 Juli 1914 in Petersburg* (Deutsche Rundschau, July); M. Paléologue, *La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre*, VII.-XI. (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1-August 1); *The Communist Experiment in Russia* (Round Table, June); Jerome Davis, *A Sociological Interpretation of the Russian Revolution* (Political Science Quarterly, June); B. Nikitine, *L'Émigration Russe* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, April); S. Zagorsky, *La Famine Russe et ses Causes* (Revue d'Économie Politique, March); J. Kessel, *Le Procès des Socialistes Révolutionnaires Russes* (Revue de France, July 15).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The fifth volume of Mr. André Veress's *Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum* (Veszprém, 1921, pp. xvi, 316) contains the *Annuae Litterae* of the Jesuits in Transylvania from their arrival to the end of the Báthory period, 1579-1613, with many additional documents and extracts for ecclesiastical history, from archives in Rome, Vienna, and Spain.

The work of the Germans in one of the sensitive points of Europe is recounted by P. Traeger in *Die Deutschen in der Dobrudscha, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen Wanderungen in Ost-europa* (Stuttgart, Ausland und Heimat, pp. 222).

An authoritative account of the war from the Turkish point of view is given in the *Memoirs of Djemal Pasha* (London, Hutchinson), whose narrative begins with the Young Turk coup d'état of January 23, 1913.

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

R. Grousset has published a three-volume *Histoire de l'Asie*: I., *L'Ancien Orient Hellénistique, l'Islam, l'Orient Latin et les Croisades*; II., *L'Inde Ancienne, la Chine Ancienne et Médiévale, les Civilisations de l'Indo-Chine*; III., *Les Empires Mongols, la Perse, l'Inde et la*

Chine Modernes, Histoire du Japon (Paris, Crès, 1922, pp. 308, 400, 488). It is a well-written account showing a remarkable grasp of the history of the Continent.

A hostile account of *L'Aventure Kémaliste* (Paris, L'Édition Universelle, 1921, pp. 104) is by O. Kiazim. It denies the Kemalist movement a national character. Lieut.-Col. B. M. Abadie has described a phase of the war in Asia Minor under the title *Opérations au Levant: les Quatre Sièges d'Aïntab* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1922, pp. 151).

A brief but unusually satisfactory manual on a topic for which only larger works have hitherto been available is *L'Art Bouddhique* (Paris, Laurens, 1921, pp. xvi, 164), by H. Focillion.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published *War and Armament Loans of Japan* (New York, Oxford University Press, pp. xv, 221), by Ushisaburo Kobayashi, D.C.L., in which the whole subject, from the Meiji Restoration in 1867 to the present time, is treated in its historical, economic, and statistical aspects.

Japan's Pacific Policy, especially in relation to China, the Far East, and the Washington Conference, by Kiyoshi Karl Kawakami, is in particular an analysis of Japan's part in the Washington Conference (New York, Dutton).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. K. Sarkar, *Les États Républicains (Ganas) dans l'Inde Ancienne* (Revue Historique, May); Auriant, *Une Occupation Égyptienne de Smyrne, Février-Mars 1833* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 1).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Library of Congress has recently acquired, for the Division of Manuscripts, the mimeograph copies of reports of general and group meetings of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament, bound in seven volumes; papers and files of the office of the Attorney General of the United States, 1789-1870; from the Department of State, the volumes of transcripts from the archives of Great Britain, France, and Spain deposited there by the late Henry Adams; letters and papers of Gen. Robert Anderson, especially those relating to the defense and evacuation of Fort Sumter; reports in General Grant's handwriting of his Vicksburg campaign, and of the operations of the armies subsequently commanded by him, up to June, 1865; photostat copies of all Lincoln papers in the collection of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and of the Confederate papers in the collection of Mr. W. K. Bixby; and the letters and papers of Senator John T. Morgan of Alabama, 1877-1907.

The American Book Company has brought out a volume by Professor Evarts B. Greene entitled *Foundations of American Nationality*, which,

combined with Professor Fish's *Development of American Nationality*, published in 1913, constitutes a history of the United States for colleges and for the general reader.

The inaugural lecture delivered before the University of Oxford on June first by Dr. Samuel E. Morison, the new Harmsworth professor of American history, a neat survey of American history and of the reasons why young Englishmen should be interested in it, has been published by the Clarendon Press as a pamphlet, *A Prologue to American History*.

American Democracy, by Willis M. West, is an account of the social, political, and industrial development of America in terms of democracy (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company). *The United States: its History, Government, and Institutions*, by Daniel Howard and Samuel J. Brown, is published by the firm of Appleton. The Macmillan Company has brought out an *Industrial History of the United States*, by Louis R. Wells. *The Makers of America*, by Professors James A. Woodburn and Thomas F. Moran, of Indiana, is from the press of Longmans.

Doubleday, Page, and Company have announced for autumn publication several autobiographical works of interest: *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, in two volumes; *All in a Life-Time*, by Henry Morgenthau; *My Life and Work*, by Henry Ford in collaboration with Samuel Crowther; and *The Story of a Varied Life*, by Rev. Dr. W. S. Rainsford.

The Myth of American Isolation: Our Policy of International Co-operation (World Peace Foundation), by Professor Pitman B. Potter of the University of Wisconsin, is written "to show that the American nation has from the very beginning led the way in the movement for international co-operation, and that the legend of national isolation as a description of American policy is sheer myth".

Annie E. S. Beard is the author of a volume entitled *Our Foreign-Born Citizens: What they have done for America*, being life-stories of famous citizens of foreign birth (New York, Crowell).

The Russians and Ruthenians in America by Jerome Davis, *The Poles in America* by Paul Fox, *The Italians in America* by Philip M. Rose, and *The Greeks in America* by J. P. Xenides, are volumes in the series of *Racial Studies* published by the firm of Doran.

The March number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* includes a biographical account, by Jane Campbell, of Mrs. Caroline E. White, Reformer, and a continuation of Elizabeth S. Kite's papers on Gérard, the French minister. The June number contains a paper on Bishop Camillus P. Maes of Covington, by Dr. J. Bittremieux and J. Van der Heyden; and one by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron upon the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States: Hartford, 1851-1872—Providence Diocese, 1872-1921.

In the June number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* appears the second part of the paper by S. Gordon Smyth on the Pioneer Presbyterians of New Providence, Virginia.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Macmillan Company has brought out *Our Old World Background*, by Charles A. Beard and William C. Bagley.

Cherokee and Earlier Remains on Upper Tennessee River, by Mark R. Harrington, is among the *Indian Notes and Monographs* of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

The first of six volumes of the *Works of Samuel de Champlain*, edited by Dr. Henry P. Biggar, which the Champlain Society of Toronto is to publish, has now been issued to members, presenting the early writings to 1608, with a portfolio of plates and maps.

Woman's Life in Colonial Days, by Carl Holliday, is brought out in Boston by the Cornhill Publishing Company.

The July *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library contains in facsimile a journal kept by an unknown writer who in 1746 accompanied Governor Clinton of New York on a journey from Boston to Albany to hold a conference with the Six Nations.

Alexander Henry's Travels and Adventures in the Years 1760-1776, edited, with an historical introduction and notes, by Dr. Milo M. Quaife, is from the press of Donnelley.

The Old South Association of Boston has printed, as no. 222 of the *Old South Leaflets*, Paul Revere's own accounts of his midnight ride, namely, his deposition of about 1775, and his letter of 1798 to Jeremy Belknap; they are accompanied by an account of Revere's life by Professor S. E. Morison.

Little, Brown, and Company have brought out *The Constitution of the United States: its Source and its Application*, by Thomas J. Norton.

The Navy Department has issued the second of the three volumes of series 2 of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (pp. 864), and, as one of the publications of the Historical Section, an account of *United States Naval Railway Batteries in France* (pp. v, 97, pl. 22) compiled by Lieut.-Comm. Edward Breck.

Judge Walter Clark is the author of two papers, *North Carolina at Gettysburg and Pickett's Charge a Misnomer*, and *Sixty Years afterwards and the Rear Guard of the Confederacy*, which he has issued in one pamphlet (Raleigh, the author).

Dr. William Dudley Foulke's *A Hoosier Autobiography* (Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 252) is a pleasant narrative, which, besides

entertainment, gives useful insight into the history of many causes for which the author has fought, besides the main endeavor narrated in his *Fighting the Spoilsmen*. There is also some good matter concerning Roosevelt. It is interesting to learn that the valuable library of Icelandic literature collected by Dr. Foulke's brother-in-law, that excellent scholar the late Arthur Middleton Reeves, for his *Finding of Wineland the Good*, has been presented by Dr. Foulke's daughter to the University of Louvain.

The Century Company has brought out in its *New World* series *The Building of an Army: a Detailed Account of Legislation, Administration, and Opinion in the United States, 1915-1920*, by John Dickinson.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The anonymous book *L'Évolution de la Race Française en Amérique: Vermont, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island*, tome I. (Montreal, Beauchemin, 1921, pp. x, 277), is formed by the republication of a series of newspaper articles dealing with French-Canadian emigration to the United States.

The Maine Historical Society, by the efforts of its treasurer, has now been freed of all the debt incurred by the erecting of its building in Portland. The Maine Genealogical Society has been merged in the Historical Society, and its books added to the library of the former, which now has been reopened. President K. C. M. Sill, of Bowdoin College, has been made president in the place of Dr. Henry S. Burrage.

Annals of Brattleboro, 1681-1895, in two volumes, edited by Mary R. Cabot, is published in Brattleborough by E. L. Hildreth and Company.

The state of Massachusetts has issued volume XXI. (pp. 1012) of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay*, embracing the resolves, orders, votes, etc., of the sessions of 1779 and 1780, when Revolutionary government under the province charter came to an end. To these have been added the town charters and analogous documents of 1692-1714, which in their chronological place in volumes VII.-IX. were given only by title. The texts and indexes have the elaborate character usual in this great series.

Brockton and its Centennial: Chief Events as Town and City, 1821-1921, edited by Warren P. Landers, is issued by the city.

The second volume of the *Rhode Island Court Records*, covering the period 1662-1670, has been printed and placed on sale by the Rhode Island Historical Society.

An index of all the Rhode Island items which appeared in Boston newspapers before 1750 has been made by Mr. George F. Dow, and

purchased by Col. George L. Shepley of Providence, and can be consulted at the Shepley Library.

The Connecticut Historical Society has just secured, from private possession, the complete original rolls of the Connecticut militia while in service during the War of 1812. The existence of these rolls had not been previously known. The collection consists of about 500 muster, pay, and receipt rolls, copies of a number of rolls, numerous official letters, and orders for sundry supplies for the troops; also a volume containing an indexed copy of all of the rolls.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

In the January number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* appears a paper, read by Mr. Peter Nelson at the Lake George meeting of the association in October, 1921, on the Battle of Diamond Island, a little known event in the Burgoyne campaign. The paper is accompanied by a map of the Lake George region. In its April number the *Journal* contains an address on the history of forest conservation in that state, by C. R. Pettis; a history of the Pulteney Purchase (Robert Morris's portion of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, acquired by Sir William Pulteney and English associates), by Paul D. Evans; and an account of surrogates' courts and records, in colony and state, by R. W. Vosburgh.

The July number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a paper, by Reginald P. Bolton, on the Home of Mistress Ann Hutchinson at Pelham, 1642-1643, and the second installment of the list of American Revolutionary Diaries, compiled by Dr. William M. Thomas.

Ossian Lang is the author of a *History of Freemasonry in the State of New York* (New York, the Grand Lodge).

The contents of the July number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* include: the Board of Proprietors of East Jersey, by David McGregor; Professor Benedict Jaeger, Early Entomologist of New Jersey, by Harry B. Weiss; New Jersey over a Century ago, as seen by a Frenchman (Théophile Cazenove); the Number of Soldiers in the Revolution, by Cornelius C. Vermeule; and a Young Man's Journal, 1800-1813 (cont.).

Professor R. W. Kelsey has prepared a *General Index to the Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, vols. I. to X., 1906-1921 (Haverford College).

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains a biographical sketch of Thomas Willing of Philadelphia (1731-1821), by Thomas Willing Balch; a first installment of the record of a Journey to Bethlehem in 1802, by Joshua Gilpin (father

of Henry D. Gilpin); and a reminiscence, principally of the battle of Brandywine, dated in 1840 and signed by Elizabeth W. Smith (granddaughter of Lieut.-Col. Persifor Frazer of that action). In the April number are found a paper entitled the Real Thomas Paine, Patriot and Publicist: a Philosopher Misunderstood, by Henry Leffman; the Philadelphia Method of Selecting and Drawing Jurors, by T. Elliott Patterson; and the concluding installment of the Journey to Bethlehem.

Among the articles in the July number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are: Early Courts, Judges, and Lawyers of Allegheny County, by Hon. A. B. Reid; Careers of the Croghans, by Stephen Quinon; Washington's Western Journeys and their Relation to Pittsburgh, by Robert M. Ewing; and the Critical Period in Pennsylvania History, by John P. Penny.

The principal of the *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society September 2, 1921, was part II. of the Autobiography of William Michael, being an account of his experiences in the expedition to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion. The issue for November 4 contains an account, by William F. Worner, of the early history of the Strasburg Scientific Society; that for December 2 contains the concluding part of the Historical Notes from the Records of Augusta County, Virginia, by Charles E. Kemper. The number for January, 1922, continues from 1776 through 1781 the series of Lancaster County items printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of that period. That for February continues from 1813 through 1827 C. H. Martin's account of the revenues derived by the federal government from that rich county.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains an article, by William Woodward, on the Thoroughbred Horse and Maryland; one by Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat on Governor Lionel Copley; continuations of the biographies of James A. Pearce and Thomas Johnson, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner and Mr. Edward S. Delaplaine, respectively; and some hitherto unpublished provincial records of the early eighteenth century.

In volume 24 of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society the chief pieces are: a paper on Executives and Voters of Georgetown, by William Tindall; one on James H. Blake, third mayor of Washington, 1813-1817, by Allen C. Clark; a summary of notable suits in early courts of the District of Columbia, by Dr. F. Regis Noel; and an entertaining paper on Art Life in Washington, by Miss Leila Mechlin, of the Corcoran Gallery of Art.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison contributes to the July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* a paper entitled When the Convicts Came, relating to the importation of convicts into Virginia in

pursuance of the act of Parliament of 1718. Mr. Harrison also contributes to the department of Notes and Queries two letters of James Patton, written from Augusta County in 1742, and two from Gov. William Gooch, written in 1743 and 1745. The third installment of Letters from William and Mary College is of the period 1795-1799. They are all addressed to David Watson and are from the collection of Mr. Thomas S. Watson.

Hampden Sidney College has brought out *College of Hampden Sidney Dictionary of Biography, 1776-1825* (pp. 322), by A. J. Morrison. The *Dictionary* is prepared in two parts, one for the eighteenth century and one for the nineteenth, each with its separate index. Among the 800-odd names included are not a few men of distinction, among them William Henry Harrison, of whom it is recorded that he "had the misfortune to be chosen President of the United States". Unfortunately, of many men, even of the later period, but meagre and indefinite records have been obtained. There are several portraits in the volume.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* for July contains, aside from genealogical matter, some notes on patents for inventions by Virginians, 1805-1824, by A. J. Morrison; several letters from the manuscripts of the Royal Society of London, written from Virginia in 1665 by Rev. Alexander Moray; several letters of John Preston, 1793-1813, and one on the battle of Williamsburg, May, 1862, by Col. D. K. McRae of North Carolina.

The July number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains an address on the Relations between the British Dominion of Virginia and the Dominion of Canada, delivered at Annapolis, Nova Scotia, in August, 1921, by Dr. J. Murray Clark of Toronto.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has recently received more than ten thousand additional documents from the legislative and executive departments of the state. Most of them were salvaged from basements and attics of old buildings once used by the state, but they are in good condition. They fill out the collections to such an extent that the Commission's series of governors' papers and legislative papers are now practically unbroken from 1776 to the present. The Hall of History has received the Joseph Hyde Pratt World War Collection of relics, several hundred in number. Mr. R. D. W. Connor has just completed a survey of the British Public Record Office for North Carolina material not included in the *Colonial Records*. Arrangements will be made to secure transcripts at once of numerous documents he has found.

In the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* for January, just received, Miss Webber continues notices of marriages and deaths from the (Charleston) *City Gazette* of 1795, and proceedings of 1765 in the court of ordinary.

In the June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Dr. Roland M. Harper presents a second paper on the Development of Agriculture in Georgia from 1850 to 1880, the present study being concerned with the section of the state below the falls line, as the former was with that above. There is a sketch of Judge Beverly D. Evans (1865-1922), by Orville A. Park. The Howell Cobb Papers, edited by Dr. R. P. Brooks, cover in this number the period 1854-1856.

Volume IV. of the *Publications* of the Mississippi Historical Society contains a paper on the Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812, by Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, a series of rolls of Mississippi commands in that war, papers on Gov. Daniel Holmes and on the Closing Days of the War of Secession by D. H. Conrad and W. A. Love, respectively, and a discussion of a portion of De Soto's route by the latter writer.

WESTERN STATES

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains an interesting address by Professor Frank H. Hodder of Kansas on "Propaganda as a Source of American History"; a useful paper on the Political Significance of the Pension Question, 1885-1897, by Mr. Donald L. McMurphy of Iowa; and an account of the Federal Indian Policy in California, 1846-1860, by Mr. William H. Ellison, of the Oregon Agricultural College. In the section of documents Dr. T. C. Blegen prints a typical Norwegian "America letter" of 1835.

Ground has been broken for an additional wing to the Museum and Library Building of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society at Columbus. Dr. Edwin E. Sparks delivered the chief address at the annual meeting on September 9.

The January-June issue (double number) of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the Memoirs of Benjamin Van Cleve (1773-1821), a pioneer of Ohio. Besides an account of the journey westward and descriptions of pioneer life, the writer records his military experiences in 1792-1794, which included a journey from Fort Washington to Philadelphia and return in 1792 as military courier.

Ginn and Company have brought out a volume on the *History and Geography of Ohio*, by William M. Gregory and William B. Gitteau.

Volume VII., no. 7, of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications* is *Fort Wayne in 1790: Journal of Henry Hay*, edited by Dr. M. M. Quaife. No. 8 is *One Hundred Years in Public Health in Indiana*, by William F. King.

The June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains a history of Crawford County, by H. H. Pleasant; Pioneer Stories of the Calumet, by J. W. Lester; and a continuation of Carl F. Brand's History of the Know Nothing Party in Indiana.

The principal articles in the January, 1921, number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Dr. David Nelson and his Times (1793-1844), by W. A. Richardson, jr.; a letter from Senator James R. Doolittle to Robert T. Lincoln, June 3, 1884, together with some correspondence relating thereto between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Duane Mowry, who contributes the letter; the Indian Wars of 1876, from letters of Thaddeus H. Capron, by Cynthia J. Capron; and an historical sketch of the Congregational Church of Toulon, Illinois, 1846-1921, by Clare McKenzie.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for April has papers on Catholic Education in Illinois, by Mrs. Charles L. Larkin; on the Early Days of St. Joseph's College at Bardstown, Kentucky, by Rev. W. J. Howlett, and some notes on the Illinois Part of the Diocese of Vincennes, by Joseph J. Thompson.

The latest publication of the Filson Club, no. 32, is *The Filson Club and its Activities, 1884-1922* (Louisville, pp. 64), by its secretary, Otto A. Rothert, embracing the history of the club, lists of its publications and of papers on Kentucky history prepared for the club, and lists of members.

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The Library Trustees of the city of Knoxville, Tennessee, have published in a pamphlet (pp. 49) the *Proceedings* at the presentation to the Lawson McGhee Library of the important collection made by the late Calvin M. McClung, a collection of several thousand volumes, rich in material for the history of Tennessee, and of several neighboring states. The contents are to a large extent itemized in the pamphlet, but the library has issued a printed catalogue which, though not elaborate in form, goes far toward constituting a check-list of Tennessee history.

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CANADA

We note with great pleasure the formation on May 18 last, of the Canadian Historical Association. This society, intended to perform for Canada services similar to those performed in the United States by the American Historical Association—to advance the interests alike of Canadian history and of history in Canada—was formed by a reorganization of the Historic Landmarks Association of Canada, instituted in 1907, those having the project in charge availing themselves of the sixteenth annual meeting of that body, held in Ottawa on the date named. The officers chosen for the year 1922-1923 were the following: president, Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee of Ottawa; vice-president, Mr. W. D.

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The *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part XI., consists of a diary, December, 1832–March, 1833, of Rev. William Proudfoot, early Scottish Presbyterian minister in London.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The May number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* contains articles by Professor William L. Schurz on the Spanish Lake (the Pacific), by Professor J. Fred Rippey on Anglo-American Filibusters and the Gadsden Treaty, and by Osgood Hardy on the *Itata* Incident; also a group of documents from the Archives of the Indies, contributed by Miss Irene A. Wright, and narrating picturesquely, from the Spanish side, the story of Sir Anthony Shirley's raid on Jamaica in 1597. Two-thirds of the August number (pp. 325–483) is occupied with a single monograph, on Anglo-Spanish Relations in America in the years from 1763 to 1774, by Miss Vera L. Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, a monograph very well worth doing and very well done, in which the relations consequent upon the Treaty of Paris, in Honduras, Louisiana, and Florida, and especially the affair of the Falkland Islands, receive for the first time a thorough treatment, well based, intelligent, and interesting. There is also an historical note by Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville on the founding of Havana, a subject which, by the way, the municipality of Havana has sent Señor Nestor Carbonell to the Archives of the Indies to investigate at full length.

The Hispanic Society of America has published an ample volume, by Professor Bernard Moses, formerly of the University of California, on *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America*, with a bibliography; it emphasizes especially the writers of the eighteenth century.

La Fin de l'Empire Espagnol d'Amérique (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1922, pp. 192), by A. Marius, is a careful study which insists upon the view that the causes of the independence of South America are not to be found in an excess of misery and ignorance resulting from royal despotism.

A contribution of high value to the history of the conquistadores is Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham's *The Conquest of New Granada, being the Life of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada*, whom the author places on a level with Cortés and Pizarro.

A biography of General Urquiza, *Urquiza: El Juicio de la Posteridad*, has been published by the Comisión Nacional de Homenaje al General Urquiza, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of his establishing the unity of the Argentine Republic.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Vignaud, *How America was Really Discovered* (Living Age, July 15); A. J. Morrison, *John G. De Brahm* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); J. Hashagen, *Die Vereinigten*

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The *Transactions* of the London and Middlesex Historical Society, part XI., consists of a diary, December, 1832–March, 1833, of Rev. William Proudfoot, early Scottish Presbyterian minister in London.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The May number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* contains articles by Professor William L. Schurz on the Spanish Lake (the Pacific), by Professor J. Fred Rippey on Anglo-American Filibusters and the Gadsden Treaty, and by Osgood Hardy on the *Itata* Incident; also a group of documents from the Archives of the Indies, contributed by Miss Irene A. Wright, and narrating picturesquely, from the Spanish side, the story of Sir Anthony Shirley's raid on Jamaica in 1597. Two-thirds of the August number (pp. 325–483) is occupied with a single monograph, on Anglo-Spanish Relations in America in the years from 1763 to 1774, by Miss Vera L. Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, a monograph very well worth doing and very well done, in which the relations consequent upon the Treaty of Paris, in Honduras, Louisiana, and Florida, and especially the affair of the Falkland Islands, receive for the first time a thorough treatment, well based, intelligent, and interesting. There is also an historical note by Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville on the founding of Havana, a subject which, by the way, the municipality of Havana has sent Señor Nestor Carbonell to the Archives of the Indies to investigate at full length.

The Hispanic Society of America has published an ample volume, by Professor Bernard Moses, formerly of the University of California, on *Spanish Colonial Literature in South America*, with a bibliography; it emphasizes especially the writers of the eighteenth century.

La Fin de l'Empire Espagnol d'Amérique (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1922, pp. 192), by A. Marius, is a careful study which insists upon the view that the causes of the independence of South America are not to be found in an excess of misery and ignorance resulting from royal despotism.

A contribution of high value to the history of the conquistadores is Mr. R. B. Cunningham Graham's *The Conquest of New Granada, being the Life of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada*, whom the author places on a level with Cortés and Pizarro.

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The

American Historical Review

EUROPEAN HISTORY AND AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP¹

EUROPEAN history is of profound importance to Americans. We may at times appear more mindful of Europe's material indebtedness to us than of our spiritual indebtedness to Europe; we may in our pharisaic moods express our thanks that we are not even as these sinners of another hemisphere; but such moments cannot set us loose from the world's history. Whether we look at Europe genetically as the source of our civilization, or pragmatically as a large part of the world in which we live, we cannot ignore the vital connections between Europe and America, their histories ultimately but one. The latest statue of Abraham Lincoln looks toward Westminster Abbey and toward the grave of the unknown British soldier who fell in a cause of liberty common to both sides of the Atlantic.

European history we shall always in some fashion have with us, but how? Shall it come to us entirely at second hand, either in the original packages of European authors, or derived therefrom as it is condensed, diluted, predigested, or reflavored to suit the local taste? Or shall we participate fully and directly in all phases of the historical activity of our time, collecting and sifting the sources for ourselves, making our own generalizations and interpretations, contributing freely of our thought as well as of our labor to the general advancement of historical knowledge and historical understanding? The question concerns the future of American scholarship, its dignity, its independence, its creative power.

It is, of course, both desirable and inevitable that a large part of the historical effort of every country should go to its national history. But while American history is our first business, it is not our sole business. Beyond the level of production necessary for the nourishment of local historical life, there must be a surplus product for

¹ Presidential address delivered before the American Historical Association at New Haven, Dec. 27, 1922.

the general good, and never was the need of our intellectual surplus so great as now. If every country had interpreted its obligations in a narrowly national sense, there would have been no Gibbon or Grote, no Ranke, no Mommsen, no Renan, no Champollion, no general histories; and the United States would lack the fine examples of Prescott and Motley, of Henry Charles Lea, Charles Gross, and Alfred Thayer Mahan.

The material obstacles to American research in European fields are so obvious that they require no elaboration. We are far from Europe's libraries and archives; our own collections are inadequate, and the large repositories are few and often remote from the individual worker. Yet two generations of productive scholarship show that such difficulties are not insuperable, and what was hard for Prescott and Lea has become much easier with new photographic processes and the rapid development of great library centres. Of this the recent creation on the Pacific Coast of a great library of the World War offers a most convincing illustration. Nevertheless, historians of slender means require much in the way of travelling fellowships and research funds, co-operative effort, and wise and generous policy in the enlargement of libraries and facilities for publication.

Remoteness creates more serious disadvantages of an immaterial kind. American scholars are less well grounded in languages than are their European colleagues, both in the classical tongues which are essential for many periods of history, and in the vernaculars of today. The units of foreign language so laboriously accumulated in school and college lose little of their foreignness in the process; indeed the very word may be partly responsible for the prevalent timidity in attacking an unknown tongue. The least that will satisfy the bare requirement is too common an ideal even among advanced students. Unless we lose our fear of languages, much of our historical work must perforce be second-hand and superficial. Still harder of acquisition is the familiarity with persons and places, the sympathetic appreciation of European habits and points of view which comes with prolonged travel and residence abroad and without which history is bloodless and unreal if not untrue. Important as this is for certain kinds of historical work, especially in recent epochs, it is not indispensable for all. Henry C. Lea visited Europe only once and that but briefly; Gibbon, to take a foreign example, wrote his famous seventeenth chapter without ever seeing Constantinople. Yet these were no provincials. Lea knew many tongues, ancient, medieval, and modern; Gibbon had his classics and, though he refused to learn

the German necessary for a history of Switzerland, he composed his first book in fluent French, which he wrote more easily than his mother tongue. The historian must at least travel in his imagination, and for most of us it is safer first to travel in the flesh. As a New Jersey private remarked at the close of the late war, "There's a hell of a lot of difference between Trenton, New Jersey, and Paris, France, and you don't know it till you get to Paris, France!"

American historiography shows three main phases, which chronologically overlap: the literary age of the second quarter of the nineteenth century; the middle period, devoted almost wholly to American history; and the last fifty years. The first phase, with its romantic interest in far-off times and places, widened the American horizon at the same time that it gave us the classical histories of Prescott and Motley, but it created no school and had little continuous influence. The second period, best typified by the romantic nationalism of Bancroft, touched Europe only indirectly, but brilliantly, in Parkman's volumes on New France. The third period is less easy to characterize. Its historians have generally had an academic training of the European sort, and are mostly connected with universities and other learned bodies; they have given much attention to documentary research and publication; their attitude is at least to this extent more scientific and less impressionistic; they resemble their European contemporaries in outlook and manner of work. This epoch we must now examine more closely if we are to form a definite impression of American tendencies in relation to European history. A complete enumeration or a critical assessment of individual authors is of course out of the question, but a rapid survey may show the subjects which have chiefly interested American scholars and some of the general characteristics of their work.

In the history of ancient times America was naturally no pioneer, yet two of the foremost living Egyptologists are our compatriots, and others are attacking the papyri in our libraries. Babylonia and Assyria have also their experts, even though their dynasties have not been exactly our "top and cricket ball", as they were to the youthful Gibbon. We have established ourselves in the field of Judaism and Oriental religion. As regards Greece and Rome, we have a definite place in the world's scholarship in relation to Hellenistic Athens, Greek and Roman imperialism, the Roman assemblies, and the economic life of Rome, while we have received among us from an oppressed country the world's leading authority on ancient economic history. Greek and Roman religion owe not a little to American scholars, while our schools at Athens and at Rome have done good

work in archaeology. So far as it goes, the showing is good, but the workers in classical history are few in comparison with the amount of time and strength which has gone to the study of the classical languages and has produced too little that is fresh in the field of literary history and interpretation. Thucydides and Aristotle, the leading historical minds of antiquity, owe little or nothing to American interpreters. The vast field of the Roman Empire we are just beginning to explore. The "fall of Rome", long reserved for patriotic orations and other forms of hortatory discourse, has recently become the serious concern of at least three American historians.

Of the various countries of medieval and modern Europe, England has naturally received chief attention, for English history is in a sense early American history. The half-century which has followed the appearance of the *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law* has seen a steadily growing body of fundamental work on the part of American scholars, notably George Burton Adams and Cheyney, Gay and Gross, their pupils, and now their pupils' pupils. The list is long of the subjects in which American scholarship has made a place for itself: the Saxon household and the Norman *curia*, Domesday and the Great Charter, the king's council, Parliament both early and recent; the rise of political parties and the Cabinet, the political ideas and religious movements of the seventeenth century, and the old colonial system; the borough and the gilds, frankpledge, sheriff, coroner and county palatine, the jury and the justice of the peace; the Star Chamber and the High Commission; the manor, including villeinage, field systems, and enclosures; medieval and Tudor finance, customs and monopolies and the grain trade, the various trading companies, the stannaries, and the Templars; statutes of laborers and Tudor society, Chartism and related movements, as well as large portions of English legal and literary history. The standard general treatise on modern English government is by an American author, as is the best outline of English constitutional history. American writers have been tempted by the general political history of the Norman period, Tudor ideals, the reign of Elizabeth, by biographies of Canute and Thomas Cromwell, Walsingham, Arlington, Holland, and Nelson. The principal bibliography of English history is by an American, and Americans have had an important part in editing such records as the parliamentary debates of the seventeenth century, the volumes of the Selden Society, and the *Year Books*. Yet, with some recent exceptions, we have done relatively little for the period since 1783, almost nothing for Scotland, Ireland, and the non-American parts of the British Empire.

For the countries of the Continent less was to be expected, and less has been produced. The French Revolution, for example, has never ceased to excite interest throughout the United States, and materials for its history are found in several of our libraries, but, though there are many brief sketches and a special volume on its religious policy, monographic research has been sporadic, with excellent individual publications but no organized centre outside Fling's seminary at the University of Nebraska. We have books on Napoleon, long and short, but as yet nothing definitive, nor have promising investigations of internal administration and commercial policy as yet come to fruition. Only quite recently have there been signs of awakening interest in nineteenth-century France, as seen in an elaborate biography of Lamartine and in volumes on Alsace-Lorraine and current political and social movements. Except for a brief general survey, work on the French Middle Ages has been scattering—Louis VII. and Philip Augustus, towns and universities and troubadours, the Normans and the Hundred Years' War, lives of Joan of Arc and Charles the Bold, and valuable original investigations of architecture. The volumes of James Breck Perkins and Edward Lowell and Farmer on the old régime have been followed up chiefly in the field of economic and colonial policy; those of Baird on the Huguenots have been succeeded by biographies of Calvin and Catherine de' Medici and studies of the contemporary economic and political movements in France and Geneva.²

On the Reformation in Germany the American contribution is significant: biographies, notably of Luther, Erasmus, and Zwingli, economic and social studies, new documents, investigations of special topics like the marriage of Philip of Hesse. For other periods of German history we have done less. Tuttle's *History of Prussia* remains incomplete, as does a projected series of Prussian biographies, while Prussianism still awaits its historian. One scholar studies the epoch of Liberation and its immediate antecedents; another has re-examined investiture, the eastward movement, and other problems of the German Middle Ages; another is at home in many phases of modern Germany, including the antecedents of the Great War. German literature has its American historians and translators, and one general history of Germany has been attempted. Scholars of the present generation have contributed more that is independent than did their predecessors, who were more exclusively trained in Germany, and the war has compelled the re-examination of many phases

² On the work of Americans in French history, see the survey in the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*, XXIX. 251-277 (1919); and my article, "L'Histoire de France aux États-Unis", in *Revue de Paris*, Feb. 1, 1920.

of German history, especially the more recent. Since Motley the Netherlands have dropped out of the foreground, though we have added to our credit a biography of William the Silent, a narrative of the age of decline, and a study of the Dutch régime in Java. Switzerland has been of interest chiefly as a problem in democratic federalism and direct popular government.

With respect to the North and East of Europe not much can be said. Gustavus Adolphus and Peter the Great some years ago attracted American biographers, but the recent product is scanty. We have published a useful bibliography of Slavic Europe, but it contains exceedingly few American titles. There are signs of growing interest, and one American has already made himself an acknowledged authority on Poland, while we must not forget the labors of the American-Scandinavian Foundation nor certain recent publications on the medieval history of the North. In the Balkans attention has centred about Turkey, where two or three good studies could be listed. The Byzantine Empire appears to have left America cold, but the Crusades have called forth a considerable number of special investigations, chiefly the work of Munro and his students.

In medieval Italy American interest has been chiefly literary, concerned notably with Dante, as seen in numerous translations and essays, and not forgetting Petrarch and the Sicilian poets. One American has recreated medieval Siena, another devotes himself to Genoa, two others to Norman Sicily, still another has written a general survey of the thirteenth century. Few of our countrymen have utilized the vast resources of the Vatican archives, whether for medieval or for modern subjects. The Italian Renaissance can show little save on the side of art, and there is a wide gap between Columbus and the Napoleonic régime. The standard biography of Cavour is by an American, as every one knows, and the principal library on the Risorgimento has been collected by an American scholar residing in Rome.

Spain, so important for both Americas, can claim the noble volumes of Prescott, Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, and Lea's monumental *History of the Inquisition of Spain*. A new awakening is apparent in the work of the Hispanic Society, in a comprehensive narrative of the rise of the Spanish Empire, in the growing activity of literary studies, and in monographs on economic topics like the silver fleets and the Mesta and on institutions in the New World like the *audiencia*. Indeed it is worthy of remark that some of the best research of recent years has been done in fields where European and American history touch—exploration and early cartography, the Cali-

fornia studies of New Spain and Woodbury Lowery's *Spanish Settlements*, Blair and Robertson's *Philippine Islands*, Thwaites's *Jesuit Relations* and the work of others on New France, a group of studies on the West Indies and the commercial relations in which these islands once played a large part, Alvord's volumes on the French and British occupation of the Mississippi Valley, Burr's researches on the Venezuela boundary, Jameson's *Usselinx*, the collection of treaties and the series of manuals of European archives published by the Carnegie Institution, the various investigations of the origins of the Revolution now brought to a head in Van Tyne, Becker's *Declaration of Independence*, and Coolidge's *United States as a World Power*, and the brilliant studies of British colonial policy by the late George Louis Beer.

In the general history of modern Europe America's outstanding achievement is the writings of Admiral Mahan on sea power, whether we consider their freshness, their admirable lucidity of thought and style, their wide appeal, or their influence on public opinion and the policy of nations; and his triumph should be an inspiration to the young historian. European expansion, intellectual as well as physical, has been suggestively set forth to the end of the eighteenth century; but the general history of the nineteenth century, summarized in certain noteworthy manuals, has drawn no author beyond the limits of one or two volumes. Yet "the day before yesterday" is coming to its own as regards social as well as political movements. Much attention has been paid to the history of diplomacy and international relations, especially under the impetus of the Great War, and more general works are now giving way to monographs, which for the recent period still suffer from the restrictions imposed upon access to archives by the governments of western Europe and the United States. The imposing series of volumes which the Carnegie Endowment is bringing out on the social and economic history of the war is American in plan and editorship, but is written by European authors.

In fields less political America has produced the standard manual of the history of religion, but fewer special studies than might be expected in this domain. The output in church history, apart from the Reformation and the apostolic age, would be disappointing were it not for the labors of Lea, who stands by himself as an historian of the institutions of the Roman church. Self-taught, untravelled, a business man most of his life, his eighteen solid volumes of pioneer work constitute the most considerable product of any American historian in the European field.³ The newer Catholic scholarship,

³ I have examined Lea's work more fully in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLIII. 182-188 (1909).

though often trained in European methods, is devoting itself rather to the church history of the United States. Intellectual history is illustrated by Andrew D. White's *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, Henry Osborn Taylor's *Mediaeval Mind*, with its forerunners and its continuation to 1600, Thorndike's *Magic and Experimental Science*, Dunning's *History of Political Theories*, with Sullivan's and Emerton's work on Marsiglio of Padua, Putnam's *Censorship*, Babbitt's *Rousseau*, James Harvey Robinson's *Mind in the Making*, scattered writings of George L. Burr, and a number of more special studies, many of them issuing from Columbia University; while intellectual history is also emphasized in Paetow's serviceable guide to the Middle Ages and in his special publications. Apart from certain general handbooks and a creditable review, *Isis*, our contribution to the history of science lies mainly in mathematics. Current interest in the history of art is noteworthy, and names like Charles Herbert Moore and Kingsley Porter in architecture, Marquand and Post in sculpture, Berenson and Mather in painting, are significant examples, not to speak of that unclassifiable book, the *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* of Henry Adams. We have made notable contributions to the palaeography of the early Middle Ages, to the history of language, especially the Greek and Italic dialects, the Romance tongues, and Old and Middle English, and to the comparative history of literature. Witchcraft and folk-lore have not been neglected, and anthropology, ethnology, and anthropogeography have their place. America has given considerable attention to questions of historical methodology, the scope and methods of historical study, and the history of history.

There are many gaps: Ireland and Scotland, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Portugal, most of northern and eastern Europe, many great epochs, much of the fruitful borderland between history and other subjects. Then there is general history, for, save for a single adaptation from the German, of our general histories the less said the better. We can show no undertaking of the type of Oncken or Helmolt, the Cambridge series, Lavissee and Rambaud, or the newer French enterprises. Nor, if it be urged that we lack the accumulated scholarship requisite for such extensive tasks, has any of our writers, whether historian or novelist, essayed a more concise synthesis beyond the limits of a text-book. None of our historians has the range of Acton, Freeman, or Bury; books such as those of Merz and Marvin must still be imported. We have, on the other hand, devoted a large amount of energy to the apparatus of teaching—text-books, syllabi, atlases, source-books, and more extended translations of the

original materials of history for the use of students and the general public. We have a national fondness for cyclopaedias and bibliographies.

For the most part the characteristics of our work are individual and personal rather than distinctively American. Of that which is best much has been done in the history of institutions, political and legal, ecclesiastical and economic, for which our national experience helps to furnish the necessary basis of understanding. With notable exceptions, we have been less successful in the types of history which make large demands on the imagination. Diplomatic history has made a good beginning, naval history has scored triumphs, military history is in many respects in its infancy, social history is a new *genre*, stronger as yet in its programme than in its achievements. We have done something with the history of ideas, more with the history of art than with that of science and invention—a surprising neglect of a rich field of study for which Americans ought to possess special aptitude. We have explored foreign archives, especially those of England, France, and Spain, and have at times been the first to exploit historically important series of records previously closed or forgotten. Tasks of editorship and textual criticism we can perform, but we have an Anglo-Saxon tendency to think overmuch of the general reader even in our works of erudition, with the result that too many books fall between the scholar and the public, fully serving the needs of neither. It will be to the advantage of both constituencies when we cease to write with one eye on each and come to produce more abundantly books which only scholars need and books which make the results of scholarship really attractive to the wider body of readers.

Our recent publications comprise but few comprehensive works demanding what the French call “a labor of long breath”. This can be explained in part by academic and other burdens, in part by the growing difficulty of finding a publisher for a considerable work of the less popular type; but something must be set down to the vogue of the text-book and various forms of fugitive writing. Newspapers and magazines must needs be, and well is it if they find room for sound articles on historical subjects. Far be it from my purpose to imply that the *American Historical Review* is the only journal worthy of the American historian! Nevertheless, the temptation to write much and frequently on topics of current interest—“hot stuff on live subjects”—must be withstood if the historian hopes to accomplish a considerable and finely matured work. Thucydides would have found it hard to syndicate his account of the Sicilian expedition

from day to day and still produce that "everlasting possession" which Ranke reread every year, and we may well ponder the example of one who set himself to write a book "for all time" rather than an essay "for the passing hour".⁴ So, while a good historical text-book is a real achievement, the number at present in circulation is quite unnecessary, swollen as it is beyond that of any other country by the desire of each publishing house to have a complete series for all grades of instruction. Many a promising scholar has been turned aside from more important labors to compile a text for which there is no real need beyond the pecuniary needs of writer and publisher. Moreover, text-books make easy reputations in the public eye and often falsify standards of creative work. A recent survey of American civilization finds that but "three names suggest themselves when history in America is mentioned",⁵ and with one partial exception these three are held up to admiration, not for the substantial achievement of each in other forms of historical activity, but as the authors of a remarkable group of school and college texts!

On the whole, the present state of European history in the United States calls neither for self-satisfaction nor for discouragement. There is a wide variety of effort, with conspicuous examples of achievement. We have shown that we can hold our own in many fields of the world's scholarship, though the workers are relatively few, and much territory lies unoccupied. We have only to go forward. No field of inquiry is closed to us; each has its attraction and its opportunity. Like St. Paul at the Three Taverns, we can thank God and take courage. Indeed the mere mention of taverns shows what detachment we have recently achieved from the age-long customs of Europe! Detachment is one of America's great advantages as regards many aspects of European history, but it has its dangers. Cut off from those who drank red wine and shed red blood and even waved red flags, we must not lose understanding of this seething life of an older civilization and write its history as that of another planet upon which we gaze like Olympians across "the lucid interspace". For good and ill, it is all our world, to have "as in our time" the Wife of Bath would say, and the historian has constant need to remind himself that his theme is life, rich and deep and full-blooded, and not running pale beneath his pen. "In the joy of the actors", says Stevenson, "lies the sense of any action." "To miss the joy is to miss all."

It is our world to-day but not to-morrow. If the future of history as a whole is immense, like Matthew Arnold's future of poetry,

⁴ Thucydides, I., c. 22.

⁵ *Civilization in the United States: an Inquiry by Thirty Americans*, ed. Harold E. Stearns (New York, 1922), p. 547.

no one can foretell which aspects of history are in store for coming generations in America. No form of history is final, yet each of us naturally looks for the perpetuation of that form in which he has immediate personal interest. Many historians find it easy to be historically minded respecting everything save only history. To them the world may change but the types of history must remain the same. None the less these, too, change, continually and, as Croce has finely shown, without repetition. In the writing of history, as in all other things, we cannot predict to-morrow save that it will be different from to-day.

One function of history, however, is likely to outlast our time, namely the interpretative function, and in none can the historical scholar perform a finer service. The Interpreter in Bunyan's allegory is the master of Mr. Great-heart. As a people we tend to have short memories and quick impulses. We have hastily assumed that the several nations of Europe during the World War were something very different from what they had been before, and that they have again quite changed character and ideals with the peace. The historian knows better, and his countrymen need his steadying vision, which puts the present in its perspective and interprets it in the light of the past. The war was from one point of view a conflict of national psychologies, and the peace is much the same. Each nation, in Clemenceau's phrase, "lives encased in its own past", and its action is determined by its inherited mentality. To explain these mentalities historically to America is the historian's no mean task. Indirectly, also, he interprets America to Europe. A certain large volume on America throws quite as much light on the workings of the German mind as on the United States, while Bryce's *American Commonwealth* mirrors much of England at her best. Excellent American books on European history will increase respect for American scholarship, American fair-mindedness, mayhap American originality, and help Europe to understand the American mind. May we be judged by our best, and may our best be abundant! Such interpretation need not always be indirect. American historians have also the opportunity to do for their country what Lavissee has just done for France in those serene and luminous pages of farewell with which he concludes his literary labors and his co-operative *Histoire de la France Contemporaine*; and they might even find a common denominator between American idealism and the "very free democracy, always seeking a greater social justice, neither disturbed by violence nor seduced by utopias, reasoning and reasonable", which the veteran historian pictures as the supreme ambition of France.

The function of the historian as interpreter exists not merely as between nations; it concerns larger groups. There are common elements in European civilization which the American historian should be the first to discern and whose history he should be able to trace without those national prejudices from which his European confrères cannot wholly emancipate themselves. Thus Charlemagne to him is neither a German nor a Frenchman but a European figure. So, too, he is bound to see the United States as part of a larger whole. We speak, for convenience's sake, of European and American history, creating separate professorships and sometimes even separate departments, and many people like to think of American history as providentially cut off from Europe by Columbus, or the Revolution, or the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles. It is the historian's business to tie Europe and America together in the popular mind. For colonial and Revolutionary times the fundamental work has in large measure been accomplished by the scholars of the present generation; for the federal period it has only begun. Our connections with Europe have been most evident in time of war and often forgotten in the intervals of peace. The great European wars have in every instance also been American wars; they have even become world wars. "In order that he might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend", writes Macaulay of Frederick the Great, "black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America." A century and a half later Frederick's successor violated a neutrality he was pledged to respect, and a nameless American soldier lies at Arlington while thousands of his comrades sleep beneath their crosses at Romagne. Nor is the repercussion of events across the Atlantic confined to periods of war. Ireland has a potato famine in 1848, and Boston has an Irish mayor in 1922. Karl Marx and Engels publish their *Communist Manifesto* in this same 1848, and two generations later Bolshevism appears in the lumber camps of the Pacific Northwest. Even in the face of the World War, the man in the street does not see these connections and what they imply. The historian sees them, and it is his duty to make them clear to the man in the street and the man in public office. The historian sees them, whether he be occupied primarily with Europe or with America, for at this point the tasks of these two groups merge, and their very subject-matter conspires to bring about a unity which in methods of work and habits of mind they necessarily possess. The old dichotomy is passing as the New World grows old—prematurely old, some would say, or is it only a passing mood of disenchantment in both hemispheres, as when Barrie declares that "the war has taken

spring out of the year"? Young or old, Europe and America are now in the same boat, along with the still older Orient, all common material for history. The historian's world is one; let him interpret it as one, in relation both to scholarship and to the molding of public opinion!

The American Historical Association, ever since its foundation in 1884, has stood for a large and comprehensive conception of the historian's task. It was established, in the words of its charter, to promote "the interest of American history and history in America". The programmes of its meetings have been catholic and varied, including when possible foreign scholars; its *Review* has been open to workers in all branches of history while keeping its readers in touch with the historical movement throughout the world. The Association has had among its members men eminent in European as well as American history, occasionally writers like Henry Adams and Mahan who have shone brilliantly in both fields and have illuminated the common problems of the historical student. National in its membership, it has been international in its outlook. It has welcomed the work of both scholar and interpreter, new ideas as well as new learning. It has kept the unity of the historical faith, and conserved the freedom of history. The work of this Association and of its members is the best guarantee of the future of historical scholarship in America.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

THE LONDON MISSION OF THOMAS PINCKNEY, 1792-1796¹

THOMAS PINCKNEY, of Charleston, South Carolina, was the first minister of the United States, under the present federal government, to the court of St. James. His appointment, in November, 1791, was largely a matter of form then necessary to complete a full exchange of diplomatic representatives which had been initiated in the summer of that year by the establishment of George Hammond as first British minister in the United States. The impressive strength manifested by the government under the new Constitution destroyed the contempt with which George III.'s advisers had regarded the American Union ever since independence, and put an end to their refusal to lodge a representative at the American capital. The presence of George Hammond as British minister at Philadelphia in 1791 was, in fact, the first marked success of Washington's new administration in the field of foreign affairs. It had been understood that if a minister should be sent to the United States an American representative would be despatched at once to London. It was after Hammond had specifically notified the Secretary of State of this expectation² that Pinckney was notified of his appointment.³

¹ This paper is based on Pinckney's official despatches and instructions in the archives of the Department of State. These have been studied in the light of contemporary correspondence of the British Foreign Office and of the various sources for the history of the Jay Treaty, supplementary source-material which is indispensable for any thorough understanding of the Pinckney mission. I am indebted to the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department of Historical Research, for copies and digests of the papers in the archives of the Department of State. These were made by Dr. Newton D. Mereness. For remarks on the importance of the Pinckney papers in the archives of the Department of State see A. C. McLaughlin, *Report on the Diplomatic Archives in the Department of State, 1789-1840* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1906), p. 11. Thomas Pinckney's letter-books, now preserved in the collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, I have not been able to examine personally, but the librarian of the society, Miss Mabel L. Webber, has obligingly examined them for me in respect to certain points. These papers were used by Trescott for his *Diplomatic History of the Administrations of Washington and Adams*, and by the Rev. Dr. C. C. Pinckney for his biography of his grandfather, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney* (Boston, 1895), which contains a certain number of pieces from the family papers. The biography, not the work of a professional scholar, is discursive, and written with little attention to other sources than the family papers.

² Hammond to Grenville, Philadelphia, Oct. 28, Nov. 1, 16, 1791, Public Record Office, Foreign Office Records, America (hereinafter cited as F.O.), 4: 11.

³ Jefferson to Pinckney, draft, Nov. 6, 1791, Jefferson MSS., Library of

The President's selection was an expedient one and the appointment was acceptable to Pinckney personally.⁴ It gave the extreme South the most important post in the diplomatic service and it sent to the British court a man who was highly *persona grata*. Pinckney was a lawyer of forty, a planter, with a good military record and

Congress, printed as letter sent in *Works* (ed. Washington), III. 298; but the letter actually sent was of Nov. 9. Among the Jefferson MSS. is a letter of that date from the President, amiable but decided, of which the whole text is, "Enclosed is the letter to Majr. Pinckney. For the reasons mentioned to you yesterday, I prefer London to Paris for his Mission. Yrs. affect'ly." Apparently Jefferson had suggested Paris. The offer was enclosed in a letter to the postmaster at Charleston, who was requested to forward it quickly, and sent thither by sea by the hands of the young Lord Wycombe, eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne (Shelburne), who after visiting the northern and eastern states was now sailing for Charleston, armed with introductions from the President to the chief men of South Carolina; Jefferson MSS., Washington MSS., and Washington's letter-book, Library of Congress. Pinckney to Edward Rutledge, Nov. 24, 1791, in Pinckney's *Pinckney*, pp. 99-101; to Jefferson, accepting, Nov. 29, State Department, Despatches, England, III.; to Washington, do., Washington MSS.

⁴ According to Alexander Hamilton, *Works* (ed. J. C. Hamilton), VII. 700, Pinckney's appointment originated in the President's own mind. This statement receives corroboration from a letter which Jefferson wrote in cipher to Short Nov. 9, 1791, secretly informing him of the offer to Pinckney, and adding, "There was never a symptom by which I could form a guess on this subject till 3 days ago", i.e., till Nov. 6, the date of the draft mentioned in the preceding note; *Writings* (ed. Ford), V. 389. Washington may have seen Major Pinckney at Yorktown, though he had never met him before that (Washington to Gates, May 12, 1781, Washington MSS., B XIII.), and he must have seen something of him during his fortnight's visit to South Carolina in the spring of this same year 1791. Jefferson had no personal acquaintance with him; *Works* (ed. Washington), III. 298. Hammond reports to Grenville, Nov. 1, 1791, that he had been informed, through a private channel, that the President was in "some degree of indecision with respect to two of his personal friends, whom he would wish to bring forward upon this occasion"; no. 2, F.O. 4: 11. On Nov. 16, no. 4, *ibid.*, he wrote that most probably the post in London had been offered to "a Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina", but the joint letter of May 24, 1791, by which Edward Rutledge and C. C. Pinckney decline Washington's offer of a seat in the Supreme Court, *Writings* (ed. Ford), XII. 43, puts that notion out of the question. James Bowdoin the younger, afterward minister to Spain, applied for the appointment Dec. 3, too late; see his letter in Gaillard Hunt, *Calendar of Applications and Recommendations for Office during the Presidency of George Washington* (Washington, 1901), p. iv. Before Pinckney replied to Jefferson or had said anything about his appointment, some one in Charleston knew of it and, much to his vexation, gave the information to the press (Pinckney to Jefferson, Dec. 1, 1791, State Dept., Despatches, Eng., III.). There is nothing to substantiate John Adams's capricious charge, which he later withdrew after it had been the cause of much embarrassment in the presidential campaign of 1800, that the appointment was the result of a successful intrigue of the Pinckney brothers for the place (see Pinckney's *Pinckney*, pp. 150-176).

one term as governor of his state to his credit. Absolutely devoid of any diplomatic experience, he was a staunch supporter of the new Constitution and had used his official influence in South Carolina to secure its ratification. As much as any American patriot could be who had nearly died of wounds received on the field of battle against the troops of George III., Pinckney was a friend of England. When his father had been colonial agent for South Carolina in London the young boy had been entered at the fashionable Westminster School, and his educational career did not end until, after his course at Oxford and year's sojourn in France, he had finished his studies at the Temple.⁵ If his intellectual training and eighteen years in England did not leave him with a pleasing style, it endowed him with an appreciation of literary merit and a devotion to the classical culture which the best English minds of that day were so content to indulge. Contact with the European world, too, had served to polish the natural urbanity, social balance, and dignity which were the birthright of his name.

Pinckney accepting the offer, the nomination was laid before the Senate, with others, on December 22, and confirmed on January 12, 1792. The delay was not due to any opposition to Pinckney's name, but to a prolonged consideration of the whole matter of appointments to diplomatic service abroad.⁶ He arrived in Philadelphia at the end of April and embarked at New York for his post June 18.⁷

Hammond, the new British minister, had been quick to sound out the political temper of American personalities. Because of the political intimacy which he had cultivated with Alexander Hamilton and other leading Federalists he had exceptional facilities for this. It should be remembered that in 1792 Hamilton was Anglophil enough to propose in cabinet meeting an Anglo-American alliance, one of the purposes of which would be to secure from Spain the opening of the Mississippi River to the joint navigation of Americans and Canadians.⁸ Hammond soon became confident that Pinckney could be counted among the "party of the British interest", *i.e.*, those who opposed any specific discriminations on British commerce and who

⁵ Pinckney's *Pinckney*. He returned to America in 1774, just in time to participate vigorously in the Revolution against the crown.

⁶ *Writings of Washington* (ed. Ford), XII. 96-97, 99-100; of Jefferson (ed. Ford), V. 417, 421, 423, 433; Jefferson MSS.; Marshall's *Washington*, V. 370 n.

⁷ *Writings of Jefferson*, V. 512. Hammond to Grenville, July 3, 1792, no. 28, F.O. 4: 16; Ternant to Dumouriez, June 20, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1903*, II. 133.

⁸ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 423.

advocated generally closer relationships between the two countries on the basis of the *status quo*.

Those persons of this country who are desirous of promoting and preserving a good understanding with Great Britain are extremely well satisfied with Mr. Pinckney's appointment, as they consider the circumstance of his education at Westminster School, and of his having passed a great part of his life in England, as having a natural tendency to inspire him with a predilection for the country, and a desire of rendering his conduct satisfactory.

This was Hammond's information privately conveyed to Grenville soon after he learned of the new appointee.⁹ "A man of mild and liberal manners and perfectly untinctured with any sort of prejudices",¹⁰ was his judgment after meeting Pinckney just before the latter sailed for England.¹¹

In the paucity of specific duties prescribed for the minister, Jefferson's instructions indicate readily enough what the student of the period knows, that all the matters of major importance were then being handled by the Secretary of State personally in his negotiations with Hammond. Pinckney's chief duty was that of expressing "that spirit of sincere friendship which we bear to the English nation". In all transactions with the Foreign Secretary he was directed to conciliate that official's good disposition by whatever in language or attentions might tend to that effect. He was particularly recommended to seek the liberation of American commerce from restrictions imposed on it within British dominions, especially the West Indies, and to seek the adoption of some arrangement for the protection of American seamen from the press-gangs of British ports.¹²

The first of these subjects was soon absorbed by the Hammond-Jefferson negotiations in the United States and does not appear to have been touched by Pinckney at London. The second, regulation of impressment, furnished the burden (aside from routine representations) of Pinckney's light task in the months previous to the outbreak of the war between France and England. The small importance attached to the mission at first, aside from that of properly

⁹ Hammond to Grenville, private, Philadelphia, Jan. 9, 1792, *Dropmore Papers*, II. 250.

¹⁰ Same to same, June 8, 1792, no. 21, F.O. 4: 15.

¹¹ "We have a new American Minister, Mr. Pinckney, an old friend and brother-Westminster of mine, whose manners and temper exactly qualify him for the place he has taken. I have known him above thirty years, and do not know a more worthy and excellent man." J. B. Burges, under-secretary for foreign affairs, to Lord Auckland, British minister at the Hague, private, Whitehall, Aug. 10, 1792. *Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland*, II. 431.

¹² Jefferson to Pinckney, June 11, 1792, *Writings of Jefferson* (ed. Ford), VII. 104.

fulfilling a required formality, is testified by the meagreness of Jefferson's despatches. Such few letters as were written in the year 1792 and the early months of 1793 confine themselves almost altogether to petty routine claims, or, for example, the purchase of copper for the United States mint, and the hiring of European technicians to superintend the new coinage. Negotiations between the United States and Great Britain in those months were important but not lodged in Pinckney's care.

Pinckney reached London August 3, 1792, and learned that Lord Grenville, secretary of state for foreign affairs, was in the midst of his honeymoon. The new minister was presented to the king by Henry Dundas, home secretary, who reported to Grenville: "He is rather a gentlemanlike man, and the king's conversation to him was highly proper."¹³

Very discreetly Pinckney delayed disturbing the delights of Grenville's country sojourns until a more propitious moment. "I am told at the office", he wrote, "that any matter of business which I may have to transact with my Lord Grenville will be immediately communicated to him by their messenger—but I fear that if I were to occasion his leaving home under his present circumstances he might not bring with him that temper of mind in which I hope to meet him at a future day." No one can accuse the mild-tempered¹⁴ South Carolinian of a diplomatic blunder in these the first days of his new career.¹⁵

The propriety of the king's conversation "to" the American minister was distinctly chilly.

The only circumstance worth remarking in my conference with the King was that lord North's rope of sand appeared not to have been entirely effaced from his Majesty's memory, which I infer from his mentioning the differing circumstances of the northern and southern parts of our country as tending to produce disunion. I declined entering into any discussion on the subject, observing only that we agreed very well at present and hoped a continuance of the same disposition.

Pinckney faithfully attended the royal levees along with the other members of the diplomatic corps. George III. never failed to hold a

¹³ Dundas to Grenville, Aug. 8, 1792, *Dropmore Papers*, II. 299. Pinckney was received at the Foreign Office by his "old acquaintance and schoolfellow", Burges, who had taken pains first to call on him. Grenville saw him briefly Aug. 4, but was leaving town. Burges introduced him to Dundas. Pinckney to the Secretary of State, Aug. 7, 1792, *Despatches*, Eng., III.

¹⁴ It should be remembered that Pinckney's urbanity had not remained unruffled during his military campaigns. By the resolute method of cutting down its leader with his sword he had, single-handed, quelled an incipient mutiny while captain of infantry in 1776. Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 49.

¹⁵ Pinckney to the Secretary of State, Aug. 29, 1792, *Despatches*, Eng., III.

few moments' conversation with him "on the weather or other topic equally important", but carefully eschewed political subjects. The court and diplomatic corps generally seemed to hold the United States, by virtue of the example of the American Revolution, somewhat responsible for the convulsions brought on Europe by the French upheaval. Consequently Americans were not considered desirable associates. This Pinckney gathered from the foreign ministers with whom he was able to cultivate any degree of intimacy. "At the same time they have been polite enough to make themselves a proper distinction between the mode of conducting the revolutions in the two countries", he recorded.¹⁶

Pinckney's representations concerning impressments¹⁷ give us a glimpse into the beginning of this notable and insoluble issue. Since the war of American independence there had been little occasion for the press-gang in British ports. But during the Nootka crisis of 1790 a press of seamen occurred to man the new naval armaments intended for a Spanish war. Several American sailors were then taken in British ports. Release of these men was eventually secured, through the intervention of American consuls and of Gouverneur Morris, who was then on an informal mission to the British Foreign Office as the personal agent of President Washington.¹⁸ Some of the men thus reduced to servitude found their liberty only after barbarous treatment on board British men-of-war. The expense and inconvenience to the government in liberating the impressed sailors, and possibly the indefensible character of the outrage, had impelled Jefferson to urge the adoption of some arrangement to prevent impressments whenever another European crisis should occur.¹⁹ The question of impressment in this instance was limited to British territorial waters. In the discussion which Morris had with the Duke of Leeds in 1790 Morris had suggested that American sailors be furnished with certificates of citizenship as a protection. Jefferson repelled this proposition and suggested that British press-gangs might be permitted to board an American ship in British port only when the crew of that ship was ascertained, by a previous visit of a strictly limited number of officers, to have more than an agreed

¹⁶ Same to same, Dec. 13, 1792, *ibid.*, printed in Trescott's *Diplomatic History*, pp. 86-87, and in Pinckney's *Pinckney*, pp. 103-105.

¹⁷ Mahan's classic historical summary of impressments does not mention Pinckney's diplomacy on this subject. See *Sea Power and the War of 1812*, I, 114-128.

¹⁸ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations* (hereinafter referred to as *A.S.P., F.R.*), I, 124.

¹⁹ Jefferson to Washington, Feb. 7, 1792, *Writings of Jefferson*, VI, 388.

proportion of hands to her tonnage. He actually authorized Pinckney to agree to an article of convention on such a basis,²⁰ a principle which, to any disciple of Mahan, would appear a most supine solution. Jefferson did not attempt to deny the domestic jurisdiction of England within any of her own waters into which American ships might choose to sail; he even admitted the propriety of impressment of surplus crews in case an American captain should refuse to deliver up the men stipulated by the press-captain.

Pinckney, with unusual discernment for a man of his limited European experience, immediately on his arrival foresaw the possibility of England's being involved in the Continental war then raging. Because of this, he believed it desirable to adjust the problem of impressment before any new occasion for sudden expansion of the British navy should occur.²¹ Conferences with Lord Grenville on the subject and written representations dragged along without result.²² When the war with France did in fact begin, impressments commenced anew. They continued with ominous frequency. Soon British captains ventured to take alleged British subjects from the decks of American ships without careful distinction between territorial waters and the high seas. In February, 1793, Pinckney was referred by Grenville to Phineas Bond,²³ who was delegated, without powers, to discuss the subject. Bond suggested the old idea of furnishing in the United States certificates of citizenship to American seamen setting forth on the seas.

I told him the inconveniences arising from this procedure [reports Pinckney] would be equally felt by both nations, for that we should expect their seamen to be furnished with similar testimonials when they came to our ports to those they expected our mariners would bring to theirs; he asked in what instance it could become necessary (alluding I presume to our not being in the habit of impressing). I answered that unless we could come to some accommodation which might insure our seamen against this oppression measures would be taken to cause the inconvenience to be equally felt on both sides.²⁴

Soon afterward Bond was sent back to the United States as a consul-general. Pinckney wrote in April:

I have no hope of obtaining at present any convention respecting seamen, as lord Grenville now says it is necessary for them to make enquiries as to some points in America, which object is given in charge

²⁰ Jefferson to Pinckney, June 11, 1792, *Writings of Jefferson*, VII. 104-107.

²¹ Pinckney to Jefferson, Aug. 29, 1792, *Despatches, Eng.*, III.

²² Same to same, Dec. 13, 1792, Jan. 3, Mar. 13, 1793, *ibid.*

²³ Consul at Philadelphia, then on a vacation in England.

²⁴ Pinckney to Jefferson, Mar. 13, 1793, *Despatches, Eng.*, III.

to Mr. Bond.²⁵ The impressment on the present occasion has not been so detrimental to our trade as it was on former occasions, though several instances of hardship have occurred which I have endeavor'd to remedy but not always with success.

Jefferson regarded this failure to be of a "serious nature indeed" but decided "to hazard no further reflection on the subject through the present channel of consequences [*sic*]"²⁶

Pinckney was henceforth reduced to the procedure of protesting all cases of impressment which came to his attention and of supplicating for the immediate release of American seamen concerned. At first his numerous notes to this effect were met with a certain accommodation. Americans, when proved to be such to the satisfaction of the Admiralty, were let go. At first, too, some moderation was manifest as to impressments from American ships. Toward the end of 1793 and in the spring of 1794 Pinckney's applications met with less success. Fewer Americans succeeded in proving their citizenship. Uniformly the answer to the minister's notes was that they had been referred to the Admiralty for decision. Correspondence then passed back and forth with great delay between the various departments—a veritable "circumlocution office". Meanwhile the impressed American sailor might be sent off on a long voyage to the East Indies or exposed to the hazards of warfare against an enemy for whom he bore no enmity. Apparently this mode of procedure was not insupportable to the government. It was tolerated, except for written protests, to the extent that when Jay was sent to England on his special mission in 1794 to prevent war, if possible, the matter of impressment was not mentioned in his comprehensive instructions. Except for Pinckney's protests these unfortunate sailors were abandoned to the atrocious British practice and left to prove their own citizenship as best they could. Many an American boy seeking adventure in a voyage at sea ended it in the forecandle of a British man-of-war.

Through the spring and summer of 1794 and throughout the Jay negotiations (which reached no settlement of the impressment issue), Pinckney peppered the Foreign Office with applications for the release of impressed Americans. His notes, some of them several times repeated, were solemnly referred to the Admiralty with instruc-

²⁵ "You mention that when proposing arrangements for the regulation of impressments . . . you were told that Mr. Bond was to make enquiries here for a final arrangement. He has been long arrived, and we have never heard of any enquiries." Jefferson to Pinckney, Sept. 11, 1793, State Dept., Instructions to U. S. Ministers, II. 16.

²⁶ Jefferson to Pinckney, June 2, 1793, *Writings of Jefferson*, VII. 359.

tions for release "if the men should be proved to be Americans". Months often passed before action was taken, if taken at all. "Transmitted to the Admiralty with the usual letter" is the form of indorsement one reads on the back of such a note.²⁷ To Pinckney's request that some "permanent arrangement" for the prevention of such injustices be made, Grenville replied curtly that there was no disinclination on the part of his government to accede to any permanent arrangement "which shall not be so open to abuse, as to produce to the Public Service of this Country an Inconvenience far exceeding that of which Mr. Pinckney complains on the part of the American States".²⁸

For a short period after the signature of Jay's Treaty the press-gangs were more circumspect. "Mr. Jay and I continue to be treated with great Attention by the Members of the Administration," Pinckney reported on February 2, 1795 (the treaty was signed on November 19, 1794), "and I have lately been more successful than heretofore in obtaining the Liberation of our impressed Mariners."²⁹ In April of that year he left London as a special plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty with Spain, turning over affairs of the legation to his sharp-quilled secretary, William A. Deas, as chargé. Relaxation of impressments now proved to have been only temporary and not practised at all in the West Indies.³⁰ Deas continued to send in applications for release, as well as protests at the arbitrary conduct of British cruisers in violation of the maritime principles written into the new treaty.³¹ Even the propitiatory Jay after his return to the United States felt impelled to write Grenville a polite private note mildly suggesting that the severity of impressments was greatly injuring the work of conciliation recently accomplished by the treaty.³²

Though Jefferson had not approved the principle, the practice developed of American sailors using their own initiative to secure certificates of citizenship from the United States consuls abroad, or from a magistrate either in the United States or in foreign countries.³³ On May 28, 1796, Congress enacted a law allowing but not

²⁷ Pinckney to Grenville, Oct. 28, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

²⁸ Grenville to Pinckney, Mar. 17, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

²⁹ Pinckney to the Secretary of State, Feb. 2, 1795, *ibid.*

³⁰ For impressment of 76 Americans at Hispaniola and protest of the American chargé at London, see Deas to Grenville, Nov. 5, Dec. 22, 1795, F.O. 5: 12.

³¹ For correspondence between Deas and Grenville see F.O. 5: 12.

³² Jay to Grenville, New York, May 1, 1796, F.O. 5: 16.

³³ Following are copies of (a) a certificate of citizenship granted by the American consul at London, (b) a certificate of citizenship by voluntary deposition before the lord mayor of London:

compelling such "protections" to be taken out.³⁴ After this the Admiralty refused to liberate any American who could not produce such a protection.³⁵ Jefferson's fear that this would be the case if the policy of issuing certificates should be adopted was thus promptly realized. Nor did a "protection" necessarily protect. There was the suspicion that it might have been fraudulently secured, and it frequently was.³⁶ Again, a "natural-born" British subject might

(a) "Joshua Johnson, Esq., Consul to the United States of America for the Port of London, etc., etc. Witnesseth, that the Bearer hereof (a description of whose person is on the other side), to wit, *Richard Weaver, a black man*, appears by affidavit made this day by *William Blen*, before *James Robinson, Esq.*, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, and witnessed by *Lieutenant W. I. Stephens*, to be a Subject of the United States of America, as such being liable to be called upon in the service of his country, must not, on any Pretense whatever, be interrupted in his lawful business, by Sea or Land, either by Impress Masters, or any other Officers, Civil or Military. London, 21 July 1791, JOSHUA JOHNSON." (Note: a printed form, italics and small capitals indicating the words filled in by handwriting.)

(b) "These are to Certify to those whom it may concern that *Captain Samuel Chancery of the Ship Hercules of Portsmouth in New Hampshire* came before me, *Paul Le Mesurier, Lord Mayor of the City* And voluntarily maketh Oath and sayeth, to the best of his Knowledge and Belief, that *Robert Darling* (the description of whose Person is at the Bottom) *is a Native and Citizen of the United States of America*, and that he is actually one of the crew of the American Ship *Hercules* as a *Seaman*—SAM'L CHANCERY. And the said *Robert Darling*. Likewise maketh Oath and sayeth, that he is a Native of America, and a Citizen of the United States of America and that to the best of his Knowledge and Belief he was born in *Portsmouth County, in the State of New Hampshire*, and that he is one of the Crew of the Ship *Hercules*. ROBERT DARLING. Sworn before me, London July 27, 1794, PAUL LE MESURIER, Mayor. Description: The said *Robert Darling* is about 5 Feet 4 Inches high *brown* Complexion *brown* hair, and about 28 years of age." (Note: as in a.) These forms were enclosed in Pinckney to Grenville, Oct. 28, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

³⁴ Act of May 28, 1796, *Statutes at Large*, I. 477.

³⁵ Nepean to Hammond, Admiralty Office, Apr. 2, May 7, 1796, F.O. 5: 16.

³⁶ "I have this day received from Mr. Moore, Information that the Seamen who deserted from His Majesty's *Africa* and *Thistle* in Boston Harbour, have entered on Board the *Hunter* and *Washington* East Indiaman, fitting out at New York, and on Board the East India Ships, the *George Washington* and *General Greene* now getting ready for Sea at Providence in Rhode Island: And that the Seamen who deserted from the *Nautilus* are also in the American East India Trade. One of our Seamen who has entered on Board the Ship *General Greene*, gave this Intelligence; His name is Thomas McCartney, who declared half the Crew would be British Sailors. The Crew will be furnished with a Species of Passport declaring the respective Seamen to be native American Citizens. These Passports my Lord are, for the most part, Magisterial Attestations, in some instances having the Solemnity of a Corporate Seal. No sort of Reliance is to be placed upon them, nor, I should presume, will any thing be deemed competent to operate as a protection, short of a Certificate of Birth to be attested by His Majesty's Consuls within the United States." Bond to

have become a naturalized American citizen, even if English judges would not admit that possibility.

Pinckney returned to London in April, 1796, and immediately took up again the matter of impressments. He continued to apply for release of American citizens who could establish their identity, thus practically³⁷ acquiescing in the procedure of the Admiralty and only trying to secure quicker justice under the Admiralty's definition of it. In going over his correspondence with the Foreign Office from January 1 to July 1, 1796 (including some letters of Deas), the writer has enumerated fifty cases in which Pinckney or Deas requested the release of American sailors. Such cross-correspondence as is on file at the Foreign Office between that department and the Admiralty shows that in thirty-five of these cases investigation was requested by the Foreign Office. Refusal by the Admiralty to release on ground of insufficient proof is reported in sixteen cases. Liberation in the case of three men is to be noted. Frequently the investigations of the Admiralty were only perfunctory and discontinued on the least excuse. One of the impressed men, for instance, was said by Pinckney to be in the hospital. When the Admiralty "got around" to look up the case the man was found not to be in the hospital as reported. The case was straightway dropped.³⁸ One wonders whether he had died or had been sent back to his ship.

In another instance one of the several men whose release was requested in the same note was found to be on board a ship that had recently sailed from Plymouth. Investigation was promised upon the return of the war-vessel, but we are left to wonder what was done with the other men whose names were included in the list affected by the forced departure of one of them.³⁹ On another occasion a man was held because he could not answer to the satisfaction of a British officer questions of geography pertaining to America.⁴⁰ Sometimes Grenville, Philadelphia, Nov. 25, 1795. It is significant that the above-quoted extract was conveyed to the Admiralty. See also letter of Admiralty Office to Grenville, May 12, 1795, F.O. 5: 12, transmitting letter of collector and comptroller of port of Glasgow, telling of British seamen "clandestinely employed" on American vessels, including several men who left the village of Dunoon for service on an American ship, the captain of which was offering wages as high as six pounds sterling a month.

³⁷ Pinckney's statement of the case was that "if the seamen impressed should not appear *bona fide* subjects of His Majesty . . . they be released and such measures adopted as to prevent similar conduct in the future". Pinckney to Grenville, May 14, 1796, F.O. 5: 16.

³⁸ Nepean to Burges, Admiralty Office, Mar. 11, 1795, F.O. 5: 12.

³⁹ Same to same, Mar. 10, 1795, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Letter of Capt. Haworth, Kingshead, Mar. 7, 1794, enclosed in letter of Joshua Johnson (American consul at London) to Pinckney, contained in Pinckney to Grenville, Mar. 17, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

the captain of the British ship acknowledged the men to be Americans but refused to let them go without instructions from the Admiralty, which he never received.⁴¹ Though there is evidence of fraud in the matter of protection papers and though not infrequently the British seaman, attracted by high wages and better living conditions as well as immunity from war risks, may have deserted into the American merchant marine, there are also several cases recorded, at the beginning of the war at least, where British subjects bound by contract in American crews deserted to enlist on board a man-of-war. The deserter's ship was then distrained to collect his back-wages which the American captain had refused to pay on the breaking of the contract.⁴² Some American sailors are recorded by the Admiralty as having accepted the king's bounty and regularly enlisted. They were never released. Enough has been said to show that the system of impressment in British ports tolerated by the United States government was, with all its qualifications and whatever defense it had from the point of view of military necessity on the part of England, an outrageous enslaving of American citizens. The United States could not secure its rights because it had no navy to enforce them. It could not retaliate by impressment of British sailors, for it had not enough warships on which to put the British subjects against whom the reprisals might be made.

Upon Pinckney's return to London from Madrid he had before him a perfect case of impressment on the high seas with sufficiently explicit documentary evidence to enable him to support it without question of fact. In a note to Grenville shortly before his departure home at the end of his mission Pinckney entered into a lengthy discussion of the principles of impressment, drawing a sharp distinction between impressment within British territorial waters and on the high seas. It might be a right, however impolitic, he said, for Great Britain to require proofs of citizenship from foreigners within her jurisdiction; but when men were impressed on the high seas it was immaterial whether they had such proofs so long as the ship itself was American. There was no right by which a man could be forcibly taken from an American ship on the high seas.

No article of the existing Treaty [Jay's] requires, neither does any Maxim of the Law of Nations impose upon Americans the hard Condition of not being able to navigate the Seas without taking with them such Proofs of their being Citizens of the United States as may satisfy the Officers of any Power who may judge it expedient to stop and dis-

⁴¹ Pinckney to Grenville, Oct. 15, 1794, F.O. 5: 7.

⁴² Pinckney to Grenville, Dec. 31, 1792; to the Secretary of State, Feb. 5, 1793, Despatches, Eng., III.

press their Vessels on this Account. And as it is a fair Argument to illustrate a Position by reversing it, it may be asked what Sensations it would excite here if the Commanders of American armed Vessels should take upon themselves to stop British Vessels on the High Sea and impress into their Service such of the Mariners as had not with them full Proof of their being His Majesty's Subjects.⁴³

Grenville denied the validity of any such distinction. He declared that the principle that the jurisdiction of a state over a ship is supreme till the ship enters a foreign port had never been recognized by the British government nor by the best authorities on international law.

It was unknown to the practice or pretensions of all civilized nations in former times. On the contrary it appears perfectly clear that the belligerent has a right to visit neutral vessels upon the high seas to take therefrom all goods belonging to such subjects of the enemy (a right inconsistent with every idea of territory) and to take the subjects of the enemy, found on board, as prisoners of war—it has also the right to take its own subjects found on board of a foreign vessel on the high seas, for all the purposes for which they are liable to be taken by any act of its legal power and discretion. . . . [This right Grenville declared was being used cautiously and discreetly. It would not be relinquished.] Instances . . . unquestionably have occurred of seamen being detained as British subjects, who were actually citizens of the United States, but there is little doubt of their being but rare. If any mode can be devised by the mutual concurrence of both countries of identifying *native* [italics inserted] citizens of the United States and thereby exempting them from impressment, His Majesty's Government will most cheerfully accede to it. In the meantime until such an arrangement can be made, it will always be ready to receive with attention every application relating to the impressment of persons alleged to be Americans, and to liberate all such as may be proved of that description.⁴⁴

This was the last act of Pinckney as American minister to the court of St. James. When he departed the issue of impressment was left clear-cut. Repeated efforts of his to secure an arrangement satisfactory to both countries showed that Grenville's professed willingness for any such arrangement was subject to a strict maintenance of the principles set forth in the above quotation. Applications for the release of impressed Americans were made with increasing frequency during the latter part of 1796. Scarcely a day passed without correspondence on the matter between the successor of Pinckney and the Foreign Office.⁴⁵ From then on until the War of 1812 any American

⁴³ Pinckney to Grenville, June 16, 1796, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁴⁴ Grenville to Pinckney, July 13, 1796, F.O. 5: 6.

⁴⁵ "An account of the Number of Applications which have been made to this Office by Ld. Grenville, for the discharge of Seamen said to be citizens of America, together with the number of persons applied for, and of those dis-

citizen who had the misfortune to look like an Englishman and who could not prove to the satisfaction of the British Admiralty that he was not one, was likely to be seized from the deck of an American ship whenever that ship ventured from an American harbor, and placed in the hull of a British man-of-war perhaps for the remainder of his natural life. Acquiescence in this atrocious injustice is a real measure of the military and naval strength of the United States in the first twenty-five years of its existence.

After the outbreak of the Anglo-French war in 1793 Pinckney soon received intimations as to what the British policy as to contraband, neutral property, and neutral decks would be.⁴⁶ Several weeks before the issue of the famous Provision Order of June 8, 1793,⁴⁷ he warned Jefferson to expect it, and received instructions to protest any procedure not sanctioned by the "modern" usage of nations.⁴⁸ He himself thought that opposition by the United States should be restricted to nothing more than commercial retaliation.⁴⁹ He replied to the order by elaborating the injury caused to neutral shipping and the ill-will which this procedure, not to be supported by any modern principle of international law, would arouse in America.⁵⁰ After this perfunctory protest he proceeded to use his best efforts to secure judgment of freight and demurrage to American ships whose cargoes, under the order, were pre-empted for British instead of French grain-bins. To Pinckney's observations on international law Grenville replied that he had directed Hammond to make some explanations on that subject.⁵¹ When later in the year a formal protest was delivered by the American minister,⁵² at Jefferson's direction, the Foreign Secretary again shifted the discussion across the Atlantic, and directed Hammond to answer the note in the same temperate and

charged, between Aug. 1, 1796, and March 9, 1797: Number of Applications, 31. Number of persons applied for, 254. Number of persons discharged, 83." Dated Admiralty Office, Mar. 9, 1797, F.O. 5: 20.

⁴⁶ Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 30, Mar. 13, Apr. 5, 1793, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁴⁷ "That it shall be lawful to stop and detain all vessels loaded wholly or in part with corn, flour, or meal, bound to any port in France, or any port occupied by the armies of France . . ." and to purchase the said cargoes, with a due allowance to the master of the vessel for freight. *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 240.

⁴⁸ Jefferson to Pinckney, May 7, 1793, State Dept., Instructions to U. S. Ministers, I. 278-281.

⁴⁹ *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 241.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Aug. 28, 1793, *ibid.*

⁵² A copy is enclosed in Pinckney's despatch of Jan. 28, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

conciliatory terms in which it had been written.⁵³ Thus the matter was kept in a train of innocuous legal argument while the work of the cruisers went on unmolested. A second Order in Council, November 6,⁵⁴ of even more unjustifiable nature, applied the Rule of 1756 to American trade with the French colonies, even though a part of the trade had been open before the war. The possibility of this order arousing a dangerous hostility in the United States led to its revocation on January 8, 1794,⁵⁵ at which time Great Britain reverted to the principle of the much protested order of June 8. That is, she claimed the right of capture of enemy property on neutral decks, and pre-emption as contraband of foodstuffs bound for Continental France—but allowed immunity to American ships trading with the French West India Islands, except in “naval or military stores” or to a blockaded port.⁵⁶ While Pinckney expressed gratification to Grenville at the comparative moderation of the latest order, he was careful not to admit its legality.⁵⁷ This question of neutral rights, which had meanwhile helped to produce a war crisis in America, soon passed out of Pinckney’s hand when John Jay arrived in England in June, 1794. Pinckney therefore cannot be said to have had much to do, aside from the mere function of a reporter, with the famous controversy over the Orders in Council.⁵⁸

In an interview with Grenville in November, 1793, Pinckney ventured to take up the question of British occupation of American posts on the northern frontier, a subject not delegated to him as one of his duties. The discussion of this, which had been absorbed into the general arguments over the treaty of peace between Hammond and

⁵³ Grenville to Hammond, Jan. 11, 1794, F.O. 5: 4.

⁵⁴ “That they shall stop and detain all ships laden with goods the produce of any colony belonging to France, or carrying provisions or other supplies for the use of any such colony, and shall bring the same, with their cargoes, to legal adjudication in our courts of admiralty”. *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 430.

⁵⁵ Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 28, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III. J. B. Burges, under-secretary, records in his Foreign Office journal, under date of Dec. 28, 1793, “Mr. Pinckney called; much agitated in consequence of the new instruction to commanders of ships of war and privateers—very anxious to know whether it would be rigorously enforced—insisted strongly on the injustice of such a measure, and on the destructive consequences it must entail on his country, which now would be deprived of every means of exporting its produce, as the Act of Navigation shut them out from our islands, and this new instruction would equally shut them out from those of France; so that nothing but a few inconsiderable markets would be left to them.” *Dropmore Papers*, II. 488.

⁵⁶ For text of order see *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 431.

⁵⁷ Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 7, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁵⁸ For a good statement of this controversy see Mahan, *Sea Power and the War of 1812*, I., ch. II.

Jefferson, had been in abeyance for over a year and a half. Pinckney now asked Grenville outright whether the posts would be evacuated if the United States fulfilled the treaty of peace. He thus gave an opening which previously had not been presented, because of Jefferson's masterly denial that the United States had ever violated the treaty except when some of the states had been driven to reprisals by previous British violations.⁵⁹ Grenville immediately answered that where one party to a treaty had deferred fulfillment of its obligations for some years, whereby complete execution could not afterwards be had, neither reason nor the law of nations could expect a strict compliance from the other party. Pinckney interpreted this as refusal ever to give up the posts. His despatch recording this conversation, when delivered to Congress, made a painful impression, that added to the crisis of March, 1794. In a private letter the impressionable Southerner wrote to Jefferson that he considered war pretty certain and asked the secretary about removing with his family to France, for the sake of his children's education, when hostilities should break out.⁶⁰

War in fact did nearly occur between the United States and England in 1794, but not as a result of the above interview. The trouble was due to a combination of the frontier grievance, sharpened by the hostile conduct of Canadian frontier officials of the crown, and the violations of international law occasioned by the Caribbean captures under the Order in Council of November 6. This crisis was met, and war was averted, by Jay's well-known mission of 1794. Pinckney's feelings about the possible significance of Jay's presence in relation to his own diplomatic ability were not pleasant, but he loyally submitted to the superseding of his more important functions.⁶¹

It seems clear that Pinckney was recognized in London as distinctly less disposed than Jay to make concessions to Great Britain. Count Woronzow, the Russian ambassador, after a talk with Gouverneur Morris in June, 1795, reports to Grenville that Morris "n'est pas dans les principes de Pinkney [*sic*], mais bien dans ceux de Monsieur Jay", and Burges, under-secretary, speaks, or reports Morris as speaking, to the same effect.⁶²

⁵⁹ *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 201.

⁶⁰ Pinckney to Jefferson, Nov. 27, 1793, Despatches, Eng., III. His wife died in 1794; Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 144.

⁶¹ Same to same, June 23, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III., quoted by Trescott, p. 106. Almost identical language is to be found in a letter to his brother, C. C. Pinckney, in Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 123.

⁶² *Dropmore Papers*, III. 78, 87—that "Mr. Jay must now be arrived [in America], and would be able to do away the very unfavourable impressions which had been made, and were still making, by Pinckney and Deas."

Pinckney seems to have been consulted by Jay during the negotiation and to have been kept generally abreast of its progress. His despatches on this subject are meagre. He wrote in 1796 that, while Jay had advised with him throughout the negotiation, he himself had not been present at any of the conferences with Grenville and could not share either the merits or the demerits of the treaty.⁶³ He appreciated, as a just reward for judicious and patriotic conduct during the Jay negotiations,⁶⁴ the appointment as a special plenipotentiary to Spain, where he similarly supplanted the ordinary functions of the resident minister, Short.

Pinckney was the vehicle, in April, 1794, before the arrival of Jay, through which the Swedish minister at London conveyed to the United States the famous invitation of Sweden to join the abortive Scandinavian armed neutrality of 1794, a combination repelled by Washington at Hamilton's advice as an "entangling" alliance.⁶⁵ That the American minister did not share the confidence of his government in its decision on this question is indicated by a despatch from London in 1796, which complains that he had not received a "syllable in reply" to this celebrated proposal.⁶⁶

Another outstanding feature of Pinckney's mission, one of more popular interest to-day, was his connection with Washington's attempt to secure the release of Lafayette from a Prussian prison. Ever since the publication of John Marshall's *Life of Washington* it has been known that the President, acting as a private individual and the friend and military comrade of General Lafayette, tried in vain to induce the King of Prussia to liberate the illustrious and lovable friend of America on condition of his going to the United States. A good many scattered sources suggest that this is a subject worthy of more extended treatment than the limits of this paper allow. A brief summary of Pinckney's relation to it is sufficient here.

At the time of his voluntary "capture" by the Austrian forces in August, 1792, Lafayette was given the treatment of a prisoner of state instead of an émigré, because he very nobly refused to lead an army of invasion under foreign flags into his beloved France.⁶⁷ Through Gouverneur Morris, American minister at Paris, and William Short, our resident at the Hague, and through the marquis's brother-in-law, the Vicomte de Noailles, who reached America via London, he importuned Washington to use his influence to get him

⁶³ Pinckney to Jefferson, Feb. 26, 1796, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁶⁴ Same to same, Feb. 23, 1795, *ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIV. 44.

⁶⁶ Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Mar. 7, 1796, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁶⁷ B. Tuckerman, *Life of Lafayette*, II. 87 ff.

out on condition of his going to America.⁶⁸ Similar requests came from Madame de Lafayette,⁶⁹ who was later permitted by the Emperor to join her husband in prison. Reluctance to mix either in the political complications of Europe or in the internal convulsions of France, particularly during the existing delicate posture of Franco-American affairs, caused Washington to accept the advice of his agents abroad not to make the matter a subject of formal diplomatic intervention. The predicament of the "unfortunate Lafayette" aroused the sympathy of all patriotic Americans, particularly of his former companions in arms, of whom there was none more affectionate than Washington himself. The pay which Lafayette as an American general had declined to receive was now taken out of the treasury by executive action and placed at his disposal, an act later reinforced by Congressional legislation.⁷⁰ Washington determined "as a private citizen" to do his utmost to free Lafayette. Pinckney was the agent to whom the direction of this matter was intrusted. Already Pinckney had "unofficially and expressly in his private capacity" applied to the Prussian minister at London to learn the intentions of the court of Berlin. Gratitude for Lafayette's past services, he assured, would impel the United States to adopt any honorable proceeding to procure permission for the general to go to America. These applications, as well as others by Lafayette's friends, though duly reported to Berlin, all failed. Pinckney then turned to England. Directly after the revocation in January of the order of November 6, when Pinckney imagined it might be agreeable to the British government to confer an obligation on the United States, he requested Grenville to use his influence with an ally in favor of Lafayette. This Grenville politely declined to do.⁷¹ Despairing of success by this sort of informal proceeding, Pinckney countenanced the efforts of Lafayette's friend to effect his escape, as the most likely way to get anything done.⁷²

After the subject had been officially and formally sanctioned by a cabinet meeting, it was decided that the President should unofficially and informally undertake a personal intercession with the King of

⁶⁸ Short to Morris, the Hague, Sept. 7, 1792, *A.S.P., F.R.*, I. 341; Pinckney to Washington, Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 116.

⁶⁹ *Writings of Washington* (ed. Ford), XII. 261; *Writings of Jefferson*, VII. 264.

⁷⁰ Hamilton to Randolph, May 31, 1794, enclosed in Randolph to Pinckney, June 8, 1794, Instructions to U. S. Ministers, II. 99. The amount made payable to Lafayette by the act of Mar. 27, 1794, was 60,449 guilders.

⁷¹ Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Jan. 10, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁷² Same to same, Feb. 28, 1794, *ibid.*

Prussia for Lafayette's release.⁷³ An informal letter was therefore written by General Washington to that monarch, in "the language of a private gentleman untinctured by the most distant recollection of his being the President".⁷⁴ The direction of the business was given to Pinckney, and James M. Marshall of Virginia, brother of the future chief justice, was selected as the confidential agent to undertake the journey to Prussia. Marshall left London for the Continent in the spring of 1794. In April he met Prince Henry of Prussia at Rheinsberg. Henry was a friend of Lafayette, and apparently willing to further the project with his nephew the king. But the opposition of the Prussian ministry could not be broken down. When Marshall reached Berlin, bearing letters from Henry to the king, he was informed that the illustrious political prisoner had already been transferred to Austria. He returned to London unsuccessful.⁷⁵

In December, 1794, Pinckney reported that Lafayette had escaped from Olmütz,⁷⁶ his Austrian prison, but had been recaptured. He advised that a power be lodged with some American minister in Europe to secure the famous soldier's liberation, for fear that a European peace might leave him in prison for want of somebody to request his release.⁷⁷

In 1796 Washington considered interposition as a private individual by appeal to the good graces of the Austrian emperor. He sent to Pinckney a personal letter to the Emperor to be presented to the Austrian minister at London should the right occasion arise.⁷⁸ But Pinckney had already terminated his diplomatic career before this instruction could be fully acted on. If indeed it was ever sent to Austria, the letter was not answered.⁷⁹ Despite the efforts of his

⁷³ Randolph to Pinckney, Jan. 16, 1794, Instructions to U. S. Ministers, II. 56-59. For cabinet meeting sanctioning this step, Hamilton, *Works* (ed. J. C. Hamilton), IV. 505.

⁷⁴ Pinckney to Mr. Marshall, Mar. 23, 1794, State Dept., Despatches, Eng., IV. 274-288. See A. J. Beveridge, *John Marshall*, II. 33.

⁷⁵ James Marshall to Pinckney, June —, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁷⁶ The well-known attempt of Bollman and Huger. See Tuckerman's *Life of General Lafayette*, II.; the sources are printed out of the Vienna archives in Max Büdinger, "Lafayette in Oesterreich", in vol. XCII. of the *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna, 1878).

⁷⁷ Pinckney to the Sec. of State, Dec. 10, 1794, Despatches, Eng., III.

⁷⁸ Washington to the Emperor, Philadelphia, May 15, 1796, Pinckney's *Pinckney*, p. 119; see also Washington's letter to Pinckney, Feb. 20, 1796, *ibid.*, p. 117.

⁷⁹ The best account of Lafayette's imprisonment in Austria, and its political effects, is Max Büdinger's "Lafayette in Oesterreich", *supra*, which presents a detailed study based on documents in the Vienna archives. Büdinger states that Washington's letter was not answered, but does not indicate absolutely that it was ever received.

American friends Lafayette languished a prisoner until Bonaparte's Italian campaign unlocked the doors of Olmütz.

On his return from Madrid, where his most notable diplomatic work was done, Pinckney stayed only a short while in London. On the completion of the Spanish negotiations he had asked the President to be recalled from the service.⁸⁰ After his return to America he is remembered as the unsuccessful Federalist candidate for the vice-presidency in 1796 and as a member of Congress from 1797 to 1801. He then settled down to a long life full of respect and action in his native state of South Carolina and in the southern campaigns of the War of 1812. He lived long enough finally to meet Lafayette on the occasion of the memorable visit to the United States in 1825.

Pinckney's reputation as a diplomatist comes chiefly from the Treaty of San Lorenzo with Spain, which does not concern the subject of this paper. Aside from that one treaty his diplomatic career is not of major importance. But as illustrating the early years of Anglo-American relations, particularly the development of the vexing question of impressment and the attitude of Washington's administration toward it, the London mission is well worth the attention of the American historian.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

⁸⁰ For letter requesting recall, see *Writings of Washington* (ed. Ford), XIII. 169.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN RUSSIA DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS¹

THE revolutionary storm and the economic disorganization following in its wake have undoubtedly placed enormous obstacles in the way of undisturbed and systematic historical research, both as regards the distant and the recent past of Russia. Much of the work already completed had to be pigeonholed because of the impossibility of publication. A great deal that had already been started had to be left unfinished. And such work as has been resumed is progressing slowly, by fits and starts, with the chances for publication in the near future very slight.

The disruption of normal communication, not only internationally, but within the country itself, has been another enormous impediment to a larger and more fruitful development of scientific enterprise. For a number of years past Russia has been almost totally isolated from the European book market. Russian scientists are almost entirely deprived of the opportunity to watch the progress of scientific thought and recent research in the West, and, especially, to obtain the literature published abroad, in Russian or in foreign languages, concerning Russian problems. It is, however, almost as difficult to have publications brought into normal circulation within the country itself. The few books that are published in Kiev, Odessa, Kazan, Kharkov, or Siberia, are only rarely and accidentally to be obtained in stray copies by the inhabitants of Petrograd. Even between Moscow and Petrograd the book traffic is only of a sporadic and accidental character. And, to aggravate all these difficulties, the cost of books is soaring to exorbitant heights, so that they have now actually become articles of luxury.

Nevertheless, work is being done even under these discouraging conditions, and interesting and valuable results are being obtained. In essaying to give a necessarily brief outline of these results, it is but natural that we dwell, first of all, on the new things that have been brought to light in historical research, under the influence of the utter collapse of the old political order and of the revolutionary reconstruction affecting every phase of the national life. These "new things" are of a great variety. In part, they have resulted from the sweeping changes that have occurred in the purely external

¹ Prepared for the *Review* by Professor A. Presniakov, and translated by Mr. E. Aronsberg.

conditions of work, and in part from the changed trend of interest and thought.

The change in external conditions has brought about an acute crisis in the whole structure of the Russian archival system. First of all, the revolutionary storm has played havoc with the peaceful repositories themselves. In the elemental tide of the revolutionary movement there have been moments when the wrath of the mob was directed against the archives and records of particularly hateful institutions. The reader will recall, for instance, the sacking of the Police Department, the burning of the Circuit Court, and similar incidents in Petrograd. Far more dangerous, however, to the safety of the archival treasures than such isolated outbreaks, has been the fact that the new authorities viewed these treasures with absolute indifference or even suspicious prejudice. In their view, the governmental archives appeared as the repositories of the hateful traditions of the old political and social order, which therefore did not deserve to be saved from destruction; nay, more, they should really be done away with, in so far as they were liable to serve as a documentary basis in case of a reactionary restoration.

Entire archives were sent to the pulp-mills, in view of the paper shortage, or else they were neglected, without any protection, as if they were nothing but useless junk. The danger of such an attitude became especially significant because of the complete reorganization of all the government departments. The abolition of a great many of them, the creation of new ones, their hasty reorganization accompanied by frequent removals of institutions from one building to another, the transfer of the capital from Petrograd to Moscow, with its attendant removal of a part of the archives—all this hasty, feverish breaking up and building anew, seriously affected the fate of the archives. Their contents were frequently thrown out only because some new occupants had to take possession of the building, and those volumes of documents seemed to them to be uselessly encumbering shelves, lockers, and rooms that could be used for different purposes.

At last, however, the historians and archivists of Petrograd, and later also of Moscow, were enabled to combat these detrimental influences, thanks to the organization of the Main Administration of Archives (*Glavnoie Arkhivnoie Upravlenie*), whose headquarters were at first in Petrograd, but later transferred to Moscow. The organization of this administration was headed by one of the prominent revolutionary leaders, David Riazanov (Goldendach), the well-known editor of the posthumous publicistic works of Karl Marx and Engels. After Riazanov had withdrawn from this work in order to devote

himself entirely to his Socialist Academy, the organization of the archives was intrusted to the academician Sergius Platonov, who had worked from the very beginning hand in hand with Riazanov in the reform of the administration of archives, having been delegated for that purpose by the University of Petrograd; in Moscow the work was placed in charge of the Marxist historian, Michael Pokrovski, assisted by Matvei Liubavski, professor of Russian history.

The combination of all these circumstances has tended to turn the question of the custody, care, and preservation of archives into a sweeping reform of the whole system. The archives of the old ministries and other government and public institutions were found to have been abandoned without any supervision after the abolition of the former bureaucratic régime. The consolidation of the administration of these archives under a special department then became a matter of course. A consequent centralization of archives was bound inevitably to grow out of the ruins of the old system, which had split up its archives among the various departments. The revolutionary government, in undertaking the task of building a new statehood, came to recognize that the proper care of archives was an important part of the duties of government. The decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of June 1, 1918, recognizes the archives of all government and public institutions (both extant and abolished) as integral parts of one Consolidated Government Archive (*Yediny Gosudarstvenny Arkhivny Fond*). The Main Administration of Archives in Moscow, its branch in Petrograd, and the provincial archives throughout Russia became organs of this new institution. At first it was incorporated as a part of the Commissariat of Public Instruction; afterwards, however, it was placed under the direct control of the government, as represented by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The same plan has been followed in the case of the archives of the Ukraine, their central administration being located in Kharkov.

This formal reorganization has been accompanied in the past few years by untiring efforts to seek out the scattered archives, to find new buildings for them, and to classify, index, and catalogue them. The collapse of the old social order left on the hands of the Main Administration of Archives a number of private collections that were abandoned by their owners in their city dwellings or estates. The custody and utilization of these materials have been concentrated in the hands of a special Section of Private Archives (*Otdielenie Chastnykh Arkhivov*) in Petrograd and Moscow.

An identical revolutionary upheaval has affected, with identical results, the material monuments of Russian historical culture, such

as buildings, works of art, and antiquities. To care for these objects, a Division for the Protection of Monuments of Art and Antiquity (*Otdiel Okhrany Pamiatnikov Iskustva i Stariny*) and a Main Administration of Museums were created. The study of these monuments has been concentrated in an Academy of the History of Material Culture (*Akademia Istorii Materialnoi Kultury*)—a large institution which has grown out of the former Archaeological Commission and which embraces all archaeological forces in both capitals. The work of this institution has brought up the question of preparing, theoretically as well as practically, younger forces for archivistic and archaeological museum activities. This task has been taken up chiefly by the Petrograd Archaeological Institute, which has further extended the range of its activities by apportioning the work among two departments (faculties)—Archaeographic and Archaeologic. This institute has now been incorporated as a special "section" or department of the University.

To return to the archives. There is that old saying that "every cloud has its silver lining". The vicissitudes that have befallen and are still besetting the archives of Russia have, it is true, caused many irreparable losses to science, through the destruction of considerable numbers of valuable documents. At the same time, however, these very trials have infused new life into the archives, stirring them up from their former bureaucratic, departmental drowsiness, and leading to a more rational organization of the whole system. These vicissitudes have helped in bringing to light and making possible the study of numerous materials of every description that had been lying hidden away under the dust only too long. The re-examination of all these materials in the archives, which was inevitable under these circumstances, has frequently led to entirely unexpected discoveries of valuable sources relating to different periods of Russian history. As an example, I mention the newly discovered documents throwing light on the period of Peter the Great's immediate successors, as, for instance, the case of Prince Alexander Menshikov (published in the interesting series of studies by V. Nechaiev); of Catherine II. (her papers relating to the history of the famous "Nakaz"); Alexander I. (documents dealing with the question of the succession); Nicholas I. (archives of Baron Korff and Field-Marshal Paskevich); also private archives, such as the collection of letters and papers of the famous chemist, Mendeleiev, the collection of notes of Dmitri Miliutin, minister of war under Alexander II. (published at Kostroma), memoirs and letters of various noted statesmen of the recent past,

such as the diary of the Minister of War Sukhomlinov, the very peculiar diary of Nicholas II., etc.

The re-grouping of the archives has led to the establishment of a special Historico-Economic Archive in Petrograd, which was suggested by the great interest taken in the economic and social histories published by the Archive of the History of Labor in Russia (*Arkhiv Istorii Truda v Rossii*), devoted to the history of the working class and peasantry in imperial Russia. Thus far, four issues have appeared.

The archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been almost entirely removed from Petrograd to Moscow. Naturally enough, the greatest amount of interest attaches to documents of the very recent past, chiefly relating to current political interests. Since the first hasty publication of the so-called "secret treaties" in 1918, the business of publishing diplomatic correspondence has acquired a more systematic and scientific character under the experienced direction of the historian Michael Pokrovski. He has published a large volume entitled "Materials on the History of Franco-Russian Relations during 1910-1914; Collection of Secret Diplomatic Documents of the Former Imperial Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs" (Moscow, 1922). He then started the publication of documents relating to the history of Russian military policy, in periodical issues of the "Red Archive" (*Krasny Arkhiv*), the first volume of which contains a number of valuable documents bearing on the history of this policy in the Near East, beginning with the Convention of 1873.

Particular energy has been displayed in the study and publication, in connection with the general revolutionary situation, of all available materials on the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The Soviet government has created a Commission for the Collection and Study of Materials on the October Revolution and on the History of the Russian Communist Party (by decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of September 25, 1920), which is better known by its abbreviated name as the *Istpart*. It has branches in various cities and publishes, aside from separate books and pamphlets, the "Historical Journal of the Istpart" and the "Proletarian Revolution" (*Istoricheski Journal Istparta* and *Proletarskaia Revolutsia*). It also publishes documents, letters, and memoirs which the Istpart not only discovers, but also brings into existence, by encouraging revolutionary leaders to write them.

Independently of the Istpart, and before it had been created, there was established in Petrograd, with a branch in Moscow, an Historico-Revolutionary Archive (*Istoriko-Revolutsionny Arkhiv*), having as

its basis the rich archive of the former Police Department, with its model collection of materials on the study of the revolutionary movement in Russia, such as card indexes, photographic collections, catalogues, indexes, etc. Although somewhat affected by the riots of the first days of the Revolution, it has remained substantially intact, owing to prompt measures of protection and transfer to new quarters.

A number of scientific and revolutionary workers are engaged, under the direction of the historian Paul Shchegolev, in working out this material, and publishing, as far as possible, the results, which often are of considerable interest. The Historico-Revolutionary Archive publishes its own journal, the "Red Chronicle" (*Krasnaia Letopis*), whose first volume is entirely devoted to the events of January 9, 1905, regarded as the day when the Russian Revolution was born in that bloody encounter between the people and the autocracy.

Of prerevolutionary periodicals there remains *Byloie* ("The Past"), edited now by Paul Shchegolev, and devoted specifically to the study of the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia (founded in 1906-1907, ceased publication, and resumed again in the summer of 1917). Publication is also continued of the Moscow *Golos Minuvshavo* ("Voice of the Past"), appearing since 1913. Publication of the "Russian Historical Journal", started as a private enterprise by a group of scholars in 1917, has been taken over by the Academy of Sciences, which has in the course of the past few years published volumes V.-VIII. The Academy has also undertaken the publication of a new periodical devoted to world history, "The Annals", the first issue of which, under the editorship of the academician Fedor Uspenski and Professor Eugene Tarle, promises genuine scientific interest.

To carry out all these undertakings, enormous technical and material difficulties have to be mastered. There can be no doubt that our publishing activities lag far behind the actual need for publications giving the results of current scientific work. Most of the former well-established publications have gone out of existence, while those which are already partly printed have to wait for an opportunity to see final publication. This state of affairs, for obvious reasons, is very hard for younger scholars whose works are all ready for the printer, yet cannot be published. The need for intercourse among men of science and for the published results of their special research work is so great that there has been a growing tendency to hold meetings at which reports are read and discussed, such as the

"Wednesdays" of the Academy of History of Material Culture, public meetings in the Hermitage, at the Historical Institute of the University of Petrograd, the Archaeological and Genealogical societies, the Society of Friends of Antique Letters, and others.

One attempt after another is being made to revive scientific publications, as, for instance, the historical journal, *Diela i Dni* ("Events and Days"), the "Bulletins" of the Russian Academy of History of Material Culture, the "Almanac" of the Russian Institute of the History of Art, the collected works of the State Hermitage, etc. The Russian Archaeological Society has stopped for the present at its bulky volume XXIV. of the "Notes" of its Eastern Division.

Of materials awaiting their chance to be printed there are vast numbers. The printing, however, is being done in such a manner that a group of the members of the Academy of History of Material Culture decided to learn typographical composition, and are themselves working at setting up the publications of the Academy under the direction of one of its secretaries, Professor Orbeli. In addition to its "Bulletins", the Academy has issued a collection of Japhetological essays by the academician Marr, and a collection of works on numismatics.

Still more formidable are the obstacles to publication of larger works. Even the revival of private publishing enterprise fails to relieve the situation. Most of the demands on the book market are for popular works, general essays, and school-books. Dissertations are read in the universities from manuscript or typewritten copy.

This explains why so few works of a specifically scientific nature have appeared in recent years. Research, however, has in some fields been undertaken on a very broad scale. So, for example, the Academy of Sciences has begun an extensive study of the natural productive resources of Russia, and, in a field nearer to the interests of historical science, of the racial elements of the population of Russia. The ethnographic research and its results are closely linked with the work of studying Russian colonization of the past as well as its contemporary aspects. Parallel with this work under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences, the Russian Geographical Society has created—in response to the great interest betrayed in the northern territories, which at one time used to play an essential part in the economic life of Russia, but fell later into decline, notwithstanding the wealth of the local natural resources—a special "Committee of the North", which has commenced publication of a series of papers entitled "Sketches on the History of the Colonization of the North" (*Ocherki po Istorii Kolonizacii Severa*). The value and the fresh-

ness of the scientific observations in these writings spring not only from historical research in documentary sources, but also from the results of a number of so-called "northern colonization expeditions". The historical study of colonization is being carried on under the direction of the academician S. Platonov, whose own essays on the history of the Russian North occupy a prominent place in these "Sketches". This study of the North is only a particularly conspicuous demonstration of the general revival of interest in the so-called "territorial study" (*Kraievedenie*), i.e., the historical, economic, and ethnographic study of separate localities and entire territories. Enthusiastic and successful work in this direction is being done by a number of "Societies for the Study of Local Territory", both old and new ones, united, for the sake of a common plan in their research work, as well as for the dissemination of their results, under the general direction of the Academy of Sciences, one of whose learned commissions is from time to time discussing the reports sent in by the delegates of the local societies.

Without entering upon specific bibliography, it is difficult to describe the work that is being done, finished and unfinished, individually, by single scholars. It would be unsuitable to mention works that are completed, but cannot yet be published because of the generally unfavorable conditions already mentioned, and indeed information about such works is only casual and incomplete. One must confine himself to a review of that little which has in the course of the past few years been actually published, and which represents one or another kind of general interest, tending to show the general trend of the work. The academician S. Platonov has published a book *Boris Godunov*, a general outline of the life and activities of that ruler, whose tragic fate has for a long time been a subject of study with the author. This outline has evoked great interest, both for its masterly exposition and scientific freshness of treatment of certain questions, particularly in the domain of Russia's foreign relations at that period, and also for its treatment of that most complicated of all problems of Russian social history—the origin of the serfdom of the peasantry. Professor Paul Smirnov, of the University of Kiev, has published two volumes of his excellent study of the "Cities of the Muscovite State in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", thereby considerably enriching the rather meagre Russian literature dealing with the history of the cities. Not all of this work has yet appeared; in the parts which have been brought out thus far, the forms of land ownership in the cities and the numbers and movements of the population have been studied; the history of the com-

position and organization of the city populations belongs to that part of the work which is still awaiting publication. Another Kiev scientist, E. Stashevski, has also managed to publish only a part of a large work entitled "The Smolensk War of 1632-1634". Fortuitous circumstances prevented the completion of the printing of the first part of the work, devoted to a critique of the sources and an analysis of the conditions leading up to the outbreak of this war, so that the second part had to be published first, dealing with the organization of the military resources of the Muscovite state during the beginning of its fundamental reconstruction. The Moscow historian, Michael Bogoslovski, has undertaken to publish a monumental biography of Peter the Great, in four volumes, an attempt to furnish a complete *res gestae* of his life and work, based upon published and, still more, unpublished sources from the archives. George (Yuri) Gautier, professor at Moscow, has completed a large work on the territorial administration in Russia during the eighteenth century (the first volume appeared in 1913), but finding it impossible to get this work printed he has turned it over in the form of transcripts to the libraries of Petrograd—that of the Academy of Sciences and the Public Library. At Nezhin, Professor G. Maksimovich is publishing an extensive work on the study of "Elections and Mandates in Little Russia for the Legislative Commission of 1767" (*Vybory i Nakazy v Malorossii v Zakonodatelnuuiu Kommissiiu 1767*), of which there have thus far been issued part I., studying the organization and progress of the elections and the making of the mandates, and part II., which analyzes the contents of these mandates and the state of social relationships reflected by them. I. Stratonov of Kazan and S. Yushkov of Saratov have contributed some short but important essays on the oldest monument of Russian law—the *Russkaia Pravda*—the former having studied the origin of its oldest form, that of Novgorod under Yaroslav, and the latter its later form, as represented by the collected works on jurisprudence at the close of the twelfth century in Kiev. The Archaeographical Commission has published the work of A. Presniakov, the "Formation of the Great Russian State" (*Obrazovanie Velikorusskavo Gosudarstva*). To the same author belongs also the general outline, "The Muscovite Tsardom" (*Moskovskoie Tsarstvo*).

A number of publications of source materials (annals, monuments of the literature of the "Old Believers", official acts) ready for publication and even printed by the Archaeographical Commission are held up on account of insurmountable material obstacles. In the near future there is to appear a large volume of the "Collection of

Documents of the Economic College" (*Sbornik Gramot Kollegii Ekonomii*), published by the Academy of Sciences, representing the finished work of many years, by a group of young savants, according to the plan and under the direction of the late academician A. Lappo-Danilevski. As a posthumous publication, the work of this scholar, "Outline of Russian Diplomats of Civil Acts" (*Ocherk Russkoi Diplomatiki Chastnykh Aktov*) has been brought out. The "Russian Book Chamber" (*Rossiskaia Knizhnaia Palata*), a new institution which has recently been transformed into a "Bibliological Institute", is engaged in extensive bibliographical work, resulting thus far in the publication of an "Index of Periodicals" (*Spiski Povremennykh Izdaniy*) for 1917 and 1918, edited by L. Ilinski. Library matters are concentrated in a new organization, the Section for the Administration of the Libraries of the State (*Otdiel Upravleniia Gosudarstvennyimi Bibliotekami*), attached to the Commissariat of Public Instruction, and a special organ is published, "The Library Review" (*Biblioteknoie Obozrenie*), devoted to library problems in Russia and abroad. The "Collected Works of the Russian Public Library" (*Sbornik Rossiskoi Publichnoi Biblioteki*), a periodical publication, gives information about the acquisitions and progress of the work of this treasury of books. The examination of the materials contained in the Censorship Archives has made possible the publication of several new texts of the writings of Venevitinov, Gogol, and Turgenev, which had been buried in their own day by the censor. These, as well as a number of documents showing the vicissitudes of Russian writers under the censorship, have appeared in the collection "The Literary Museum" (*Literaturny Museum*), edited by A. Nikolaiev and U. Ochsmann. The "Archive of Public Instruction" (*Arkhiv Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*) published in commemoration of the centennial of the University of Petrograd, in 1919, a large volume of "Materials on the History of the University of St. Petersburg, volume I., 1819-1835".

This cursory and incomplete review of some of the results of historical work in recent years permits us, nevertheless, to say that it is proceeding, not without some vigor, in a constant struggle against the exceedingly difficult material and technical conditions of this epoch, when the entire national life of Russia is passing through a crisis.

A. PRESNIAKOV.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN PROVINCIAL MARYLAND

IN volume XLI. of the *Archives of Maryland*, which has been recently published and which contains the Proceedings of the Provincial Court from 1658 to 1662, there occurs a rather important decision on religious matters. The matter of religious freedom in the province has received so much discussion that it is worth while to call especial attention to the court's act.

The General Assembly, which was a mass meeting of the free-men, in March, 1638/9, passed a law which stated that "Holy Church within this Province shall have all her rights, liberties and immunities, safe, whole, and inviolable in all things" (*Md. Arch., Ass.*, I. 40). This is probably an echo of a similar phrase in Magna Charta. Bozman (*History of Maryland*, II. 107) thought this looked toward an establishment of the Roman Catholic Church, but Bradley T. Johnson (*Md. Hist. Society Fund Publications*, no. 18, p. 2) took a more probable view that the assembly meant "that the Christian Church should be free from unlawful interference by any temporal power whatever" and that the provision was a "guaranty of liberty of conscience to all Christian people in Maryland".

Ten years later, in April, 1649, the famous Act concerning Religion was passed. The earlier portion of the act (*Md. Arch., Ass.*, I. 244) pronounced a heavy penalty upon any one who should "blaspheme God, that is curse him, or deny our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, or shall deny the holy Trinity: the Father, Son and Holy Ghost". The second portion of the statute decreed that no person "professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall from henceforth be anyways troubled, molested, or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof", provided that he does not "conspire against the Civil Government". (On the discussion over this act see Steiner, *Maryland during the English Civil Wars*, part II., p. 114.)

On October 5, 1658, the attorney general of the province laid an information against Rev. Francis Fitzherbert, S. J. (who came into Maryland in 1654, *Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Pubs.*, no. 7, p. 90) "for practising of treason and sedition" (*Md. Arch., Prov. Ct.*, XLI. 144-146). From the evidence, the charge appears to have been made, largely, because of very vigorous attempts made by Fitzherbert to

proselyte the people of southern Maryland who were Protestants. The case did not come up for trial until June 5, 1662, when the Provincial Court consisted of Governor Philip Calvert, Henry Sewall, the secretary, Robert Clarke, Baker Brooke, and John Bateman. Father Fitzherbert "demurred in law" to the information and his demurrer is a remarkable statement as to the breadth of meaning claimed for the two acts of the assembly to which reference has just been made (*Md. Arch., Prov. Ct., XLI. 566*).

1. Neither denying or Confessing the matter here objected Since by the very first Lawe of this Country Holy Church within this Province shall have and Enjoye all her Rights libertyes and Franchises wholly and without Blemish, amongst which that of preacheing and teacheing is not the leaste, neither imports itt what Church is there meant, since by the true intent of the Act Concerning Religion every Church professing to beleive in God the father Sonne and holy Ghoste is accounted Holy Church here.

2dly Because by the Acte entituled an Act concerning Religion It is provided that noe person whatsoever professing to beleive in Jesus Christ shall be molested for or in Respect of his or her Religion or the free Exercise thereof, and undoubtedly preacheing and teacheing is the free Exercise of every Churchmans Religion and upon this I crave Judgem't.

The court allowed the demurrer and thus officially approved the interpretation of the acts given by the defendant. Unfortunately, a few lines which gave the conclusion of the court's decision are lost at the foot of the sheet; but enough is left us to prove that the highest judicial tribunal of the province interpreted the words of the statutes as broadly and liberally as possible.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

THE UNIVERSITY CENTRE FOR RESEARCH IN WASHINGTON

TWENTY-ONE years ago a member of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association proposed to that body the establishment of a centre of historical research in Washington for university students, organized somewhat after the manner of the American Schools of Classical Studies in Athens and Rome, to which students of American history working on theses, or others, might come with a view to availing themselves of the advantages presented by the national capital, for archival study or for political observation, under the guidance of qualified teachers released from the sustaining universities, in rotation, on leaves of absence. For a time, the establishment of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington pushed the project into the background;

but that institution, from the beginning, left educational work out of its programme. The thought of a university centre for historical researches in Washington was not however lost from sight, was definitely revived some seven years ago, put under consideration by a committee, and reported upon at a meeting of the Historical Association at Cincinnati in December, 1916. In 1921, by combined effort of persons interested in each of the social or historical sciences, among whom history was represented by Mr. W. G. Leland, an actual organization was effected, and a University Centre for Research in Washington became a reality. Its articles of organization, the list of its Board of Research Advisers, and an announcement respecting its scope and purpose, its opportunities and regulations, were printed in the *Educational Record* of January, 1922.¹

Meanwhile the resources and advantages of Washington for historical, economic, and political study have in twenty years enormously increased, partly by reason of the growth of the country, partly by reason of that increase in the use of specialized intelligence in the executive work of the government which has been effected through the successful efforts of three appreciative Presidents—Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. It is believed that neither many students nor many professors are fully aware of the opportunities of this nature which Washington presents. For purposes of American history, in the period since 1775 at any rate, the printed matter in the Library of Congress much surpasses all other collections. Its Manuscripts Division contains not only the papers of the Continental Congress and those of nearly all the Presidents, from Washington to Taft, but an astounding quantity and variety of other historical material, to which notable additions are made every month. Few persons have any notion, for instance, of the extent of its body of transcripts from the British archives. Elsewhere, in the libraries of the executive departments, at the Bureau of Railway Economics, at the office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and in several similar establishments, large special collections are to be found, readily available for the student's use, while despite the drawbacks and inconveniences which are inflicted by the absence of a national archive building, archives of great magnitude and interest exist, scattered among bureaus and offices whose officials can almost always be relied upon to help students to as great an extent as the local circumstances permit.

¹ Reprints of this article of explanation can be obtained from the Director of the American Council on Education, 26 Jackson Place, who is Secretary of the Board of Research Advisers. That is also the office to which general inquiries should be addressed.

To those who enjoy these advantages and opportunities by reason of professional residence in Washington, it is a matter of perpetual astonishment that they are not more largely used by students training themselves for professional work; indeed, quite apart from the facilities available upon the student's special topic, every student of American history would surely be greatly benefited by a period of residence in the political atmosphere of the national capital. At all events, it is well that students and their teachers should know of the existence of the University Centre for Research in Washington, of its nature and its possibilities for help.

The control of the institution resides in the Board of Research Advisers, which at present consists of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, president, the Director of the American Council on Education, secretary, and Messrs. Edward Breck, Winthrop M. Daniels, E. Dana Durand, David Jayne Hill, Joseph A. Hill, Gaillard Hunt, Charles Cheney Hyde, J. Franklin Jameson, Vernon L. Kellogg, Julius Klein, Baron Serge Korff, H. Barrett Learned, Waldo G. Leland, M. O. Lorenz, Lewis Meriam, Balthasar H. Meyer, Adolph C. Miller, Charles Moore, Thomas W. Page, Herbert Putnam, Paul S. Reinsch, Richard A. Rice, John Jacob Rogers, James Brown Scott, Oliver L. Spaulding, Ethelbert Stewart, Henry C. Taylor, Eliot Wadsworth, Francis Walker, William F. Willoughby, and George F. Zook.

The Board is organized in a Committee of Management and five technical divisions representing history, political science, international law and diplomacy, economics, and statistics. The Division of History consists of Messrs. Jameson, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, chairman, Gaillard Hunt, of the State Department, Klein, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Learned, Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Moore and Rice, of the Library of Congress, Zook, of the Bureau of Education, and Colonel Spaulding, Chief of the Historical Section, Army War College. All of these members of the Division of History are eminently desirous to help the work of young men or women who may come to Washington for purposes of historical study, and each of them has his special familiarity with a given body of historical material in Washington or his special way of being useful to students. Their aid would take the form of information respecting the location of desired material (no small matter in the archival confusion of Washington), assistance in securing access to it, and, in the case of graduate students, advice respecting its use. There is also provision for whatever record of the work of the student may be desired by the officials of the institution from which he comes. Students in the graduate de-

partments of American universities, students in foreign universities, and other investigators to whom the service thus gratuitously proffered may be useful, should apply by letter to the secretary, stating the nature of the work which they desire to do in Washington, sending at the same time, in the case of graduate students, statements from the dean of the school in which the student is enrolled as to the approval of his work by the competent university authorities, and any information which his teacher may supply as to the scope or conduct of the work proposed. If upon arrival in Washington the student will register at the office of the secretary, he will be referred to suitable members of the Board of Research Advisers. The members of that body, it may be repeated, are earnestly desirous to have students come in increasing numbers, and to assist them to the utmost of their power.

J. F. J.

DOCUMENTS

The Accounts of a Colonial Governor's Agent in the Seventeenth Century

ONE of the most tantalizing problems in the study of early colonial development is the part played by agents in pushing their principals' business before the various bodies which had control of plantation affairs. In the eighteenth century the activities of the agent were more regularly established, but in earlier days the brief references to the petition of an agent, or his attendance at a meeting, merely whet the appetite, and make us wonder how affairs were really engineered. The ponderous documents of the *Calendar* need for a commentary the private letters and papers of the men who were engaged in pulling the strings. The two documents which are printed below provide such material. They are the accounts of Sir William Stapleton, governor-general of the Leeward Islands from 1672 to 1686, kept by his London agents, William Freeman and Patrick Trant.

Stapleton was an Irish gentleman who lost his estates during the troubles in Ireland, and fought on the Continent as a soldier of fortune until the Restoration. He first went to the West Indies as an officer in a regiment specially raised by Sir Tobias Bridge for the French war in 1667. There he was soon appointed deputy-governor of the Irish island of Montserrat; in 1672 he succeeded Sir Charles Wheler as governor-in-chief of the Leeward Islands, which had been separated from Barbados in the previous year, and he held this post until his death in 1686. As governor, Stapleton needed an agent in London, both to push his affairs with the Council of Plantations, and also to receive his salary, and the pay of two companies which had been established in the Leeward Islands. His first agent was the famous merchant Ferdinando Gorges the younger, and Stapleton persuaded the islands to adopt his agent as their representative, and to vote him a salary.

The Governor was pleased to discourse with me something concerning Capt. George [wrote Jeaffreson from St. Christopher in 1676], whom the island did employ to act for them at home, and allowed him two or three hundred pounds per annum; for which he did but little; and when they ordered him to petition for a frigate or two, to be sent hither for the security of the Islands and their trade, without which the inhabitants cannot live, he sent them this answer,—that in tymes of peace they had noe occasion for such a security, and in tymes of war his Majestie had soe much to doe with his shippes, that he could

not spare one. So it is thought they have withdrawn their allowance to Captain George.¹

Stapleton also was dissatisfied with his agent and transferred his power of attorney to other hands.

Captain William Freeman was the son of a St. Christopher planter, and himself owned land at Montserrat, where he had probably first met Stapleton. He returned to London, apparently in 1675, and at once began to act on Stapleton's behalf. Gorges continues to help him until a gratuity of £100 in January, 1677, marks the end of his interest in Stapleton's affairs. Freeman was most energetic on behalf of his principal, but after a few years the governor decided on another change and in January, 1681, gave his letter of attorney to Patrick Trant, the cousin of his old comrade in arms and son-in-law, James Cottar. Some years later Stapleton's widow, who was suing Trant for embezzlement, declared that he

having a minde to get into the employm't of solliciting and managing Sir Wms affaires, by himself and other represented to Sir Willm that mr Freeman had misbehaved himself or been negligent and not done his duty in w't he had been intrusted withall and that there was noe occasion of mr Bradshawes service, or to such effect: (w'ch was not any reall truthe but only an artifice and contrivance of the def'ts to put them out and gett himself into the employm't).²

This the defendant denied and declared that the agency had been pressed upon him by Stapleton who had written "complaineing that the receiving his money by Freeman had been very chargeable and that he had not any interest for 8000 *li.* rec'd for him".³ Whatever was the real cause for the change of agent, Stapleton and Freeman quickly drifted apart, and a sharp quarrel broke out in 1682, when Freeman objected to the governor's ruling in a case in which he was interested, and began to malign his principal. Stapleton's Irish temper flashed out in a violent letter. "Were I near you I would dash your teeth and words down your throat, forbear at so great a distance, else I do not question to have those there that will correct your insolence and ingratitude."⁴ Despite this quarrel Freeman still retained the balance of Stapleton's money, and made a few small payments on his behalf. Freeman raised claims for fees, which were disputed. Writing in 1682, Trant says,

¹ J. C. Jeaffreson, *A Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century*, I. 194.

² Brief, *Stapleton v. Trant*. All the documents quoted in this paper, including the accounts, form part of the Stapleton Manuscripts which have been lent to the John Rylands Library, Manchester, England, by Sir Miles T. Stapleton, Bart.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, no. 1523.

As to Mr Freemans clayme for charges he was at in sollicitting two yeares pay w^{ch} he hath not rec^d for the sold^{rs}, I doe not know any thing of it, but this I can say, that I have beene at noe other charge for what I rec^d than the proper Fees, w^{ch} you have an acco^t off, and the one shilling per *li.* for the sollicitting and receiving of it, is in my Oppinion as much and as little as the trouble deserves, and it is an equall allowa. betweene the Sould^r and the Agent, but this I must say, that if I receive noe money, I shall not think fitt to expect any allowance, neither doe I think it reasonable for me to expect any allowance for charges in that case. But this business haveing been out of Mr Freemans way, possibly he may be at some expence in going to Windsor or Hampton Court and other places expressly about it, and haveing noe success in the procureing of the money, soe as to have the usuall allowance for it as formerly, I beleeeve he expects the Charges he was at, but whether you think fit to allow it him, or whether wⁿ you have an Acco^t of it, you will not think it too inconsiderable to dispute with him, I refer to your Consideracion.⁵

The matter still dragged on, and fifteen months later Trant reports:

I have demanded your money of Captⁿ Freeman in order to dispose of it to some advantage for you or desir^d that he would at your riske as you should direct him, and that I would answer that you would approve of what I directed in that matter. his answer to me was that you had objected to some p^{ts} of his acco^{ts} and that without your discharge he did not thinke himselfe safe and that he thought it reasonable not to parte with what he had in his hands untill he were discharg^d of that acco^t. severall alteracions [*sic*] past uppon this matter but in fine he keepes the money. I am now goeing to looke him out in order to demand it before witnesses.⁶

Indeed it was not until Stapleton himself came to England in May, 1685, that Freeman was called to an account. The detailed statement of receipts and expenditures which he then drew up for Stapleton is the first document printed below.

Stapleton, however, had only come home to die: at the beginning of April, 1686, he made his will, appointing Trant as one of his trustees, and soon after went to France, where he died at Paris on the third of August. Shortly before his death he heard that a firm, to whom his agent professed to have lent large sums of Stapleton's money, had gone bankrupt, and a codicil was drawn up which removed Trant from among the executors. Trant's embezzlement of some £8000 of his principal's money led to a lengthy law-suit, and although Stapleton's widow received judgment in her favor, the Revolution of 1688 and Trant's subsequent condemnation as an Irish traitor made it almost impossible to recover the money. It is to this law-suit that we owe the preservation of many of the documents on

⁵ Trant to Stapleton, Nov. 11, 1682.

⁶ Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.

which this notice is based, for they were handed into court to support Lady Stapleton's claims. The second document printed below, Trant's statement of accounts made up to September 1, 1685, was preserved in this way, as well as a number of letters from Trant to Stapleton of the years 1682 to 1686.

The interest and importance of the documents printed below lie in the light which they throw upon the duties and activities of the early colonial agents, and particularly upon the actual working of the administrative system during the first ten years of the Lords of Trade. Though these three agents were, first and foremost, Stapleton's personal representatives, yet from the very nature of the case they frequently did business for, and represented, the islands. After the first experiment with Gorges the Leeward Islands preferred, for several years, to rely on occasional missions instead of permanent agents, and so for practical purposes the governor's agent became the accepted mouthpiece of the islands also. We always find these governor's agents working in harmony with any special missions sent from the islands.⁷ It should not be supposed that these accounts represent the whole of the governor's wealth, for he possessed land in Ireland, as well as sugar plantations in all the four Leeward Islands, and a potwork at Nevis, but the sum embezzled by Trant represented all the available cash to the governor's credit at the time of his death.⁸ The documents really speak for themselves, but a few notes may be added to bring out some special points.

(a) *Receipts Column.* The receipts consist partly of public and partly of private moneys. The account opens with several entries of receipts of the governor's salary, and of pay for the two standing companies at St. Christopher. The governor was entitled to £700 per annum, and the two companies had been established at the Peace of Breda and recruited from Sir Tobias Bridge's regiment, which was then disbanded. Salary and pay were both charged on the Four and a Half per Cent. duty, which was at this time let out to farmers, but for several years neither governor nor soldiers saw a penny of their money. These sudden payments were due to the energy of the newly organized Lords of Trade, who had taken up the question of these arrears with great vigor.⁹ The importunity of Freeman, the new agent, and of special envoys, such as Lieutenant Greatbach, sent home to plead the hard case of the starving soldiers, had some effect,

⁷ I have worked out these points more fully in *The Development of the Leeward Islands, 1660-1688* (Cambridge University Press, 1921), but that essay was written before I had access to the present documents.

⁸ Will, and Lady Stapleton's petition.

⁹ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1675-1676, no. 808: Report on Defence of St. Christopher.

but the pay soon fell into arrears once more. Thus the payment of July 5, 1679, was really due in July of the previous year, and even the constant pressure of Trant could only secure another three payments, which still left the crown heavily indebted to the luckless governor, and his widow strove in vain to secure her just debts.¹⁰ The parlous state of the finances, and the shifts to which the Exchequer was put, are vividly reflected in Trant's letters. The agent suggests that the best way for his principal to obtain his arrears is to lend the necessary money to the Treasury! "If you find it fitt when you come home to advance money to the L'ds Com'rs of the Trea'ry in order to secure the pay due and your other Claymes you may be sure that I will follow your direccions and assist you effectually."¹¹ Other public moneys are the special grant of £500 made by the king for the building of a fort on St. Christopher (entry of August 23, 1678, Freeman), and an installment of a similar grant of £1500 for fortifying the other three islands of the group (entry of February 10, 1681, Freeman). Private moneys consist of the interest on various loans, the sale of sugar (two entries), and various minor items such as bills of exchange.

(b) *Expenditures Column*. The entries in this column are really the more instructive, and give some idea of the difficulty a governor found in obtaining the money that was actually due to him, and the expenses which made so serious an inroad into the sum before it actually reached his hands. Thus besides the usual Exchequer fees (*e.g.*, entry of October 10, 1676), there were heavy gratuities to the various officials, the agent's personal expenses, and his commission of five per cent. (entry of October 10, 1677). An amusing example of a graduated scale of tips is given in the entry of November 25, 1676, where Sir Robert Southwell, the secretary to the Lords of Trade, receives fifty guineas, his enterprising clerk Blathwayt five, while the messenger has to be content with two. Blathwayt was a man of extraordinary ability, who, as Evelyn records, "raised himself by his industry from very moderate circumstances". He also raised his price, and Christopher Jeaffreson, writing in 1683, declares that, "without a gratification of twenty or thirty guynies to himself, at the least, I doubt much the effect of the letters or anything else".¹² But Blathwayt was worth a full fifty guineas, as is shown by the entry of December 1, 1682 (Trant's account). The present of eighty guineas to Secretary Sir Joseph Williamson is an interesting side-light on the habits of a famous secretary of state. The accounts

¹⁰ Petitions of Dame Anne Stapleton.

¹¹ Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.

¹² J. C. Jeaffreson, *op. cit.*, II. 59.

are full of such entries, and it would only be wearisome to comment on each; the *douceurs* were usually presented in guineas and the price of these coins fluctuated from time to time.

The activities of the various envoys who arrived in London to urge the governor's business may be traced from the documents in the *Calendar*, but Freeman's accounts explain the inner working of their mission. Thus in 1675 Lieutenant Greatbach was sent to England with the muster-rolls of the two companies, while in the same year Stapleton's brother Edmund came home, and between them they managed, with the help of Freeman and Gorges, and a liberal distribution of "presents", to secure some of the arrears which were due. Stapleton's old comrade and son-in-law, Sir James Cottar, came home in 1681 to settle in Ireland; he brought with him copies of the laws of the various islands for approval by the Lords of Trade, and entries of payments to him also appear.

The more personal entries include the expenses of Lady Stapleton, who was in England on a visit in 1679. Her eldest son James appears in England in 1678 and a little later the next son William arrives, attended by two negro servants, and payments for the two boys' education occur regularly. An amusing incident occurred a few years later: Early in 1684 Trant writes, "I intend this afternoone to wayte of [*sic*] the Children who Mrs. Terrell tells me are very well, and I would have seen them oftner than I have but that I had noe direccions from you and did not know how it might be taken heare you'l doe well to remove them to a better schoole but it will be best when you come hither."¹³ In reply Stapleton wrote to one or two friends to ask their opinion of sending the boys to Westminster, but the terrors of Busby's rod were too great, and Jeaffreson warned him that their great-aunt "the Lady Marsh is too tender of them to part with them to such harsh masters, as the masters of that schoole are reputed to be".¹⁴ It is possible that the presents to Dr. Littleton, who was prebendary of Westminster, and had been promised the reversion of the post of head-master, are connected with these schemes. But the upshot of the matter was that the two boys, with the younger brother Miles, all went to Paris with their parents in 1685, where, on Stapleton's death, "The three sons were by order of Patrick Trant forceably taken away from their Mother, and detain'd in a Convent at Paris to be educated in the Roman Religion, to the great grief of their Mother who took care to have them Baptized and brought up in the Protestant Religion".¹⁵ The eldest, James, though

¹³ Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.

¹⁴ J. C. Jeaffreson, *op. cit.*, II. 118.

¹⁵ The Case of Lady Anne Stapleton.

only fourteen, sent a petition by his mother to England, and when he was separated from his brothers and sent to Douai in consequence, managed to escape to England.¹⁶

There is one notable omission in the entries for 1679: in November of that year Stapleton was created a baronet, but there is no record of any money expended in that business. It is very significant that the governor received this honor while his wife was at home in England, and it seems highly probable that the large sum of £1500 paid her in that very month was connected with this business. Lady Stapleton returned to the West Indies in the next year, and the owners of the *Golden Lyon*, probably anxious to stand well with the governor, refused to accept any passage-money.

The agent made large purchases of goods for his principal, but he also remitted money by bills of exchange, usually drawn upon Robert Helmes of Nevis. On several occasions he actually sent specie, for the islands were very hard put to it for a medium of exchange, and any additional coin was very welcome (see entries of February 20, 1676/7, and February 28, 1679/80, Freeman; December 1, 1682, and March 8, 1683/4, Trant). The governor, however, was determined to make the best bargain he could and Trant refers to the shipment of December, 1682, as follows:

I have endeavor'd to find light peeces of eight to the value of Two Thousand pound to be sent to you but to save my life could not find one hundred pounds worth of that kind all over London, neither were they to be had any other where in England, and uppon Consideracion of the inconven'cy and losse you might have by the want of them I chose to send into Ireland for such rather then send weighty ones from hence, and accordingly have writt in Aug'st last to send to you from thence uppon the first conven'cy for Barbados or the Leeward Islands two thousand pounds worth of the lightest pieces of eight but the Trade of carrying them thither from Ireland is become soe Comon that the lightest pieces are very scarce to be had there though Spanish money be currant there. my Correspondent vizt. Mr. John Nagle of Dublin hath writt to me that he has at last pick'd up that quantity for me and that he was sending them away uppon two severall shippes.¹⁷

Writing some years later and referring to a transaction which he carried through after the date at which the present account was made up, Trant again mentions the matter. "I have bought 1400 *li.* in pieces of eights as Sr. Wm. order'd but because he complain'd soe much of the prejudice of having weighty pieces I did employ severall

¹⁶ *Ibid.* He died on board H.M.S. *Jersey* in 1690 and was buried in St. Nicholas Church, Liverpool. His brother William, who succeeded to the baronetcy, was brought up a Roman Catholic in France, and left money in his will to pay for his education.

¹⁷ Trant to Stapleton, Feb. 18, 1683/4.

to pick up light ones w^{ch} tooke up some time soe that it was but the begining of last weeke the last parcell of them came in.”¹⁸ The cause of this eager search after light coin will be readily understood when it is remembered that the island assemblies had rated the piece of eight at six shillings.¹⁹

Stapleton's official letters are full of complaints about the neglect of his two companies: they are always in arrears with their pay, they are naked and starving. “I am out of purse for shrouds for the dead and cure of the wounded, for minding their arms and giving them credit in merchants' storehouses.”²⁰ Trant's accounts show the steps which Stapleton took to make his men look like soldiers instead of Spanish beggars, and the two companies must have made a brave show in their green stockings, their red coats lined with blue, and their black hats with white bands and edging (entries of December 1, 1682, Trant). But here again Stapleton was dissatisfied and Trant apologized, “I am sorry the stockens were not shutable as you would have them for the sold'rs it was a great fault that the Colour was not consider'd bett'r.”²¹ And we are left to wonder whether the green came off on the men's legs or whether the color faded in the tropical sun.

Among many other personal items we may notice the money paid for the negroes captured at Tobago in 1677. They had been granted to Stapleton by the king, but the Dutch agent put in a claim and the matter was settled by a compromise and a money payment. Other personal items are the frequent shipping of clothes to the planter and his family, the parchments sent out for the drafting of title-deeds, the coppers for sugar-boiling, the diamond pendants for my lady, and the six silver porringers, the silver tankard, and the salt-cellar which we can see adorning the table of the prosperous and successful governor. The whole account gives us a faithful and vivid picture of the times, and provides a lively commentary on the more formal documents of the *Calendars*.

C. S. S. HIGHAM.

¹⁸ Trant to Lady Stapleton (at Paris), June 16, 1686.

¹⁹ *Development of the Leeward Islands*, pp. 195 ff.

²⁰ *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1681-1685, no. 860. Stapleton to Lords of Trade, Dec 20, 1682.

²¹ Trant to Stapleton, July 14, 1683.

I. CAPTAIN WILLIAM FREEMAN'S ACCOUNT.²²

[Page 1.]

Sr William Stapleton Baronet, debr.

1675.

			£.	s.	d.
Augt.	25.	For your bill paid Mr. John Huffum....	10		
feb.	26.	For money paid to Leiut. Greatbach 5l. and more pd. for privie seale £9. 13s...	14	13	

1676.

June	27.	For the cost and charges of a parsell of goods loaden on the <i>Olive branch</i>	76	14	10
July	3.	For money paid to Mr. Bradshaw for Ex- checkr. fees as pr. acct. sent.....	112	13	4
		For my bills of exchange charged on Mr. Robert Helms pr. order of Capt. Gorge	1500		
Augt.	14.	For money paid to Richard Reeves for a debt due from Leiut. Greatbach.....	52	16	
Sept.	18.	For 80 guinnies paid Sr. Joseph William- son pr. order cost 21s. 10d. each.....	87	07	8
		For money passed to Robert Helm's credit pr. your order.....	50		
	25.	For 50 guinnies presented to Sr. Robert Southwell and 5 ditto to Mr. Blathwait and 2 ditto to the Messinger all pre- sented by your brother cost in all.....	62	00	10
Janry.	25.	For 50 guinnies presented Mr. Charles Bertie and 5 ditto to Capt. Shales.....	59	16	3
		For sundry disbursmts. paid Mr. Bradshaw as pr. his acct. of perticlr. sent.....	167	04	6
		To Capt. Gorges for his disbursmts. in so- liciting your businesse before my arrivall in England paid him by your order....	100		
		For money expended for coach hire and expenses at such times as I gave attend- ance: And given away to door keepers and such like expenses as may appeare pr. particular Acct. of every dayes ex- pense	79	14	
feb.	20.	For 3137 ps. 8s ²³ loaden aboard the <i>Olive Branch</i> Giles Lawrence Mr.....	764	09	9
		For my bills of exchange charged upon Robert Helms for.....	635	10	3
		For goods sent you by the <i>Olive branch</i> as pr. accompt sent you.....	42	06	

1677.

May	13.	For a present made Charles Bertie Esq, when settled 2 yeares pay for the Soldiers uppon the Chimney Farmers.....	100		
-----	-----	--	-----	--	--

²² The original pagination of Freeman's account is confusing. I add the pages of both documents in square brackets.

²³ Pieces of eight.

	To Mr. Bradshaw for fees pd. for the same as pr. accompt sent.....	175	0	04
	For money putt out uppon interest to Mr. Ben Skutt on mortgage.....	500		
	To Thomas Gooding for a councill fee for perusall of the deeds.....	1	01	6
	To Commissary Banes for stating your arrears 5 guinnies.....	5	07	6
July	31. For goods sent you pr. the <i>Abraham</i> as pr. Invoice sent.....	72	13	2
	Charges paid for taking out your comission for Viceadmirall.....	7	12	6
	paid William Baxter for a debt due from Leiut. Greatbach pr. yr. order.....	2	07	4
	For 10 guinnies presented Sr. Phillip Lloyd for his care and trouble in executing sundry orders of councill relating to the countries concern viz the seale commission of Admiralty and others and 2 guinnies to his Clark for the coppies of all orders now sent you at 21s. 8d. p.g.	13		
	For money paid Mr. Baxter I say Basset for Gazetts and votes of Parliament sent	15		
	Carried to pa. (2)	4693	03	9

[Page 2.]

Sr. William Stapleton Baronet debr.

1677.

		£.	s.	d.
	For the sum totall brought from pa. (1)...	4693	03	09
July	20. For your bill paid Thomas Cole pr. order of Robert Helms.....	50		
	For your bill paid Coll. Mathew £366. 8. 11 and pd. his wife £150.....	516	08	11
	For 3 coppers sent you as pr. Invoice sent	64	05	6
Octob.	10. For my bills charged upon Robert Helms	2500		
	For my provition for receiving £9113. 8s. being 4 yeares pay at 12d. pr. £.....	455	13	4
	This Acct. was sent you.....	8279	11	6
Decem.	4. For a present made Charles Bertie Esq. 100 guinnies.....	107	10	
	For taking severall orders of councill out relating to the country.....	2	10	
	For fees paid in the Excheckr, as pr. Mr. Bradshaw's acct. sent.....	118	13	10
	For a present made to Capt. Shales 10 guinnies.	10	15	
	For my provition for receiving one yeares pay being £2278. 07s. at 12d.....	113	18	4
	For money put out uppon interest on your accompt to Sr. Thomas Escourt and Thom: Dond.....	500		

	Put out uppon bond to Cornwall Bradshaw	
	Esq. at interest.....	1000
	For my bills of exchange charged on Robt. and Wm. Helms.....	1200
		<hr/> 11332 18 8
March	4. To Sr. Joseph Williamson paid him for the King's letter of guift for the Tobago negroes	6 09
	For a present made Elizabeth Freeman pr. your order, 100 guinnies.....	107 10
1678.		
April	12. paid for taking out a privie seale for the Tobago negroes.....	21 10
	18. To councill fees and other charges paid for defending the suit against the Dutch Agent for the said negroes.....	6 09 6
May	9. For your bill of exchange paid to the order of Jos: Jury.....	100
	16. For 6 silver porringers and one tankard cost you.....	25 08 9
June	4. For entring a caveat in the Prerogative court against the Probat of Randall Rus- sell's will.....	13
Aug.	16. For money remitted to Ireland to Mr. Redmond Stapleton by your order.....	100
	23. To Cornwall Bradshaw, Esq., paid him for his paines and trouble in soliciting the £500 given by his Majty. for erecting forts on St. Christophers.....	20
	For a small book called the present state of England ²⁴ sent.....	4 6
Aug.	23. For your bill of exchange paid Coll. Abed. Mathew	878 15 4½
Sept.	9. Lent Mr. Thomas Griffith uppon a Mortgage	1000
Octob.	2. paid Peter Taylers bill for your son James clothes	8 19
	8. To Capt. Hare paid him for passages as pr. receipt.....	16
	21. For 2 silver salts sent pr. the ship <i>Content</i> , Will Deane Mr.....	13 10
	Carried to pa. (3)	<hr/> 13638 07 9

[Page 3.] Sr. William Stapleton Baronet depr.
1678.

		£.	s.	d.
	for the sum totall brought from pa. (2)	13638	07	9
Novem.	18. paid Mr. Thomas Coulson for acct. of Mr. Joseph Martin pr. your order.....		20	
	28. For 10 guinnies presented Sr. Phillip Lloyd			

²⁴ Doubtless Edward Chamberlayne's popular *Angliae Notitia*, or the Present State of England (London, 1669, tenth ed. 1677).

		and money paid his clark for drawing severall papers in all.....	11 06 8
Decem.	9.	for a parsell of goods loaden on the <i>Abraham</i> as pr. Inv. sent.....	86 13 10
	17.	for one pr. of Diamond pendants sent by Capt. Winter.....	120
	18.	paid Frances Consalvo the negro woman	10
Jan.	29.	paid to dicto.....	2
1679.			
Apr.	3.	For a fee given to Sr. Richard Lloyd about the Tobago negroes.....	1 1 6
	25.	paid Commissary Watchtendunck being ½ the commission money agreed uppon for the Tobago negroes.....	337 10
July	21.	for 100 skins of parchment sent you cost	4 03 4
Aug.	1.	paid Capt. Michael Smith pr. your order paid for councill fees and drawing convey- ances for the spring plantation.....	200
	15.	paid Cornwall Bradshaw Esq. for Ex- check'r fees and for 1 yeares pay and salery received as pr. accompt sent you	3 04 6
		for my provition for receiving one yeares pay being the sum of £2573. 7. 4d. at 12d. pr. £.....	145 15 6
Octo.	15.	Lent Benjamine Skutt uppon bond at in- terest	128 13 4
9br.	4.	To John Cary paid him for ironware sent pr. your order.....	300
		for your bill of Exchange paid William Wattson	9 01 07
		for my bills charged uppon Robert and William Helms for payment of the sol- diers	10
		for ballance of accompt due from Coll. Edmond Stapleton as appeares.....	1200
		for money paid the Lady An Stapleton as appeares pr. her receipt.....	346 12 6
		To William Baxter paid him on accompt of Leiut. Greatbach more then 47s. 4d. charged before.....	1500
			2 11
			<u>18074 13 5½</u>

This Accompt was sent by the Lady
Stapleton and the sum totall thereof
is carryed to fo. (4).

[Page 4.]
1679.

Sr. William Stapleton Baronet debr.

			£.	s.	d.
		sum totall of Acct. brought over from the other side.....	18074	13	5½
feb.	2 ^o	for the cost and charges of 2500 ps. ¾ sent you by Capt. Hare.....	619	01	

March	7.	for money paid your Lady more then £1500 before charged as appears pr. receipt	200		
1680.	30.	for money paid the Lady Stapleton 30 guinnies	32	05	
		paid Earnest for a coach for your Lady 1 guinny	1	01	6
		paid Capt. Hare for passages by your Ladies order	45		
Aprill	20.	paid Mr. Watchtendunk in part of the second payment for the Tobago negroes	100		
		To Mrs. Reeve paid her for 1 months nursing a child pr. your ladies order..	15		
		for your bill of exchange drawn upon me payable to Coll. Abednigo Mathew	677	15	5
		for your bill of exchange drawn upon me pay'ble to Capt. Pogson.....	547	07	11
June	21.	To Mrs. Reeve paid her for 2 months nursing a child.....	1	10	
		To Sr. Phillip Lloyd and Mr. Blaithwaits clarks paid them for taking out and drawing the order of counsell upon petition for the soldiers pay.....	1	6	
July	1.	for your bill paid William Baxter for accompt of Sr. James Russell.....	24	08	4
Aug.	16.	paid Mr. Watchtendunk in full for the Tobago negroes.....	137	10	
		for 2 seales and your coat of arms sent by Capt. Billop.....	4	05	6
Sep.	6.	To John Carey paid him for a p'sell of iron ware pr. order.....	9	13	6
	20.	for 5 month nursing a child pd. Mrs. Reeves in full till the 20th of November next	3	15	
Novem.	2.	for the cost and charges of a p'sell of goods loaden on Capt. Winter as pr. Invoice sent.....	74	02	8
	10.	for your bill of exchange paid John Jones	40		
Jan.	10.	for boarding schooling and clothing your son James since christmas last as appears by the accompt herewith sent you of p'ticulers.....	48	02	2
March	20.	paid Mrs. Reeve for 4 months nursing since the 20th of Novemb last.....	3		
		for the cost and charges of a p'sell of goods loaden on the <i>Geo.</i> as pr. Invoice	78	11	7
1681.					
Sep.	20.	paid Mrs. Reeve at 2 payments for 6 months nursing a child.....	4	10	
Octob.	6.	paid Capt. Hazelwood for your son William and 2 negroes passages.....	20		
		for your bill of exchange paid Thomas Glover	300		

for your bill of exchange paid Cotter....	194
paid ditto Cotter pr. your order for your daughters legacie left pr. Mr. Rookby	20
For 4 doz. bottles of the best Pontack claret presented to Doctor Littleton cost 16s. pr. doz. and 3s. pr. doz. the bottles	3 16
For $\frac{3}{4}$ of a yeares boarding of your son James with schooling and clothing as pr. accompt.....	31 9 4
	<hr/> 21297 19 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ballance due to Sr. William Stapleton this 18th of Octobr. 1681.....	3074 00 8 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/> 24372 00 1

[Page 5.]
1676.

Sr. William Stapleton Baronet Credr.

		£.	s.	d.
July	3. for 1 yeares pay for the two foot companies for 1 yeares sallerie received for your selfe as cheif Governor.....	2278	07	700
Janry.	27. for 1 yeares pay for the two foot companies and 1 yeares sallery for your selfe ²⁵	3678	07	

1677.

Octob.	9. for 2 yeares pay for the two foot companies and 1 yeares sallery for your selfe	5256	14	
Janry.	10. for 1 yeares pay and 1 yeares sallerie received	2978	07	

This was the credit of the first
Acct. sent you..... 14891 15

1678.

May	16. Received of Robert Cook for old plate sould	32	09	11
Aug.	23. For money received for erecting a fort on St. Christophers	500		
Sep.	4. For 1 yeares interest received of Mr. Benjamin Skutt for 500 £.....	30		
	9. For money received of Sr. Thomas Escourt lent uppon bond £500 and 9 months interest	522	10	
	For 6 months interest received of Thomas Griffith Esq. for £1000 lent.....	30		
Octob.	8. For £1000 received of Cornwall Bradshaw Esq., being so much lent uppon bond and 9 months interest received for the same £45	1045	00	

1679.

May	7. for £1000 principall received of Thomas Griffith Esq. and interest due uppon the same	1022	04	10
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²⁵ This should really be two years' salary; note the amount, and compare *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1677-1680, no. 233.

		for money received of William Baxter for bills drawn by Sr. James Russell for Tobago negroes	462
June	21.	for the neat proceeds of 6 tuns of sugar by the <i>Golden Lyon</i>	189 05 6
July	5.	for 1 yeares pay received for the two foot companies	2573 07 4
		for one yeares sallerie for your selfe....	700
Octob.	13.	for 1 yeares interest received of Benjamine Skutt for £500.....	30
		This was the credit of the second Acct. sent you	22028 12 07

[1680.]

May	10.	Received pr. bill uppon Daniel Arthur....	30
June	29.	for 6 months interest made you good for £2500 made use of my selfe at 5 pr. cent pr. agreement	62 10
		For 3 months interest more for £1500 at 5 pr. cent	18 15
		By Robert Helms received of him for so much you disallow of which was carried to his credit.....	50
		For one hatt charged to accompt of Robert Helms pr. your order.....	3
feb.	10.	For money received for the use of the lee- ward Islands £750 deducting 12d. in the pound for my provition £37 10s.....	712 10
		Left in my hands by the Lady Stapleton to pay for her passage home in the ship <i>Golden Lyon</i> which the owners of dicto ship would not receive.....	20
March	5.	Received of Nathaniel Rookby.....	20
81. Aprl.	21.	Received of Benjamine Skutt being so much lent him uppon bond and a mort- gage £800 and interest due uppon the same £80	880
Sep.	16.	for a bill of exchange received of William Dockwray	200
Octob.	18.	for your brother Edmond Stapleton's debt charged to your accompt pr. contra which you have ordered payment to be made from his estate.....	346 12 6
			24372 00 1

[Page 6.] Sr. William Stapleton Baronet debr.

1681.

			£.	s.	d.
decem.	3.	For a box of clothes for your Lady sent pr. Winter as pr. Invoice.....	46	05	6
	10.	paid Coll. Cotter as pr. receipt.....	150		
	20.	paid Elizabeth Avis for 3 months nursing a child.....	2	05	

Jan.	11. paid Coll. Cotter pr. Stephen Evance as pr. receipt.....	100
	18. For a quarters boarding and expences of Mr. James and Wm. Stapleton.....	18 18
March	20. paid Elizabeth Avis for 3 months nursing of a child.....	2 05
1682.		
Apl.	14. For your two sons last quarters boarding schooling and clothing as pr. accompt sent	30 10
	For ballance of accompt due to you sent you this 14th of Aprill 1682.....	3191 07 02
	This accompt was sent Sr. Wm. Stapleton the 14th of Aprill 1682 and was allowed by him	3541 10 8

Dicto Debitor

June	21. for 1 hhd. of white suger presented Mr. Watchendunk pr. your order.....	12 18
July	18. paid your bill to William Cope.....	20
Sept.	14. paid you a velvet coat and briches etc. sent you pr. your order.....	16 18 2
Octob.	4. for your bill paid uppon accompt of Charles Pym	50
Novem.	1. paid your bill to the order of Charles Mathew	180
	for the receipt of £5400 being two yeares pay for the two foot companies in St. Christophers at 12d. in the £.....	270
Jan.	23. paid for two perukes sent pr. your order to William Baxter.....	6 8 6
84. 9br.	4. paid William Mathew in part of your bill drawn uppon Patrick Trant Esq. by order of Sd. Trant.....	407
	paid for Mr. James and William Stapleton's boarding schooling and clothing etc. as pr. accompt since the 14th of Aprill 1682.....	187 12
	for ballance due from the Estate of Coll. Edmo. Stapleton the principall debt being £346. 12. 6, of which I have received £181. 19. 9, being the neat proceeds of 29 hhds. suger received by two ships as may appeare by the Accompts received from Mr. William Baxter.....	164 12 9
	for the postidge of all your letters and packets from the yeare 1675 to the year 1682 being never charged in any former Accompt	24 12
		1340 01 5

To Ballance dew to Sr. Wm. Stapleton upon this acco'tt w'ch I cary to the Cr. of his new Acco'tt.....	2260 16 3
	<u>3600 17 8</u>

Sr. Wm. Stapleton, Dr.

To money lent Mr. John Wyntle uppon a Statute	£250
To commission of goods sent you by sun- dry ships amounts to £986 at 2½ pr. cent.	24 13
To commission for bills of exchange paid at severall times £4875 at 1 pr. cent..	48 15
To my trouble expence etc. for putting out and receiving your money uppon in- terest at 1 pr. cent.....	48
To commission and charges in following the suit with the Dutch agent and mak- ing the bargain cannot be esteemed less than	50
To receiving £500 for the fort money omitted at 12d. pr. £.....	25
To receiving your own sallerie being £5600 at 12d. pr. £.....	<u>280</u>
Except errors and omissions the 14th June 1685	726 8

WM. FREEMAN.

[Page 7.]
1681.

Sr. William Stapleton Baronet Credr.

		£.	s.	d.
	Due to you on ballance of a former ac- compt in fo (4).....	3074		8
	for a bill drawn by Joseph Crisp on Nicho- las Crisp	100		
feb.	15. for the neat proceeds of 40 hhds. of suger by Cope	366	17	6
82. ap.	14. By Robert Helms for an under charge uppon a beaver hatt and band.....		12	6
	This accompt was sent Sr. Wm. Staple- ton the 14th of Aprill 1682.....	<u>3541</u>	10	8

Dicto Creditor.

Sep.	15. for so much charged to Coll. Abedn. Math- ews acct. pr. your order.....	409	10	6
	for ballance due to you on the Accompt above	<u>3191</u>	07	2
		<u>3600</u>	17	8

Sr. William Stapleton Dr.

Due to you on the ballance of the above
 accompt 2260 16 3²⁶

II. PATRICK TRANT'S ACCOUNT.

[Page 1.]
 1681.

Sir William Stapleton Dr.

		li.	s.	d.
January	21. Paid for Sr Robert Howards Certificatt about your pencion and arreares.....	00	03	4
	31. paid at Sr Robert Howards Office for a Copy of the Privy Seale for the paym't of your two Companys.....	00	10	
February	10. For entring your L're of Attorney to me in the Excheq'r.....	00	02	6
	Paid for a Warrant for the paym't of a yeares sallary for your self, and one yeares pay for the two Companys....	3	00	00
	For two Orders upon the said Warrant	01	05	00
	21. To the fees of 2778li. 10s. 8d. pd in the Excheq'r for the sold'rs money.....	29	17	00
	To the fees of 700. 00. re'd for y'r owne sallary	34	07	6

1682.

July	8. For another Warrant for the payment of a yeares sallary for your self, and a yeares pay for the two Companys....	03	00	00
	for two Orders upon the said Warrant	01	05	00
	10. To the fees in the Excheq'r of 700li. rec'd then for a yeares Entertainment for your self as Governor (vizt.)			
	Tellers Fee..... £ 21. 00. 00			
	Auditor Generalls 8. 17. 6			
	Pells 4. 10. 0			
	And for 2778li. 10s. 9d. rec'd for one yeares Entertainm't for the two Companys, vizt.	62	19	00
	Tellers fee and bill..... 17. 17. 6			
	Sr. Robert Howard..... 7. 01. 6			
	Pells 3. 12. 6			
	To 1s. per li. allowance for my owne paines and trouble in receiving and soliciting for the sould'rs money being 5557li. 1s. 6d. is.....	277	17	00
December	1. To 160 redd sarge coates lynd with blew sarge, one of w'ch being a pattern Coat cost 18s. 3d., and the rest 17s. each, w'ch 160 Coates were this day shipped			

²⁶ Page 8 is the back and is blank except for a few figures and the following endorsement in Sir William Stapleton's sprawling hand: "Account from mr. Freeman delivered to mr. Patrick Trant in June 1685."

for y'r use on the shipp <i>True Love</i> , Capt'n Helmes Comander.....	136 01 3
To 320 payre of Shooes sent to you by sd said Capt'n Helmes, at 18d. each payre comes to	40 00 00
To 320 shirts sent to you by ditto Helmes, at 1s. 9d. each is.....	28 00 00
	<u>£ 618 07 07</u>

[Page 2.]

Ditto Dr.

1682.

	li.	s.	d.
Brought over Dr.....	618	07	07
December 1. To 5 Baggs sent to you by Capt'n Helmes, containeing 4414½ peeces of Eight amounting to 1000li. ster., (vizt.)			
No $\frac{1}{2}$ containeing 1584½			
ps. 8t, wt. 1383 oz. 5d. at 5s. 3¼d. is.....	£ 367.	8.	4
No 3 containeing 830 ps. 8t, att 4s. 6d. pr peece is	186.	15	
No 4 containeing 1000 ps. 8t, at 4s. 6d. per peece is	225.	0.	0
No 5 containeing 1000 ps. 8t, at 4s. 5d. per peece is	220.	16.	0
To 320 payre of Greene Stockens sent to you by ditto Helmes at 18d. each payre comes to	24	00	00
To 160 black Hatts with white Hatt bands, and white edging at 3s. 6d. each, comes to	28	00	00
Paid for severall Casks to pack upp the sd Goods in.....	01	13	6
To Freight pd to Capt'n Helmes for sd Goods, (vizt.)			
for the Cases	3.	00.	00
for the peeces of Eight..	10.	00.	00
primage	1.	00	
To portrige, charges of shipping, Custome etc. about the sd Goods.....	04	14	2
To William Blathwayt Esqr. by y'r order 50 Guinys	54	03	4
1683. 7ber 22. To Mr. John Cavenagh by your Order	20	00	00
To 12 Guineys paid Capt Cressett to de- fray the change of following Billopps busnesse	12	18	00
28. To Fees pd at the Exchequer for 2313li. 19s. 9½d. recd for the sould'rs (vizt.)			

Tellers fee and bill.....	£ 15. 6. 6	}	24 11 6
Sr. Robert Howards office	6. 5		
Pells	3. 0. 0		
To Fees pd. for your owne Entertainement of 7ooli., (vizt.)			
To the Teller	£ 21. 00. 00	}	34 05
To Sr Robert Howard....	8. 15.		
To the Pells.....	4. 10		
For a Warrant for your owne and y ^r ould ^r s money			03 00 00
For 2 Orders upon sd. warrant.....			01 05
			<u>£ 1840 18 01</u>

Ditto Dr.

[Page 3.]

1682.

			li.	s.	d.
	Brought over Dr.....		1840	18	01
	To money paid for an Order of Councill for a Lycence for you to returne into England			2	12 6
	To money pd. the Secretary for the Kings Lycence for you.....			6	5
March	8. To 4 baggs containeing 801li. 17s., shippd on board the <i>Success</i> of Lymerick Thom- as Smith Master, and consignd to Richd Trant Esqr, and Mr Henry Whearely in Barbadoes for y'r use, (vizt.)				
	No 1, containeing 1000 plate peeces at 4s. 9d. pr peece is	£ 237. 10			
	No 2, containeing 782¼ ditto at 4s. 9d. per peece is	185. 15. 8			
	No 3, containeing 1693 plate 4 peeces of severall values	378. 11. 4			
	To 19s. 10d. p'd for Ex- change of 378li. 11s. 4d. in light money.....	£ 00. 19. 10			
	for 4 boxes, 4 baggs and portridge	00. 6. 11			
	Post of L'res from Dublin to Lymerick about sd money	00. 12			
	For Commiss'n for receiving and shipping sd money at Lym'ick at 11li. per cent.	8. 00. 9			
	To ½ per Cent Commiss'n to John Nagle for remitting the sd money from Dublin	4. 00. 4			
	To 12 Baggs containeing 1200li. ster. shippd on board the 3 <i>Brothers</i> of Cork Hugh Murphy Master, consign'd as above for y'r use (vizt.)				
				13	19 10
				801	17 00

No	1. cont. 421 plate peeces			
	at 4s. 9d. per peece is	£99. 19. 09		
	2. cont. 421 plate ditto			
	at 4s. 9d. per peece is	99. 19. 09		
	3. cont. 421 plate peeces			
	at 4.9	99. 19. 09		
	4. cont. 421 plate peeces			
	at 4.9	99. 19. 9		
	5. cont. 421 plate peeces			
	at 4.9	99. 19. 9		
	6. cont. 433 plate peeces			
	at 4. 7½	100. 2. 7½	1200 00 00¾	
	7. cont. 464¾ peeces at			
	severall vallues	100. 8. 2¼		
	8. cont. 421 peeces at 4s.			
	9d.	99. 19. 9		
	9. cont. 421 peeces at 4.9	99. 19. 9		
	10. cont. 439½ peeces at			
	severall vallues	100. 3. 7½		
	11. cont. 423½ peeces at			
	severall vallues	99. 19. 4½		
	12. cont. 435 peeces at			
	severall vallues	99. 8		
	To exchange of Light money			
	paid	2. 00. 00		
	for a doz'n baggs, 2 boxes,			
	two Casks, charges of			
	shipping	0. 15. 8		
	for freight p'd in Cork...	12. 00. 00		
	for expresse and post of L'rs	10	33 12 00	
	Comiss'n for receiveing ditto			
	money at 1 pr C	12. 3		
	John Nagles Comiss'n for			
	receiveing and remitting			
	do. from Dublin.....	6. 3. 4		
			3899 4 5¾	

[Page 4.]
1684.

Ditto Dr.

			li.	s.	d.
		Brought over Dr.....	3899	04	5¾
June	28.	To Capt'n Cressett towards the Charges of yours and Capt'n Bramlys business with Capt'n Freeman		40	00
August	9th.	For y'r Childrens quartridge due at Middsomer last....	10li.	00s.	d.
		To Mrs. Walker for sever- all necessarys for the Children	4.	2.	8
		For a Certificatt about your Arreares from the Excheqr.....		00	5

October	18.	To 50li. p'd Mr. Mathews in parte of a bill of Exc'e for 500li. you drew on me in his favor	50 00 00
		Paid for two suites of Cloaths, Hatts, Linen and other necessarys for your two sonns	16 6 [5¼]
	23.	For y'r Childrens quartridge due at Mich'mas last	10 00 00
		for necessarys bought by Mrs. Walker for that time....	2 14 10
gber	12.	To more p'd Mr. Will'm Mathews 59li. 8s. 11d. being the remaining part of the s'd bill of Exc'e (Capt. Freeman haveing paid 407li. in part thereof).....	59 08 11
Jan'ry	13.	To Mr. Tayler for two suites of Cloathes for y'r sons	5 [8 0]
	24.	For y'r sons quartridge due at Christmas	£ 10 00 00
		To Mrs. Walker for necessarys bought for 'em	2 8 6
1685.			
May	5.	To Mrs. Walker for quartridge due at Lady day..	10.
		for severall disbursments made by her.....	3 7 4
	14.	To the Tayler for suites of Cloaths for y'r sons.....	15
		For 2 hatts for 'em, and other disbursmts	2 2 0
		For a yeares Schooleing, danceing, writing etc. for the s'd Children due at Lady day last	14 14 6
		For sollicitting and receiveing of one yeares pay for the sould'rs.....	138 18 6
		For a refference upon your Pet'cion about the Negroes	2 3.
June	25.	for Sr Robt. Howards Certificate about the arreares	5.
		For the Insurance of 2000li. money sent you in specie by me out of Ireland at 3li. per cc., pd by Mr. Comyn	60
			£ 4356 4 2

[Page 5.]

Ditto Dr.

1685.

	li.	s.	d.
Brought over Dr.....	4356	4	2
To 4105li. for w'ch I tooke Sr John James, Major Huntington, and Mr Dawsonns bond the 24th June 83, pay'ble to you the 25th Xber following with Intrest.....	4105		

June 1st. To 2000li. paid Capt'n Hynd uppon Ground
rents conveyed to Col. Cotter in trust
for you, the security for w'ch, together
with Sr John James's bond above men-
con'd I deliverd to you as pr y'r rec't 2000
10461 4 2

[Page 6.] Ditto Dr.

1685.

Brought over Dr. £ 10461. 04. 2

Memorandum that 2000li. hath been rec'd by me of Capt'n William Freeman for w'ch I gave Mr Baxter my bond, and a Mortgage to Capt'n Freeman for an additionall security, but it was intended both by Mr Freeman and me that it should be applied to Sr. Wm. Stapletons acco't, and [so it] shall be by me when my bond and mortgage is deliverd upp, [and uppon] Sr. Wm. Stapletons giving me a Note to save me harmless.

[Page 7.] Per Contra Cr.

li. s. d.

1681.

Febr 21st. By 3478li. 10s. 8d. recd at the Excheq'r
(vizt.) 700li. for a yeares sallary for your
self ending 24th June (79) and 2778li.
10s. 8d. for a yeares Entertainm't for
the two Companys of foot sould'rs in
St. Christophers ending 7th July 79.... £ 3478. 10. 8

1682.

July 10th. By the like summe recd at the Excheq'r this
day being a yeares Entertainm't for y'r
self and two Companys to the 7th July
1680 £ 3478. 10. 8

1683.

7ber 28th. By money recd for you at the rec't of the
Excheq'r £3013. 19. 9½ (vizt.) for the
Sould'rs 2313li. 19s. 9½d. and for your
owne sallary for one yeare 700li. £ 3013. 19. 9½
By 14li. 14s. 6d. chargd in the foregoing
folio as pd for your childrens schooleing,
w'ch not being paid at the closeing of
this acco't I am to give you credit for 14. 14. 6

£ 9985. 15. 7

Due from Sr. Wm. Stapleton to ball'ce this
acco't

475. 8. 7

£ 10461. 4. 2

[Foot-note in Patrick Trant's handwriting.]

30li. 7. 6d. charg'd for Comiss'n by Jno. Nagle to have been pd to
himself and others for the money in Ireland is excepted to by Sr W.
Stapleton and I doe consent to be charg'd with it therefore, viz. £30. 7. 6d.

Errors excepted the 1st day of 7ber 1685.

P. TRANT.

[Page 8 is blank.]

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

An Introduction to the History of History. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1922. Pp. xii, 339. \$4.00.)

THIS book "has grown out of an introduction to a proposed collection of texts from mediaeval and modern historians". Owing to the war and the war work of the editor the project of making such a collection was abandoned in conformity with a revision of the plan for the *Records of Civilization* according to which "studies" are henceforth to get right of way in this series over "sources". The Introduction takes the form of a history of antique historiography. Professor Shotwell holds that history has had to await these latest times to achieve fullness of stature: without the methods, apparatus, and collections of modern science and the assistance of archaeology and anthropology she could but grope in the dark of each past, near no less than remote; and without the sense so lately learned that, not politics and wars, but civilization in general is her real theme, she has omitted in ancient times when dealing with contemporary events most of the things that we should like to know. If only Thucydides with his almost ideal historical endowment had seen that "the greatest theme in history lay right before his eyes, but it was not war: it was the Athens of Pericles and his own time"! From this point of view, however, history's history has just begun, and the work of practically all past historians, and not of those of antiquity alone, should be relegated to an Introduction.

There is another point of view which has also to be taken, that history is an art as well as a science; and still a third, that history is the organization of a state of mind—one that takes nothing on faith and is preternaturally aware of the human instinct of credulity. And these are points of view which Professor Shotwell never fails to take when the occasion demands it. He is too good a craftsman and too poor a partizan to contend that because Mr. Hutton Webster, for example, gives a description of the Parthenon and the palace of Minos in his school text, whereas Thucydides did not do the one and could not do the other and had a blind spot for the activities of the grain-dealers in the Piraeus, Mr. Webster is a greater historian than Thucydides. None the less it is the constant testing of ancient historians by the scientific standards of the "New History" that gives character to Professor Shotwell's book.

I suppose it *does* detract from the abiding worth of the Parthenon that it could not meet the needs of a modern congregation; and it *does*, I suppose, make Thucydides less valuable that what he "handed down as part of 'an everlasting possession' to future ages" is "instructions for our Von Moltkes, Kuropatkins, Joffres, or Ludendorffs in the handling of spearmen on foraging campaigns". But supposing the Parthenon had been designed as a place of worship and not as a residence for a goddess; or supposing the History of Thucydides had contained lengthy descriptions of what all Athenians knew from autopsy, what would contemporaries have done with them? There is something essentially wrong and unhistorical in demanding that historians of the past should minister to our needs and interests. Where Professor Shotwell's book is most novel it is therefore in our judgment least satisfactory.

And yet we are very glad to have it. It is the work of a scholar who has more understanding of and familiarity with the ancient historians than with the subjects of which they treat; but slips thence arising and an occasional strangeness of idiom, and an inadequate realization of the rôle played by works which (oftentimes because of their monographic or scientific character) have failed to reach us, do not lessen our gratitude for the fresh and intelligent comment on the whole panorama of ancient historiography. To the student of Greece and Rome not the least valuable part of the book is that dealing with Jewish and Christian records and historians. Professor Shotwell has done rare and tardy justice at once to the influence of Christian theology on classical history writing and to the spirit with which Christian historians adjusted pagan reports to their own Hebrew legacy and focused world history on the development of their own church.

We have space, perhaps, for one or two regrets and a word of final characterization. The Byzantine distinction between chronicles and histories is the continuance of ancient tradition, and Wilamowitz (*Apollon and History*) has made it the basis of an appreciation of the strength and weakness of the Greeks and Romans in this field which Professor Shotwell might well have considered. He attaches too little significance to the use made by the ancients of archival materials and too much to the extent to which we moderns have remedied their sins of omission and commission in dealing with their origins. Professor Shotwell approaches the history of history with a contagious sense for the philosophic implications and the wide human interest of his theme. His book abounds in striking thoughts strikingly expressed. Without neglecting the needful bibliographical details he has thrown open to all who can read a serious book a subject ordinarily reserved as part of the strict discipline of a profession.

W. S. FERGUSON.

History: its Theory and Practice. By BENEDETTO CROCE. Author-ized translation by Douglas Ainslie. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1921. Pp. 317. \$3.75.)

THE historical scholar is interested in documents, men in general are interested in history as set forth in writing. There is a marked difference between the activity of the scholar in presence of "sources", and that of the historian in constructing a narrative of events. This difference has been minimized by academic historians who focus their attention upon documentary investigation, and neglect the critical examination of the presuppositions and implications of historiography. What the teacher of history has accepted without analysis from his non-academic predecessors, the philosopher has found to be of crucial importance. To the latter, the word "history" does not mean an academic study, does not mean research; it means the form in which historical narrative is presented, it means historiography.

The importance of historiography for philosophy has been revealed in the discussions which have marked the ultra-modern "idealistic reaction against science". Historiography has been discovered to be in the sharpest possible contrast to "science"; and because of this contrast it has been grasped at by idealists as offering a substitute for science. Science, Croce says, is useless for true knowledge (p. 311); whereas history represents ultimate reality, as being actual concrete fact. The value of this (most imperfect) translation of Croce's book for the historical scholar seems to me to lie in the demand it makes upon him to lay aside his attitude of indifference toward the fundamental methodological problems of his subject, and to ask himself what there is about this work that leads to its identification with the work of philosophy.

In the first place, Croce's discussion will appear enigmatical unless we realize that, for him, the true point of departure in historical study is not the document from which historical knowledge is derived, but the *mind* that thinks and constructs the historical fact (p. 75). What we are given, in the first instance, is the historian occupied in rethinking the past from the standpoint of the present (p. 277). The interest of the historian is a present interest; the importance of the facts of the past is relative to the present situation in which he finds himself. The past fact does not answer to a past, and hence a dead, interest, but to a present interest, unified with an interest of the present life (p. 12). This point of view, as we are all aware, is not original with Croce, but from it he proceeds to argue that all history is, of necessity, "contemporary" history. The past does not live otherwise than in the present (p. 91). Past facts become history only in the minds of those who think them (p. 13). True history is a present activity, and is a spiritual act (p. 20). History, then, is identical with thought about history; and Croce's conception identifies history with the act of thought itself (p. 117).

Facts which are not of interest for some mind, and which are not thought, he holds, do not really exist (p. 73). A fact is historical only in so far as it is thought (p. 108). History is thought (p. 276). Nothing exists outside thought, and beyond thought there is nothing (p. 133).

Returning to a lower level, it is recognized by everyone that historiography is impossible without ideas; chronicles are not history, simply because they are statements of fact without ideological connection. The essence of historiography lies, therefore, in this thought about history. For Croce, what is of primary importance in a history as written is not the materials out of which it has been constructed, but the way in which it has been conceived, the mental form in which it has been envisaged (p. 176). Now, it is apparent that all the general ideas, such as "progress", which the historian employs are philosophical ideas, and represent problems of which philosophy treats. In Croce's thought it follows that, as history and philosophy deal with the same problems, they are themselves the same. More specifically, philosophy is the methodological aspect of historiography (p. 151), and as such is concerned with the criticism of the categories of historical interpretation. The necessity therefore arises that all students of historical matters should become conscious and disciplined philosophers (p. 161).

History is thought; but this thought undergoes development in the course of time. It is not a little curious to observe that one who asserts, with emphasis, that the philosophy of history is dead (p. 81), should take pride in having improved upon Hegel (p. 102). Whereas the latter held that Providence or reason makes use of the particular ends and passions of men, in order to conduct them unconsciously to more lofty spiritual conditions, Croce believes that, in history, there is only the spirit in its development. History is the eternal spirit individualizing itself (p. 100). The spirit itself is history, maker of history at every moment of its existence, and also the result of all anterior history (p. 25). If we ask how this "spirit" is to be discovered, the answer is that the spirit becomes transparent to itself as thought in the consciousness of the historian (p. 36). The act of thought is the consciousness of the spirit that is consciousness (p. 118). The self-consciousness of spirit "is philosophy, which is its history, or history, which is its philosophy, each substantially identical with the other" (p. 312).

The historian, secure in his academic activities, may well feel disposed to smile at ideas which, seemingly, are so far removed from his own sphere of thought. Croce's treatment of history is not, however, to be dismissed in any cavalier fashion. His work is a well-informed and understanding examination of the implications of historiography. Historiography implies some system of philosophy; Croce has based his philosophy upon historiography. Historiography is a product of thought; Croce has identified history with thought. What concerns the historical scholar most directly in this whole matter of the identification of history

with idealistic philosophy is that, in systems such as that of Croce, the historical investigator becomes an object of contempt. Croce bears hard upon "the poor learned ones", "harmless little souls" (p. 32), "a most innocent group", infected with a "haughty pedantry" (p. 293), who repose their faith in a narrative of which every word can be supported by a text (p. 294). In the work of the erudite, he says scornfully, there is nothing but what is in the documents (*ibid.*); in it the documents persist in their crude and undigested state (p. 37). The activity of these men consists merely in pouring out one or more books into a new one (p. 27). "The learned are just the learned"; history is not to be written by such as these, but by men of the world (p. 188), who take an active part in the struggles of their time.

The philosophy of Croce is the end to which we are logically and inevitably led by the blind acceptance of historiography as the aim of historical work. Is it not time that historical scholars should recognize the fact that their proper affiliations are with workers in science, and not with the exponents of mystical idealism?

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading, and Research: the Actual Words of the World's Best Historians, Biographers, and Specialists. . . . The Work of J. N. LARNED, completely revised, enlarged, and brought up to date under the supervision of the publishers by DONALD E. SMITH, Ph.D., Editor-in-Chief, CHARLES SEYMOUR, M.A., Ph.D., Litt.D., AUGUSTUS H. SHEARER, M.A., Ph.D., DANIEL C. KNOWLTON, Ph.D., Associate Editors. . . . In 12 volumes. Vol. I.: A to Balk. (Springfield, Mass.: C. A. Nichols Publishing Company. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 838. \$96 for set.)

THE first edition of this well-known work was published in 1893 in five volumes. In 1901, and in 1910, were added a sixth and then a seventh volume in order to cover the intervening events. Now, the first complete revision retains about seventy per cent. of the old material but enough more is added to make the new about three-fifths of the whole as it stands to-day. The new volumes differ in size and number from the old, the present format being much more handy for reading though the print is a shade finer than some people would like. The combination of alphabetical, topical, and chronological arrangement, with frequent cross-references, is explained in the beginning of this first volume. The colored maps are excellent and intelligible; those in black and white somewhat crude and less clear or accurate. Of the illustrations, much the same might be said.

The purpose of the author, as stated in the preface, is to write "a history of the world . . . at once fully satisfactory to scholars and to

the general reader . . . to present a coherent narrative which would be not merely authentic, instructive, and interesting but would also permit the reader to have actually before him the words of the great masters of historical writing". Almost any reviewer finds himself in difficulties when trying to criticize equitably such a comprehensive work accomplishing so much of what it set out to do.

Much that is favorable might be said in regard to the choice of authors from whom the extracts are taken. Constantly familiar and respected names appear. To speak of fields with which the reviewer may claim to be somewhat acquainted: as regards the Balkans, might not some of the space given to Fullerton, Schapiro, and Turner have been used to advantage by Eliot, Driault, Miller, and Gueshoff, who seem a little closer to the subject? There are other authors who have written concerning northern Africa (Algeria) beside Gibbons, some who know it more accurately than he; his best work relates to other continents. The choice for Austria-Hungary was well-advised in many cases (Leger, for example), but Mark Twain was hardly worth quoting (pp. 707-709) quite so much *in extenso* nor need so much space be given to T. L. Stoddard's views on the subject of nationalities in 1914, views that are not acceptable to all. The paragraph concerning the "Independence of Czecho-Slovakia" (p. 732) is quite inaccurate, as is also the legend on the map. The spelling also needs revision (*e.g.*, Kramarcz).

Considerations of space available and authors accessible must have influenced choice in many cases. Many anonymous magazine articles are used, while extracts from the *Cambridge Modern History* are not marked with the writers' names.

The addition of matter extraneous to the historical in the narrower sense gives a flavor like that of a cyclopaedia of government and politics.

All in all one feels that the solid has been somewhat sacrificed to the interesting; the popular been put before the scholarly on various occasions.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

La Terre et l'Évolution Humaine: Introduction Géographique à l'Histoire. Par LUCIEN FEBVRE, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. [*L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, dirigée par Henri Berr, IV.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1922. Pp. xxvi, 472. 15 fr.)

FEBVRE would have us consider *relations* between the earth and societies of men, not the Influence of the Earth on Man. He objects strenuously to Influences and to capitalized Earth or Man. I find his book interesting, but diffuse and sometimes incoherent.

Ratzel, naturalist and traveller (no dates), built up in Germany on the sound basis of Humboldt and Ritter's physical geography a new geography, which he called Anthropogeography. We find his key-note quoted

on page 22 and again on page 436—the earth “serves as a rigid support to the humors and changing aspirations of men and governs their destinies with blind brutality”. A school of neo-Ratzelians arose, from whom Febvre selects Miss Sample (*Influences of Geographic Environment*) as a scapegoat. He calls her work learned and interesting, but judges her a blind believer whom nothing can convince. Her fault is lack of sound knowledge, and broad generalization on trifling foundations. Her work is tried under no less than nineteen separate charges.

But independently of Ratzel there appeared in France the historian Paul Vidal de la Blache (born 1845, died 1918), who turned his attention to human geography about 1872. He is the master who is revered almost to the point of worship by Febvre. His doctrines are the true human geography. Under his influence a handful of his disciples have written long monographs on the regions of France. I think geographers generally account them excellent works. It is the thesis of Febvre's book that these are the model on which the whole world should be studied and described before attempts are made at further generalizations, for which as yet we lack sufficient knowledge. So he devotes most of his book to criticism of “a vicious and puerile conception of the rôle and proper methods” of human geography. The objectionable conception is that any natural environment compels men to any particular occupation or character. The Vidalian conception appears to be rather that the environment offers various possibilities to man from which men select according to their habits and ideas. Not the seas about Britain made the British navy. Britons did. The Briton has long been at school in that sea, of course. The importance of ideas is illustrated by saying, England is not an island merely because it has sea around it. Long-range guns, airplanes, and presently tunnels may enormously weaken its physical insularity. The big thing involved is the Englishman's conception of England as an island!

Nomadism is not a result of the desert and its scanty herbage. In no historic time have nomads been self-supporting [?] (p. 343). Bedouins, Mongols, Kirghiz now and formerly the Turks lived mainly on grain [?] which they obtained from sedentary peoples. The nomad is not a nomad by choice, but other men have taken the better watered land away from him. The desert does not compel him to wander from water to water, but—if I make out Febvre rightly (p. 342)—the men who drive him or keep him away from the better lands compel him to wander.

All serious geographers will agree that there is too much hasty generalizing in geography, that there is need of an immense amount of thorough study of detail in all countries, of much writing of well-founded regional monographs, but Febvre's presentation of the fact is too French and too provincial. Scores, perhaps hundreds of such monographs have been written by Germans to one by the French, and these not merely for regions of Germany but for distant parts of the world. We go to

Partsch to learn of Greece no less than of Silesia. For Chile we must needs consult Carl Martin. It is as childish to have but 49 German titles in the list of 237 references in this book—and most of the 49 barely mentioned—as to quote Dr. Cook on the influence of polar night without citing Stefánsson on the other side. The French university system is one and its authorities may be gratified by this exaltation of Vidal de la Blache, but French science and French historians would have been better served by a fuller and clearer account of Vidal de la Blache's views on the earth and the evolution of man with a fair mention of work honestly and worthily executed beyond the boundaries of France.

MARK JEFFERSON.

Early Civilization: an Introduction to Anthropology. By ALEXANDER A. GOLDENWEISER, Lecturer on Anthropology and Sociology at the New School for Social Research, New York; sometime Lecturer on Anthropology in Columbia University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1922. Pp. xiv, 428. \$5.00.)

THE significance of anthropology for the historian has only recently been extensively recognized. Professor Robinson quotes Salomon Reinach as the authority for the statement that Mommsen had never heard of the ice age until shortly before his death. At the present time the situation has been greatly altered. Eduard Meyer introduces his latest edition of the *Geschichte des Altertums* by a whole volume on anthropology, and Professor Breasted's recent works give evidence of a thorough mastery of the so-called "prehistoric" period. Further, historians who have concerned themselves with the history of civilization have derived much aid from anthropology in the matter of the laws and processes of cultural development. Illustrations of this influence are to be found in such works as those by Lamprecht and Breysig, and the theoretical bearings of the problem have been admirably discussed by Professor Teggart in his two interesting volumes, *Prolegomena to History*, and *The Processes of History*. Finally, it was, perhaps, the chief contribution of Mr. Wells to bring to the general public a conception of the importance of anthropology as the background for history.

Until the publication of Dr. Goldenweiser's work historians have been at somewhat of a disadvantage in the attempt to utilize the results of anthropological research. With the exception of the charming little volume by Professor Marett, the only available synthesis of anthropology was the remarkable manual of Sir E. B. Tylor, first published in 1881 and never seriously revised. Since that time, owing chiefly to the work of Professor Boas and his students, the methods and results of anthropology have been revolutionized, and the limitations and errors of the older type of work by Avebury, Frazer, Morgan, and Letourneau fully revealed. The results of certain aspects of this newer variety of anthropological investigation have been set forth in works by Boas, Lowie, Wissler, and

others, but the volume by Dr. Goldenweiser is the first important effort to synthesize the assured achievements of the research of the present generation of critical anthropologists.

The work opens with a consideration of certain basic methodological premises and concepts of theoretical anthropology. Then come several interesting chapters giving a concrete description of a number of typical primitive communities widely distributed in location. In part II. the industrial life, art, religion, and social organization of primitive men are admirably described and critically analyzed. This is unquestionably the most valuable and significant portion of the book. In the concluding chapters the author contrasts the earlier views of the mental traits of primitive men held by Spencer, Frazer, and Wundt with certain newer interpretations by Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, and Freud. It is, perhaps, regrettable that, as the expositor of the psycho-analytic point of view, W. H. R. Rivers was not chosen in the place of Freud.

Throughout the work the basic assumption is that cultural phenomena are the raw material of anthropological and historical study. Racialists following Gobineau and biological extremists, geographical determinists of the Ratzel school, and adherents to the psychological interpretation of history, such as the followers of Wundt and Lamprecht, will derive scant comfort from these pages. Yet Dr. Goldenweiser utilizes this "culture-concept" of the Boas school with moderation. Likewise, in considering the various theories of cultural development, he gives proper weight to all of the leading hypotheses. In every phase of analysis most of the significant recent interpretations are fairly but critically presented, and the work is thoroughly up to date in every respect. While by no means as brilliantly written as the previous works of Tylor and Marett, the book is well arranged and the diction clear. To those historians who are interested in the development of civilization or in the laws and processes of cultural and social evolution Dr. Goldenweiser's work will prove a timely and indispensable aid.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

The Question of Aborigines in the Law and Practice of Nations, including a Collection of Authorities and Documents. By ALPHEUS HENRY SNOW. Written at the request of the Department of State. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1921. Pp. v, 376. \$3.00.)

THE late Mr. Snow was long interested in the treatment of aboriginal and subject peoples, as evidenced by his *Administration of Dependencies*, inspired by the acquisition of the Philippines by the United States. The present work was written in 1918 at the request of the Department of State and is, in effect, a memoir primarily for official guidance and now published.

The title shows the twofold aim of the author: first, to investigate the treatment of aborigines by states from the point of view of practice, and, secondly, to find what if any international legal limitations upon the activities of states there may be, regarded as so many legal duties in favor of aborigines. It is the second more than the first which challenges his attention, and he is primarily concerned in setting forth a scheme of legal duties of civilized states toward uncivilized tribes. In strict theory one might quarrel with his major premise. That a purely legal relationship can exist between entities, one of which is a functioning international person and the other a savage or barbarous tribe, is denied by the preponderance of text-writers. A savage tribe is not by the strict theory of international law a subject of international legal duties, and what duties a state owes it are moral duties only, because legal rights exist only within international society. As Westlake remarked (*Collected Papers of John Westlake on Public International Law*, p. 142): "The moral rights of all outside the international society against the several members of that society remain intact, though they have not and scarcely could have been converted into legal rights." These moral duties have been recognized by states and the extent of that recognition is to be measured, first, by domestic policy evidenced generally by legislation, and, secondly, by international conventions, such as the Berlin Act of 1885. But in the latter the conventional duty of a state is directly toward its co-signatories. The history of the Congo State from beginning to end is an exposition of this principle. The conception of mandates under the League of Nations is similar. Mr. Snow, however, from his survey of international practice finds that there has been established "as a fundamental principle of the law of nations that aboriginal tribes are the wards of civilized states" (p. 191). With this conclusion dissent must be voiced. It would seem that such a fundamental principle must rest upon the "law of nature"—which has ever been an attempt to clothe moral duties with legal effects. Disagreement with the major premise of the work does not imply a failure to recognize its merits. International law, viewed as the body of rules which ought to govern states in their mutual dealings, sets forth the ideal and points the way. Mr. Snow never loses sight of an ideal, that of guardianship in the interests of justice and humanity. He is more interested in the record of effort made by civilized states to protect and raise up aboriginal peoples than in those which tell of dispossession, exploitation, and cruelty.

One may, therefore, whatever his theoretical prepossessions are, consult the work with profit if in search of information upon the attitude taken by civilized states toward less cultured peoples: that of the United States toward the Indians, of Great Britain toward the natives of Australia, of the powers generally toward the African tribes before and after 1885. Written before the advent of the mandate idea in the League Covenant, it foreshadows such a principle. In this respect Mr. Snow

played the rôle of a prophet. He had an ideal of international legal duty. It has in part been realized in Article XXII. of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

J. S. REEVES.

Manual of Collections of Treaties and of Collections relating to Treaties. By DENYS PETER MYERS, A.B. [Harvard Bibliographies, Library Series, vol. II.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. xlvii, 685. \$7.50.)

THIS volume, compiled by the corresponding secretary and librarian of the World Peace Foundation, will be of considerable use to those interested in the various forms of international contractual and conventional relationship, from early times to the outbreak of the World War.

Besides a bibliography of "Collections of Treaties", which is excellent, the plan of the *Manual* embraces recent developments in the field of international organization; for in addition to the sections dealing with Bibliographies, General Collections, Collections by States, and Collections by Subject Matter, there is one of 150 pages relating to International Administration. Here are listed publications bearing on or emanating from a large number of international bureaus, unions, commissions, etc., created by treaties or other kinds of international agreement. References are given to the pages of works in which the treaties constituting these organs may be found, and to their proceedings and reports, and related acts and documents. Many of the items in this section are government documents, peculiarly difficult to find without a guide.

The title-page, preface, and table of contents (but not the index, as is stated in the preface), are given in French as well as in English. The two versions are printed on opposite pages. This duplication of matter seems superfluous to the reviewer, and the arrangement certainly makes the long and detailed table of contents (pp. xiv-xlvii) very awkward to use. An appendix contains an interesting historical sketch of "The Publication of Treaties" (pp. 579-604), by the compiler.

The compiler's annotations to some of the thousands of titles listed are one of the most valuable features of the work. For the librarian as well as for the student, it will be very convenient to have these indications of the contents of each volume of some of the big collections of treaties. The notes regarding dates of various editions, and the exact references to the location of indexes in the long series, are also useful.

While the utility of the *Manual* and the great amount of work involved in its compilation are apparent, yet the book is open to criticism. The compiler has viewed his subject so broadly, or, it may be, so vaguely, as to attempt a bibliographical task that carried out to its logical completeness must have filled several volumes of the size of this. The compiler states in his preface that "The scope of the book is defined by the

title". Now, the second part of the title, "Collections relating to Treaties", covers a vast number of historical works. A considerable number of these are mentioned, yet only a small proportion of the whole, and the selection seems quite indefensible. Moreover, many works which do not appear to be "Collections" are included. In illustration of this general defect, the subsection "Historical", in the section devoted to "Collections by States—Great Britain and Ireland", may be cited (pp. 194, 195). Only five titles are listed here, among them, *Calendar of State Papers, Spain*, and *Calendar of State Papers, Venice*. But why mention these and not *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series*, and *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, and *Calendar of State Papers, Milan*? Why include Arlington's *Letters* to Sir William Temple, and not Temple's *Works* containing his letters, so important for an understanding of the Triple Alliance? Why select for inclusion *A Brief History of the War and Treaties in which England has been engaged from the Restoration of King Charles II. to the present Time* (1796, 62 pp.), and omit Thurloe's *State Papers*, for example?

The amount of space given to "International Administration", as well as the considerations referred to in the preceding paragraph, suggest that the compiler has more at heart the interests of the publicist than those of the historian. In any event, serviceable as the book will be, a clearer delimitation of its scope, and a stricter adherence to these limits, would have improved it.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Al-Hallaj, Martyr Mystique de l'Islam, exécuté à Bagdad le 26 Mars 922: Étude d'Histoire Religieuse. Par LOUIS MASSIGNON. In two volumes. (Paris: Geuthner. 1922. Pp. xxxii, 460; xii, 461-942, 106, 28 plates.)

Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane. Par LOUIS MASSIGNON. (Paris: Geuthner. 1922. Pp. 304, 104, autographed texts illustrative of the lexicography.)

THIS is easily the most considerable addition to our knowledge of the theological and religious life of Islam that has appeared in the last thirty years, since Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*. It is the biography of a single thaumaturgic, ecstatic mystic, a puzzle to his contemporaries, to all the succeeding generations of Muslim theologians, canonists, and mystics and to all Western students of Islam; but M. Massignon has so dealt with it as to make it an elaborate study of the whole course of the religious history of Islam in the first centuries and of the fundamental ideas of the mystical schools down to the present day. That is, it is really a study of essential Islam as we know it now and, for those who

understand and can see below the surface, there are actions and reactions from this far-off tragedy still working in the governing ideas of the army of Kemal Pasha in present-day Anatolia. For in Islam, it is always to be remembered, no division can be made between church and state, the secular and the sacred.

In the *Essai*, after eighty-three pages of technical lexicography, come over two hundred, tracing, in detail not hitherto attempted, the sources and the different personalities and schools of Muslim mysticism down to the time of al-Hallaj in the third century of the Hijra. The biography itself contains the following chapters: I., translation of a "life" by his son and a chronological table to it; II., his years as a Sūfī disciple and his masters; III., his journeyings as a religious teacher of the masses; IV., his preaching at Bagdad and the charges of heresy and sedition against him; V., the accusation, the court of trial, and the individuals in the case; VI., the first and second legal processes and the final condemnation; VII., narratives and legends as to his execution; VIII., his status, since his death, in Islam with Sunnites and Shi'ites, canonists and theologians; opinions on his canonization; IX., his status with Sūfīs and in the different dervish fraternities; X., his legend with the learned and the masses; XI., sources and psychology of his mystical system; XII., his dogmatic theology; XIII., its legal consequences and the objections to it; XIV., his works; XV., bibliography—932 works by 636 authors. Of these chapters XII. and XIV. are, as is natural, by far the longest; chapter XII. especially is such a comparative and historical treatise on the systematic theology of Islam as we have hitherto lacked.

It will, of course, be evident that such a book as this is not for beginners in Islam. Some broad grasp of the nature and historical development of that attitude toward life is essential as a clue through the mass of details here accumulated. But the general student of Islam, whether interested in al-Hallaj or not, will find a large number of points in his subject here treated in detail for the first time. The tables of contents and the index of technical terms will be clues to these. Further, M. Massignon's treatment, both of al-Hallaj and of the broad history of Islam, shows three important characteristics which are of the essence of his book. One is the width of documentation which lies behind it. Since 1907 he has been occupied in gathering from manuscripts and from printed books, in the libraries of the West and of the East, the immense apparatus of his bibliography. This has enabled him to reconstruct schools of thought and to trace relationships which had almost vanished, and for al-Hallaj and his works to reach an accuracy of knowledge which no one had thought possible. Again, he has illumined and humanized the whole subject with philosophical and theological parallels. The development of theology in Islam has indeed run a course of the most startling similarity to that of Christendom, and the pragmatism of our own day appeared there in the eleventh century. Especially the mystical interpre-

tation of Christianity has been used to make intelligible the position of al-Hallaj. And, thirdly, M. Massignon, a devout Christian mystic of the Roman obedience, shows a deep sympathy with and understanding of the workings and instinctive attitudes and reactions of the devout Muslim mind. This is a somewhat rare quality, in which even Goldziher was lacking, and it has enabled him to feel and state phenomena of the religious consciousness and to give them their due value. In this he has been aided by close friendship with Muslim scholars—theologians and canonists—and it is significant that his book is dedicated to the memory of Huysmans, to three Muslim friends, and to Charles Foucauld, a Christian hermit in the Sahara who was killed there in his hermitage (in the course of the war).

For any criticism of details, which would, of necessity, be highly technical, this is hardly the place.

D. B. MACDONALD.

A Short History of the British Commonwealth. In two volumes. By RAMSAY MUIR, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. Volume I. *The Islands and the First Empire, to 1763.* (London: George Philip and Son. 1920; Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 824. 17 s. 6 d.; \$8.00.)

THE story of the development of Great Britain and the British Empire has found another chronicler in the person of Professor Muir. Whether we regard what promises to be a work of sixteen hundred pages as a "short" history, or not, this volume evidences what has long been apparent to readers and users of text-books on English history—that it seems difficult, if not impossible, for the authors of such books to compress their material into a relatively limited space. This may be a measure of the subject, rather than of the authors; for the extraordinary spread of the inhabitants of the British Isles over the face of the earth, and the no less extraordinary spread of British institutions throughout lands of non-British nationality, have given an importance to the development of that people and those institutions far beyond their local significance, and correspondingly led to their more minute treatment, so that mere space seems to have become a secondary consideration with British historians.

There are three tests which may be applied to such a work as this, obviously intended as a text-book. The first is proportion; the second is style; the third is the matter. As to the first, the question of proportion is not without significance. This volume covers the period between the time when the British Isles were still connected with the mainland of Europe and the year 1763. The events from the geologic beginnings to the Norman Conquest fill some forty pages, which indicates, among

other things, that Professor Muir is either not greatly interested in the Anglo-Saxons, or that he considers their contribution of no very great importance, or both. The period from the Norman Conquest to 1485 is treated in about 160 pages; that from 1485 to 1603 in 126; that from 1603 to 1688 in about 200; and that from 1688 to 1763 in some 300. It is thus apparent that the bulk of the volume is primarily concerned with what we call "modern" history, increasing in steady ratio with the centuries. This is a natural tendency of the times, though it may well be that it will change in another generation, as it has changed in the last.

As to the second qualification of this volume, the style, it may be said, once and for all, that it is a model of what such presentation should be for such a purpose. It is clear, direct, simple, explanatory. It leaves little to the chance of being misunderstood, or to the hope that the reader or student may possibly know more than we are tolerably certain from experience that he does know. There is none of the allusive quality which gives charm—and complexity—to Green; there is, on the other hand, little of the platitudinous, didactic quality which gives pain to the readers of some other manuals, and no vast array of names of minor politicians which both perplex and pain.

As to the matter, it is obviously quite impossible within the limits of a book-review to consider all the mooted questions which such a comprehensive survey raises. And it is equally difficult—as it is unfair—to select a particular period and deduce the general shortcomings of the whole volume, if such there be, from minute criticism of a cross-section which may not be a fair representative of the work as a whole. In general, it may be said, the statements of the author seem not only true, but judicious. While it is impossible that there should not be opportunity for specialists in particular fields to object to specific statements or judgments, the work represents the results of British scholarship with much accuracy. That very statement, indeed, involves certain limitations. Professor Muir seems not to have consulted—perhaps it would have been impossible—many of the numerous monographs on particular periods and events and movements and institutions whose history he relates; their inclusion would have given at least more minute accuracy, and perhaps more verisimilitude, to his narrative. This is notable, in the present reviewer's opinion, in the matter of the rise of parties and the evolution of the cabinet system.

For one thing, among others, the reader or the student must be especially grateful to Professor Muir. It is for his breadth of view and his many interests. Nowhere is there a more comprehensive statement of the many-sided development of the British, or as we say more commonly, perhaps less correctly, Anglo-Saxon, peoples, or more careful inclusion of the many threads from which the fabric of their life and thought has been woven. In this the author's interest in imperial history has played no small part; and the qualities which his earlier books

revealed are still more evident here, qualities which partake both of statesmanship and philosophy, in its better and more practical meaning.

Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae. Edited by GEORGE E. WOODBINE. Volumes I. and II. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1915, 1922. Pp. xiii, 422; xi, 449. \$7.50 per volume.)

DR. WOODBINE'S exactitude and skill in the editing of English legal texts of the Middle Age were proved many years ago by his *Four Thirteenth-Century Law Tracts* (1910). Medievalists have ever since been grateful to him for this edition of *Fet Asaver*, *Judicium Essoniorum*, *Modus Componendi Brevia*, and *Exceptiones ad Cassandum Brevia*, and for the valuable introduction to the tracts themselves. When therefore it was announced that Dr. Woodbine was at work upon a new edition of Bracton's treatise, there was unfeigned rejoicing among all legal and historical scholars whose studies lead them to the ancient law-book described so happily by Pollock and Maitland as the "crown and flower of English medieval jurisprudence". As long ago as 1872 Mr. Milman wrote "A Plea for a New Print of Bracton". The editions of 1559 and 1640 are in fact wholly inadequate to meet the needs of modern scholarship, disfigured as they are by many corruptions: and of Twiss's edition the less said the better. It is sufficient to recall to mind that it has been condemned as hopelessly bad by Maitland and every other recent student of Bracton. Maitland's judgment is in print; but the curious may also read many a remark—caustic, yet mingled with humor—pencilled by Maitland in his own copy of the Twiss, now in the Law Library at Cambridge. Maitland himself did much valuable work in preparation for the day when a new edition of Bracton's great law-book should finally appear: his *Bracton and Azo* and *Bracton's Note Book* are the priceless possessions of every searcher for the true text of the treatise itself.

The first installments of Dr. Woodbine's edition are proof positive that the right editor has at last come to the front; for the two volumes which now lie before me attest the fact that painstaking labor, deep learning in English medieval law, remarkable skill in the handling of materials, and scholarly accuracy in every point of detail, are all contributing their full share to the production of a sound and reliable text. Its appearance means that Bractonian studies are now entering upon a new and fruitful epoch; and the gain to scholarship resulting from such studies will be more and more apparent as the years go on and as many of the traditional errors in regard to the nature of the true Bracton, errors fostered by the old editions, gradually cease to have currency.

Dr. Woodbine's first volume deals with three main subjects: the manuscripts of the Bracton (pp. 1-20), the pedigree of the manu-

scripts (pp. 21-311), and the *addiciones* (pp. 312-422). "Including those which are fragmentary, abridged, or incomplete", the learned editor tells us, "there are forty-six manuscripts of Bracton's treatise accessible to scholars, with two, possibly three, others in existence which are not accessible." One may agree with Dr. Woodbine when he says that as "the prohibitive fee of a guinea a day" is charged for consulting one particular manuscript, this manuscript is "rendered practically inaccessible"; and one finds it very difficult to grasp the fact that the present-day authorities of any library could be so ungenerous to scholars. Speaking of the three editions of Bracton's book that had been printed prior to his own, Dr. Woodbine says that the

printed text of this work has been so far below the standard largely because the editors in their choice of manuscripts have shown little power of discrimination, and even less knowledge of the relationship of the different codices. Such knowledge could have come only as a result of a detailed study and comparison of all the manuscripts, and this, apparently, they did not undertake. Consequently it has come about that the main object of this [first] volume is to establish a pedigree which will clear up once and for all the question of the relation of the many Bracton manuscripts to one another, and show their relative value for purposes of text production.

Quite clearly the editor was right in adopting this course of procedure. Failure to attend to the matter of pedigree would have led to many faults of the kind well known to the reader of the earlier editions.

After minutely collating about forty copies, on the basis of selected passages, Dr. Woodbine comes to the conclusion that no existing manuscript can claim to be a direct copy from the original. One of the most interesting results which he now reaches is his disagreement with Maitland as to the place occupied by the Bodleian "Digby" codex. Maitland gave this particular manuscript a high—indeed a pre-eminent—place, holding that it had been copied direct from Bracton's own original (see *Bracton and Azo*, pp. 239-250). Dr. Woodbine now contends (see I. 68-91) that "there is no one manuscript so superior to all the others as to stand out apart from them as pre-eminent". "Be its ancestry what it may, [the Digby manuscript] most certainly is not a primary copy of the original *De Legibus*. Maitland seems to have begun to realize this fact [see *Bracton and Azo*, p. 248] before he had finished with [the Digby manuscript]." There are four families of manuscripts which Dr. Woodbine distinguishes; and he thinks that one of these can be traced back to a copy which had been made from an early, and not fully revised, draft of Bracton's own original manuscript.

Special attention has been devoted in the first volume to the very important subject of the additional passages, or *addiciones*, which make up so large a part of the printed text in the earlier editions. As the

editor of the present work remarks, "the determination of just what passages are *addiciones*, and more particularly additional passages not written by Bracton himself, is one of the hardest problems connected with the re-editing of the treatise" (I. 312; see also Maitland, *Bracton's Note Book*, I. 26-33). "There is", in fact, to use Dr. Woodbine's words, "too much matter in the traditional text of Bracton." The study of this important problem of interpolations in the manuscripts is one of the most enlightening contributions which the present editor makes to the literature dealing with Bracton's text. Many a subtle cause of error has now been eliminated. To his lucid account of the whole matter Dr. Woodbine appends a useful "List of Additional and Doubtful Passages".

The second volume contains a trifle more than one-third (ff. 1-159b) of the Latin text of Bracton, the object of the editor being "to present, as nearly as may be, the text of the *De Legibus* as it finally left Bracton's hands".

This does not at all necessarily mean [he explains] the making of what might be considered the best text from the standpoint of law or history or language, on the basis of everything and anything which may be found in any and every MS. . . . [The] original cannot be reconstructed merely by emendations and arbitrary selections from the variant readings. . . . [For] at least the larger portion of the text there [are] three principal traditions. It is on the basis of these traditions, and not on the readings of individual MSS., that the restoration of the original text must rest.

Eleven manuscripts have been selected, and used throughout, as representing the three main text traditions. From time to time reference has been made to other manuscripts, but no attempt has been made to give all the variant readings in all the manuscripts collated. Dr. Woodbine quite rightly holds that "the recording of all the variant readings of all the manuscripts used would make an unwieldy mass of immaterial facts as unnecessary as it is undesirable". In so far as the manuscripts have permitted it, Dr. Woodbine has preserved the text of the printed editions. In general, however, the present text is very unlike the earlier ones: and on many matters scholars will be obliged to compare the corresponding passages in the several editions. The famous passage (f. 107) in which Bracton introduces the *Quod principi placuit* is an illustration in point (see Maitland, *Bracton's Note Book*, I. 4, n. 2).

These two volumes contain but a part of the whole work as projected by the editor. Later volumes will present the remaining portions of the Latin text, an English translation of the whole of the Latin text, an editorial commentary, and an introduction. One feels that Dr. Woodbine is acting very wisely in reserving his own commentary and the introduction for the end of the whole work. An editor's

knowledge of his text constantly increases as he proceeds with his work; and he is best qualified to write these particular parts of his work after he has completed his minute study of the text as a whole. All of the remaining volumes in Dr. Woodbine's edition of the *De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliae* will be eagerly awaited by scholars. They must, however, be patient. It takes time properly to edit Bracton.

H. D. HAZELTINE.

The Jesuits, 1534-1921: a History of the Society of Jesus from its Foundation to the Present Time. By THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, S.J. (New York: Encyclopedia Press. 1921. Pp. xvi, 937. \$5.00.)

THE tritest, but truest, word ever penned about the Society of Jesus is that of all institutions created by human genius, the Jesuits have been the theme of the most high-flown panegyric and of the bitterest invective. Admirers of the famous company have placed it at the head of the greatest productions of the human mind. They give to it superiority over every other similar body of men for learning, polity, and religious zeal. Enemies of the society—and it has never lacked potent enemies both within and without the Roman Catholic Church—maintain that it is the most fatal of all human social groups; that it is fatal to morality and fatal to organized society and government, with aims which are to be attained only by overweening ambition and fraud, and by odious and criminal means. Books for and against the society abound in whole libraries. There are students to-day in many parts of the world who, when they think of the blackened ruins of the Louvain Library, recall the east wing that stretched along the Vieux Marché, crowded from floor to ceiling with thousands of volumes written for and against the Jesuits. Yet, in all this actually vast literature, there are few general histories of the society. Orlandini attempted it in the sixteenth century. Others in the following centuries made a sorry venture at the task. But it was not until Crétineau Joly published his panegyric on the society in six volumes (Paris, 1844-1846) that a complete story of the Jesuits was available. Father Luis Martín, general of the Jesuits from 1892 to 1906, decided to remedy the need all felt of a complete history of the order on a scale commensurate with the greatness of the subject. A sort of "literary syndicate", as Father Campbell calls it, was created. Father Astrain was assigned to write the history of the society's work in the Spanish assistancy; Father Fouqueray the French; Father Tacchi Venturi the Italian; Fathers Duhr and Kroess the German. The English-speaking assistancy was assigned to Father Thomas Hughes, an English Jesuit belonging to the American province. Many volumes have already appeared from the pens of these members of the society. That they are unequal in value, dissimilar in treatment, and at variance in the

interpretation of the sources, goes without saying. Combined, they do not present a complete history of the order.

It was to satisfy the ever-pressing demand for such a work that Father Campbell set about his self-appointed task. Father Joseph Brucker anticipated him by a little more than a year in his volume *La Compagnie de Jésus, Esquisse de son Institut et de son Histoire, 1521-1773*, published at Paris in 1919. First among his brethren in English-speaking lands to venture into the field of general Jesuit history, Father Campbell has presented us with a readable, attractive, and at times fascinating, account of the society during the past four hundred years of its existence. His work suffers by comparison with that of Father Brucker, but, for the public he is addressing, his method and particularly his style are all that could be wished. To those, however, who expect to find in his pages a treatise in which the eulogy of Crétineau Joly is imitated or in which the hydra-headed criticisms against the society are discussed and answered, Father Campbell's work will prove to be a disappointment. The volume is to be weighed not by these canons, but solely by the limitations the author has himself placed upon his subject. He has written for the type of inquirer described in his preface. Some years ago, when on his way to a general congregation of the society, Father Campbell was asked by a fellow-passenger aboard an Atlantic liner, what he knew about the Jesuits. He proceeded, with all the wealth of knowledge and experience his half-century in the Jesuits had brought him, to explain the aims and the activities of the society. After a few minutes, he was interrupted by his inquirer with: "You know nothing at all about them, sir; good-day!"

His volume of almost a thousand pages proves at every turn that few members of the society are so thoroughly cognizant of its past. The story, as he tells it, has none of the cold restraint of modern historical scholarship. It rushes on like a flood, carrying the reader hither and thither, but always abreast the stream. It flashes along and across the canvas as a kaleidoscope, dazzling the eye in its brilliancy, but with the accent and the emphasis of the dramatic effect always true to historic fact. It is a gallant story, nobly told, and told by a courageous veteran who has not feared to turn the light of criticism upon the sad as well as upon the serene in the long history of Ignatius's sons.

P. GUILDAY.

Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686. By GEORGE PRATT INSH. (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson, and Company. 1922. Pp. x, 283. 12s. 6d.)

QUITE apart from its value as a contribution of exceptional merit to the history of Scottish emigration to America in the seventeenth century, Mr. Insh's volume is significant as marking a new and growing interest among British writers of to-day in the history of their colonial

past. Furthermore, both because the work is written by a Scotsman from the standpoint of Scotland, and because to a considerable extent it is based upon materials in Scottish archives, from which frequent quotations are made, it has a racy flavor all its own and a character essentially and peculiarly Scottish. No one but a Scotsman could create the atmosphere that distinguishes this book.

Though by instinct and tradition the Scot was a wanderer, he was not a seafarer, and his ventures overseas lacked purpose and continuity. Fisheries and a mercantile marine, the two essentials of a seafaring life, were in the seventeenth century of but slight importance in Scotland, where the one was retarded by "persistent neglect" and the other was stunted by "too officious supervision". Hence colonization never became a part of the national life in Scotland as it did in England, and efforts to settle in America in the seventeenth century were spasmodic and in every instance ended in failure. Though many of the enterprises here described in *Scottish Colonial Schemes* (an infelicitous title) are familiar to students of our colonial history, some are new, and, for the first time, all of them are given with great wealth of evidence and in their proper setting as phases of Scottish history—an achievement which gives Mr. Insh's book a high place in the literature of colonization. Many know something of Scotland's attempt to colonize Newfoundland in 1620, under the leadership of that redoubtable sea-dog and colonizer, Captain John Mason; more have heard of Sir William Alexander, "the man of contemplation who became by misadventure, as it were, a man of action", and gave to Nova Scotia its name; some have had knowledge thrust upon them of the Scots in East New Jersey and South Carolina; but we venture to believe that few have ever been told of the Lochinvar who came out of the east and with the aid of Lord Ochiltree sought to plant a New Galloway on the island of Cape Breton. Fewer still have traced the history of the period from 1632 to 1682, here called "The Years Between", when the only Scottish connection with the plantations was through transported prisoners, wandering traders, and a few regular settlers, and when Scotland, irritated because England by her navigation acts barred her vessels from traffic with America, initiated her policy of retaliation and was so determined to enter upon an independent commercial and colonizing career of her own as to undertake the ventures to New Jersey, South Carolina, and Darien. The chapter dealing with these years is one of the best in the book.

Mr. Insh has told us the story of Scottish emigration to America in the seventeenth century and he has told it well. We hope that when he shall have completed his promised volume on the Darien disaster, he will be interested to pursue his subject into the years following the Union, even on to that eventful period after 1760, when there began the Highland migration which lasted until the Revolution and brought thousands of Scotsmen to America and the West Indies.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Histoire de la Régence pendant la Minorité de Louis XV. Par Dom H. LECLERCQ. In three volumes. (Paris: Édouard Champion. 1922. Pp. lxxxv, 525; 531; 509. Set 60 fr.)

THIS marks, if we mistake not, a new venture on the part of a scholar long pre-eminent in another though not unrelated field. Hitherto it has been ecclesiastical rather than secular history, and particularly the earlier history of the Church, that has engaged the attention of Dom Leclercq. In that field he has been indefatigable in research and prolific in publication. There is scarcely a year during the last twenty that has not witnessed the appearance of a volume from his pen or under his editorship. His contributions to Christian archaeology, martyrology, and liturgics have laid the whole world of scholarship under tribute. Now he turns his studies in another direction and presents us with a history of the Regency, the most comprehensive and adequate since that of Lemontey, which appeared some ninety years ago.

Three stout volumes for eight short years; so many pages for so brief a period! But there are years and years; and these years were compact with more than ordinary events and pregnant with momentous issues. In the history of France the Regency was no mere episode. On politics, finance, diplomacy, literature, arts, manners, and morals it left an indelible impress. Even though it may not have been, in the epigrammatic phrase of Michelet, "tout un siècle en huit années", it liquidated one age and precipitated the germs of another. It innovated and experimented, flouted tradition, and indulged license. "Ce fut une ivresse de liberté, une frénésie de critique, une jactance, une fanfaronnade, une provocation et comme un pavoisement de paradoxes" (I. lxvii). "But frivolous, licentious, and skeptical, it was more and better than that; it marked the reawakening of political life" (III. 442). It stimulated the appetite for change and novelty; it released a spirit that, once set free, was never again taken captive, nor wholly suppressed. Though not a revolution, it set the stage for the Revolution to come and was itself the prologue.

Hence it deserves minute study. And a more minute study than that of the learned Benedictine it would be difficult to imagine and unreasonable to demand. With prodigious industry and meticulous thoroughness every vein of a seemingly inexhaustible mine of materials—archives, memoirs, journals, correspondence—has been explored and exploited. Every fact has been tithed, and the product is a narrative circumstantial and detailed to the last degree, an account in which, with the regularity and exactness of a reporter, events are recorded day by day, sometimes even hour by hour, as in the case of the last illness of Louis XIV., where every breath and every word of the dying monarch is noted and set down (I. 33-95).

The scale and method will hardly appeal to those who prefer their history "concentrated" and "generalized" and who are easily surfeited with

minutiae. But for such as have sound teeth and good digestion and a lusty appetite for facts a voluminous work will prove a feast, and this very superabundance of particulars and details a crowning excellence. Dom Leclercq is right—a king who takes a long time to die may not be despatched with indecent haste, disposed of by a mere *obiit*; a garrulous courtier may not be cut short; nor gossip, which is by nature expansive, unduly compressed; nor may a pompous procession be hustled along at a quickstep; nor the tortuous ways of diplomacy made straight—none of these things may be done without risk of distortion and misrepresentation. “All trifles!” Yes, but it is largely to such “unconsidered trifles” of incident and circumstance that historical portraiture owes whatever of faithfulness, lifelikeness, and warmth it may possess. Dom Leclercq’s work is a portrait, not a mere silhouette; and a portrait requires many a stroke of the brush and a feeling for color as well as a sense of line. A better word perhaps were “panorama”, or, better still, “the French scene”. For here are depicted all aspects of life, political, economic, social, intellectual, religious, and all types, noble, cleric, burgher, peasant. This *comédie humaine* is enlivened by many a graphic tableau—the *Lit de Justice* of 1718; the coronation of Louis XV.; the Rue Quincampoix at the height of the speculation fever; Paris *en fête*; pest-stricken Marseilles; and darker scenes, bacchanalian revels and obscene orgies, which, to quote the author, “ne pourrait être écrite qu’en latin” (II. 209), and which, if they must be described at all, from a sense of obligation to the truth, are better depicted in “couleurs adoucies”. The Regency may have been rotten, but the Regency was not all of France; and Dom Leclercq would not have us lose sight of that other, larger, nobler France, sober, industrious, keeping the even tenor of the well-tried ways, and preserving, in spite of cynicism, infidelity, and immorality, its ancient virtues—faith, loyalty, honesty, good sense.

The diplomacy of the Regency receives a very considerable share of space, nineteen chapters being devoted to the Triple Alliance, Quadruple Alliance, and other foreign relations. Five chapters are taken up with the war with Spain; eight, with the finances and the System of Law; six, with the Councils and the struggle with the Parlement; three, with the controversy over the bull *Unigenitus*; and four, among the most illuminating in the entire work, are devoted to a survey of industry and manufactures, the arts, sciences, and letters, religious opinion, and the general state of society.

One service in particular will command the gratitude of every historical craftsman, *viz.*, the extended and incisive critique of the sources and literature of the period (I. lxx-lxxxv), which the author modestly calls only an introduction and a clue. Among the historiographers of the Regency, he awards the palm to Lemontey, whose work is of the kind that “one corrects and completes but does not supersede”. Saint-Simon he holds “an artist but in no sense an historian . . . an inimitable portrait-

ist, but as incapable of understanding great affairs as he is unqualified to describe them", superficial, "biased, self-contradictory, calumniator and sycophant by turns, convicted of exaggeration, deceit, deliberate falsification—in a word, a proven liar (I. lxx-lxxii). Lemontey, too, has his prejudices and writes with a caustic pen; but between Lemontey and Saint-Simon there is "la même distance qu'entre une malice et la perfidie" (I. lxxii). Duclos is merely an imitator and copyist, and his memoirs little more than an ornate abridgment of Saint-Simon. Marmon-
tel and Capefigue hardly merit serious notice. Among numerous memoirs, high value is ascribed to those of Villars and Torcy (to the latter especially for the light they throw upon the diplomacy of the Regency). Among journalists, the place of honor is assigned to Dangeau, the chronicler of the court and high society. But a unique value also attaches to the journals of Buvat, Marais, and Barbier, the chroniclers of the Third Estate, the "first reporters" (I. lxxvi-lxxviii). The value of a good deal of the correspondence is specious and greatly overrated; but an exception must be admitted in the case of the letters of Dubois and of Alberoni, which are of incalculable importance.

If thoroughness of investigation, amplitude of treatment, and felicity of style are dependable criteria, Dom Leclercq's work has every prospect of being regarded for many years to come as the standard, definitive history of the Regency.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Later Periods of Quakerism. By RUFUS M. JONES, M.A., D.Litt., D.D., Professor of Philosophy in Haverford College, U. S. A. In two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1921. Pp. xxxvi, 540; vi, 541-1020. 30 s.)

WITH these two volumes, Professor Jones completes the task upon which he has been engaged for fifteen years of writing a history of the people called Friends, or Quakers, beginning with their relation to Christian mysticism in general, and the Spiritual Reformers of the sixteenth century in particular, examining in detail the circumstances of their first appearance in England, and reviewing their history in England and America up to the close of the nineteenth century. One may perhaps question whether a comparatively small and obscure company of Christians deserves so elaborate a treatment until he recalls such names as John Bright, Elizabeth Fry, and John G. Whittier, and realizes the influence, quite disproportionate to its numbers, which this group of Christians has exercised in human affairs. In addition, the story is interesting to a student of Christian origins and development, for it shows in miniature, and as it were in diagram, many phenomena and tendencies exemplified in the larger and longer history of the Church, and also to a student of mysticism because it has to do with an organized group of mystics continuing through several generations, with quite exceptional inbreeding,

so presenting a corporate mysticism in marked contrast with the individualism traditionally associated with mystical character. Undoubtedly, therefore, the task was well worth doing and Professor Jones, who has borne the laboring oar, is to be congratulated upon the completion of an undertaking happily conceived and admirably executed.

The two volumes immediately before us are devoted to the history from 1725 to the close of the nineteenth century. After the original and creative impulse had spent its force, and its novelties had become conventionalities, Friends gave up their hope of a spiritual conquest of the world and were content to become a "peculiar people", preserving their traditional ways of speech, dress, and behavior and cherishing a mysticism of the Quietistic type which, however, as Professor Jones rightly observes, often gives rise, in individuals, to most extraordinary enterprise, courage, and self-sacrifice. To this end they established a rigorous discipline, compacting the group within and designed to protect it against influences from the world without. But the industry and frugality in which Friends were trained brought prosperity, and prosperity broke down the partition wall between the Society and the world. Through these openings (of different sort from George Fox's), currents of contemporary life affected Friends, two of which were especially important—Deism and Wesleyanism. The Deists pointed out defects and faults in the Bible, particularly in the Old Testament. They set in the focus of attention, for example, the cruelties of the Canaanitish wars and declared them inconsistent with the character of God, who is said to have ordered them. To Friends, with their testimony against war, this was a vital point. There seems to have been no thought of abandoning their traditional testimony in favor of peace, but what then should be their attitude toward the Bible? There were plainly three possibilities: adherence to the primitive doctrine of the inner light, leaving its relation to the Scriptures vague and undefined; emphasis upon the authority of Scripture even to the point of discrediting the inner light, combined with apologetic devices to explain away Old Testament difficulties; an explicit turning away from the Bible as an authority in the religious life. Of these three possibilities, the first would naturally have been adopted in accordance with the traditions of Friends, but the influence of Evangelicalism was strongly in favor of the second. It can hardly be denied that this was contrary to the creative principles of Quakerism. John Wesley's doctrine of man's natural depravity and total separation from God by a gulf which only the atonement of Christ and the regeneration of man can bridge was wholly incompatible with George Fox's teaching of the divine light in every human being working with the saving power of a living Christ in the hearts of men. But some of the most prominent and prosperous Friends were Evangelical, and this tendency prevailed. Then appeared one of the perils in the organization which Friends had painstakingly elaborated. There can be no heresy where there is no orthodoxy, and effective ortho-

doxy depends upon an organization with a collective judgment and power of extrusion. Friends had built up a machinery for heresy. By a perfectly natural process, zeal for Evangelicalism drove to extremes those who were inclined to the third possibility. Heresy had arisen and schism was menacing. This threat of separation was fulfilled in America, where the radical or liberal influence seems to have been stronger than in England, perhaps because of the conditions which simultaneously were bringing about a similar separation in the old Congregational order of New England. Probably the Evangelical influences were also stronger on account of the greater prominence of revivals here than in England. At any rate there came here the separation between the Orthodox and the Hicksites and then between the Gurneyites and the Wilburites. This is the unhappy story which Professor Jones tells with wealth of detail and sympathetic comprehension in these two volumes.

The chief criticism one is inclined to make is that the author has not been wholly successful in his sincere endeavor to guard against the danger which he clearly foresaw of losing a proper sense of proportion. It is easy to forget while reading his vivid pages that the stage is larger than the place where Quakers stand and the spot-light falls. Again, we could well have spared the chapters on Bright and Whittier, although good in themselves, for glimpses into the daily life of Quaker homes. Such books as Tucker's description of a Quaker boyhood in New Bedford or the anonymous account of home life among Friends in southern Indiana give a more intimate and lively idea of what Quakerism actually was than can be gained from the volumes of Professor Jones, admirable as they are.

The plan of the series carried the history only to the end of the nineteenth century, but Professor Jones more than intimates that the first quarter of the present century is likely to prove of exceptional significance for Quakerism on account of the operation of still another tendency which appeared in the last century, namely the humanitarian. A suffering Saviour implies a suffering world which sorely needs salvation. Evangelical doctrines may seem narrow and hardening, but the Evangelical spirit is broadening and "tendering". By it, Friends were led into active participation in great social reforms, philanthropic zeal has kept stiffening theology warm and plastic, and Friends responsive to changing social conditions. During the Great War it inspired, and in the present distressing conditions abroad it is still inspiring, relief work which is not merely bringing the separated bodies of Friends nearer one another in co-operative activity, but is also commending Quakers to the world, particularly to Europe, in a hitherto unprecedented way. From the furnace of the Great War, the Friends emerged not only with no smell of fire on their garments, but with raiment savory with the fragrance of loving human kindness. To-day a great and effectual door is open to the Friends and Professor Jones is evidently persuaded that they will pass through it to more abundant life.

W. W. FENN.

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919. Edited by Sir A. W. WARD, Litt.D., F.B.A., and G. P. GOOCH, M.A., Litt.D. In three volumes. Volume I., 1783-1815. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 628. 31 s. 6 d.)

A BRITISH work prefaced by a special allusion to the interest of the late Lord Bryce and by a testimonial to his services in drawing "closer the bonds of friendship, based on mutual understanding, between a great kindred nation and our own", at once inclines to favorable comment in America. Still more the unusual attention given to British relations with America will create interest. It has not always been recognized that British foreign policy after 1783 continued to regard America as of importance even in the intensities of European rivalry. In each of the first four chapters of the present volume, 1783-1815, policy toward America plays its due part, and the concluding chapter is wholly devoted to that policy. In general the events are correctly stated, the diplomatic exchanges adequately presented, and just conclusions drawn, but it is evident that there is not that familiarity with the American point of view, either at the time or in American historical writing later, which we should expect from one of our own scholars. It is nowhere made clear, for example, that one profound difference in British view—and a difference largely affecting British foreign policy *after* the American Revolution—from the American view, was Great Britain's refusal to accept the American ideas as to the nature of the empire and the relation of its distant parts to the mother country. Mr. J. H. Clapham in chapter I. explains admirably the causes of British refusal to admit America to that participation in West Indian trade which she had enjoyed before independence, but does not appreciate the deeper issue. Yet J. Q. Adams, reviewing in mind at a later period the long friction over West Indian trade, could write of the American retaliatory act of 1818 that it constituted "a new declaration of American independence".

Chapter V., the American War and the Treaty of Ghent, by Professor C. K. Webster, is excellent in general analysis and brings out well the British policy, especially laying emphasis on the point that "a dispute with America was still regarded as an almost domestic question in which Foreign Powers could have no concern". But there is little evidence of research in hitherto unused materials and the author is a bit careless in statement. On page 522 he asserts that "two reasons alone" prevented war before June, 1812—the wrongs inflicted by France on America and the latter's weakness against Britain's power. But on page 527 he states, more accurately, the contending forces in American policy and notes the anti-warlike tone of the commercial classes of New England. It is surely exaggeration to intimate that the United States finally went to war on right of search "alone" (p. 525)—or even primarily for that cause,

if our own historians are correct. Nor were "all classes of the nation" ever "drawn into a common hostility" (p. 526).

These are, however, minor criticisms. In the main the treatment of British policy toward America is clear and orderly and lays proper stress on relative incidents and motives. In his preceding chapter, on the Pacification of Europe, the author is more at home and his treatment excellent.

Naturally the bulk of this volume is concerned with European relations. Here the narrative is fully supported by citations to Foreign Office and similar archives, and here also is developed a more consecutive, thoughtful British foreign policy. An introductory chapter by Sir A. W. Ward runs to 140 pages and covers the period from the Norman Conquest to the Peace of 1783 with America. It is but a digest, or summary, but is put together with the writer's accustomed literary skill and abounds in brief, yet apt and striking, characterizations of men and events, making of a digest a marvel of exact and readable conciseness. Mr. Clapham's chapter I. carries the story to 1792, on the verge of the war with France, and exhibits much scholarship, though with less documentary reference than might have been expected and serviceable. The reviewer, on the basis of his own slight study, might pick a quarrel with Mr. Clapham on the score of his assertion that "In the last resort the [foreign] policy was Pitt's", and that when Grenville succeeded Carmarthen, Pitt's incursions into the proper field of the foreign secretary were lessened only because of a "complete identity of views" (p. 158), but there is no need, since Professor J. Holland Rose, in the succeeding two chapters, quietly passes to a careful and constant use of "Pitt and Grenville", and of "the men who guided" foreign policy. On occasion Professor Rose clearly indicates a victory for Grenville's policy over that of Pitt.

One-third of the text of this volume (nearly one-half if the introductory chapter be excluded) is contributed by Mr. Rose in chapter II., the Struggle with Revolutionary France, and chapter III., the Contest with Napoleon. The allotment of space presumably indicates editorial purpose to emphasize this period of foreign policy and here, in fact, is the real cream of the volume. It is a difficult matter, when engaged in minute study of diplomatic documents, seeking in presentation to convey exact meanings by condensed statement or by partial citation, to escape from a mere dry-as-dust account of the shifts and manipulations of the diplomats themselves. Basic principles of foreign policy, the persistence (or lack of it) of statesmen in pursuing them, living characterizations of nations and of individuals—these are apt to be lost sight of by the historian of diplomacy, or at least to be obscured in the maze of interminable despatches. It is especially in the work of Mr. Rose that the possibilities of really illuminating diplomatic historical writing are exhibited, though not, perhaps, with that completeness which characterizes his earlier work on the same period, where he had no limitation of space. His chapters

are fully supported with exact citations and his skill in weaving into the narrative extracts from letters and despatches is unusual. It is noteworthy that the Dropmore Papers continue to be used as a veritable gold mine of side-lights and explanation on points otherwise obscure. But this praise of Mr. Rose's work should not exclude appreciation of the work of the other contributors, all of whom evince a determination not to get lost in their facts. Mr. Clapham's analysis of the commercial treaty of 1786 with France, for example, is presented with great clearness and at the same time offers opportunity, in connection with other British-French relations of the time, for a characterization and estimate of Vergennes, that places him unusually high as possessing a sense of the *international* interests of mankind, even when in daily contact with the purely selfish nationalistic point of view of most European statesmen, including the British.

A brief review forbids attention in detail save for the few purely American points already indicated. This first volume well satisfies the purpose of the editors to prepare a work which shall present a connected narrative of details of foreign policy, make clear what that policy was, and "vindicate" for it a "claim to consistency". The work should be immensely useful and the remaining volumes will be awaited with interest.

E. D. ADAMS.

The Fiscal and Diplomatic Freedom of the British Oversea Dominions. By EDWARD PORRITT. [Publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xvi, 492. 12 s. 6 d.)

To trace the various stages in the development of the fiscal freedom of the British colonies, and their gradual acquisition of the corresponding rights to deal directly with the foreign countries whose economic activities most intimately affect them, is a very interesting and, at the present time, very appropriate task. Such may be taken as the ostensible object of the volume before us. The volume, as a whole, affords abundant evidence of patient and voluminous research in official records. Probably that portion which will prove of most permanent interest is the appendix of some sixty pages, containing a number of interesting and typical documents connected almost entirely with the development of Canadian fiscal policy. Both geographically and racially, however, and especially in domestic and foreign relations, there were very great differences between the conditions of the British North American provinces and those of other portions of the empire. But concentration on the North American colonies has not resulted in a clearer or more accurate presentation of the conditions and principles affecting Canadian development. Indeed it is difficult to avoid the impression that the author is largely arguing to

somewhat narrow, foregone conclusions as to British economic and imperial policy. That the British government fell into many errors in dealing with the trade relations of the colonies, and frequently adopted mistaken policies with reference to their administration, is not at all difficult to prove. But wisdom in foresight is much rarer than wisdom in retrospect. In many features of colonial expansion, while one may safely condemn the outcome of this or that policy, it is not so easy to maintain that, all things considered, the opposite policy would have been any more successful, or that a purely altruistic attitude, in face of the uncertainties of the future, would have been any more advantageous for either the colonies or the mother country than that of self-interest on both sides.

The attitude of indifference toward colonial interests, which is dwelt upon in the volume as largely as the attitude of domination, had of course much to do with the lax enforcement of British colonial policy. Yet it was as much objected to in the colonies, from their frankly self-interested point of view, as were certain features of active interference in other imperial moods. One finds but little evidence in the volume of an understanding acquaintance with the British colonial policy in contact with the daily operations in the colonies themselves. Thus the British government is constantly condemned for not granting rights and privileges, in connection with self-government in trade and politics, long before the individual colonies were able to maintain domestic tranquillity in the face of bitter racial or sectional strife and the antagonisms of political and economic interests. To maintain in law and policy a virtual monopoly for British goods appears, on the surface at least, a drastic exhibition of fiscal tyranny. But a study of actual conditions reveals, in the first place, that most of the goods thus apparently forced upon the colonies were the cheapest and best anywhere available and would have been preferred in any case; and in the second place, where goods, either imperial or foreign, were of more suitable quality or could be supplied more cheaply through other channels, little difficulty was experienced in procuring such goods, despite the drastic laws and regulations to prevent this.

Notwithstanding the defective organization of the materials assembled and the endless repetitions of the same details and assertions, which render a perusal of the volume somewhat tiresome, much valuable material is here brought together and sources of information indicated which will be of undoubted assistance to students following up the subject in independent studies.

Histoire de France Contemporaine depuis la Révolution jusqu'à la Paix de 1919. Tome IX. *La Grande Guerre.* Par HENRY BIDOU, A. GAUVAIN, CH. SEIGNOBOS. *Conclusion Générale.* Par E. LAVISSE. (Paris: Hachette. 1922. Pp. 560. 30 fr.)¹

¹ An elaborate index of the two series *Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution* and *Histoire de France Contemporaine* has been published in a volume of 359 pages, forming vol. X. of the latter series.

THIS volume brings to a fitting close the *Histoire de France Contemporaine*, the series of three great co-operative histories which have been appearing in France during the last quarter of a century, and the life-work of the distinguished scholar who was the chief inspiration and guiding spirit of all these undertakings. That the book has been made worthy of the place it occupies is a remarkable achievement.

Each of the other eight volumes of the *Histoire de France Contemporaine* was the work of a single author. For this volume there were four contributors. Auguste Gauvain wrote the chapters dealing with the diplomatic history of the war, Henry Bidou those on military events. Professor Seignobos contributed two chapters upon the effect of the war on French life. The writing of the conclusion was the last piece of work done by M. Lavissee.

Except for the conclusion by M. Lavissee and two or three short passages, the entire volume is strictly confined to the five years between the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. Attention is concentrated almost exclusively upon diplomatic and military matters. The description of the effect of the war upon the life of the French people by Professor Seignobos is limited to twenty pages. Most of that scant allowance is used for war-time methods of government, public finance, and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. Only four pages are given to the social transformation wrought by the war. This marked departure from the method of the earlier volumes, in which detailed accounts of changes in social conditions constitute a distinguishing and highly valuable feature, can probably be attributed to lack of space and the difficulty at this early date of estimating correctly such recent changes. The brevity is understandable but much to be regretted. A more extensive treatment by Professor Seignobos, even if less complete and much less definitive than the corresponding chapters in the earlier volumes, would have been most welcome.

The contributions of M. Gauvain upon the diplomatic side of the war, together with a number of closely related topics, and of M. Bidou upon military operations are of nearly equal length, but of quite different scope. M. Gauvain writes about the diplomatic history of the war taken as a whole, M. Bidou confines himself closely to the military operations in which the French took part and limits his narrative almost exclusively to the fighting in France and Belgium.

The account of diplomatic history is divided into two portions, separated by the narrative of military events. Book I., in three chapters, deals with the preliminaries of the war from June 28 to August 5, 1914. Book III., in eight chapters, describes the efforts of the two combinations to gain additional allies, the entrance of Turkey, Italy, Bulgaria, Rumania, the United States, and Greece into the war, the Russian Revolution, the peace intrigues during the war, ministerial changes in the leading countries, the armistice, and the work of the Peace Conference. In the han-

dling of all these difficult topics M. Gauvain exhibits at their best the exceptional qualities of mind and manner which for many years have made his articles in the *Journal des Débats* probably the most valuable interpretation of international affairs appearing in any daily newspaper. Everywhere he shows a nearly unerring instinct for the really significant aspect of an event or situation, a large knowledge of men and conditions, an unusual spirit of candor, a fine sense of proportion, and a remarkable lucidity of statement. Adhering closely to the narrative form, he seldom turns aside for the expression of condemnation or approval. It is apparent, nevertheless, that he does not think that a historian ought to refrain from indicating his own opinions. He believes that the leaders of the Central Powers were responsible for the outbreak of the war, that the government of Italy acted in a thoroughly selfish spirit throughout the struggle, that the policy of England and Russia in the Balkans and the Near East was usually unwise and often selfish. He is particularly severe upon King Constantine. To the reviewer most of his interpretations seem to be substantially sound. Among the exceptions which must be made, however, are his account of the American election of 1916 (pp. 382-383) and his assumption that the German peace move of December, 1916, was the cause of President Wilson's peace effort a few days later (pp. 415-417). Rumania's connection with the Triple Alliance through the secret treaties of 1883 and 1888 has been overlooked (p. 341). Ramsay Macdonald was not a member of the British Cabinet in 1914 (p. 57). The account of the Peace Conference is surprisingly slight, consisting of little more than a summary of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

Book II., by M. Bidou, is a concise, well-organized, and interesting account of the military operations on the west front. Despite some faults, chiefly of omission, it seems to the reviewer likely to prove the best brief presentation of the present state of knowledge on the subject which has yet appeared. Candor, and concentration on the most significant points, are its distinguishing characteristics. The chapters upon 1915, Verdun, the first German offensive of 1918, and those upon the new methods and instruments of warfare are particularly good. The human side of the war is not as fully portrayed as might be desired. The leaders are mentioned, what they did is told, but there are no descriptions or estimates of the men themselves. There is no discussion of controverted points and but little recognition of varying interpretations. The equipment in the way of maps is inadequate. There are only seven pages of maps, all in black and white, and usually with two or three maps to a page. The design and execution are good, but the scale is so small that even these maps have only a very limited utility.

The death of M. Lavissee, which occurred only a few days after this volume came from the press, adds a pathetic interest to the remarkable essay upon the future of France which forms the conclusion, not merely

of this volume, but of the whole history and even of the life-work of its distinguished author. It exemplifies the rare combination of penetration, sagacity, clarity, and eloquence, united with a wide range of exact knowledge and untiring zeal for the welfare of his country, which won for M. Lavissee the reverence of both scholars and public. Its dominant note is optimism. Without overlooking or underestimating the difficulties which France must confront, M. Lavissee tells his countrymen that nature and history alike offer them many reasons for optimism and hope. A reading of this essay will aid anyone who desires to gain a better understanding of France.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

The War in the Air: being the Story of the Part played in the Great War by the Royal Air Force. Volume I. By Sir WALTER RALEIGH. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. xix, 489. 21 s.)

THE invention and rapid development of the aeroplane introduced a new element in the art of war, the great importance of which is only dimly appreciated. In its first war this new "branch of the service" developed, in England at least, into an independent service co-ordinate with the other two. There are enthusiasts who claim that it has made one of those services, the navy, obsolete. So far no one has critically examined the achievements of the air services in the war and estimated their effect on military events. Indeed no one could, because the records of the various air forces are not yet available and because the large number of personal and squadron histories that have been published by aviators are so fragmentary and so narrow in scope that they can only be used by a discriminating author to amplify the official records.

The greatest value of the present work is that it is one of the series of histories of the war prepared by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence and based, therefore, on the official British documents. It is of particular interest to get this account because it is generally admitted by everyone, including the Germans, that the British air forces were the most powerful on the front when the war ended.

This first volume covers only the first five months of the war. About one-third of it is devoted to a very interesting account of the beginnings of aviation, which, however, adds nothing to what has already been known and published. The second third of the volume, which is concerned with the infancy of the British air service, contains many details that are new but none of great significance. It shows that the authorities and higher officers were averse to spending money on aviation and were only induced to adopt a modest programme by the efforts of individual officers and citizens who realized the military possibilities of flying or who were frightened at the great advances being made on the Continent.

It shows the first and unsuccessful attempt to have one flying corps for both the army and the navy, unsuccessful largely because of jealousy.

The rest of the volume contains an account of the experiences and accomplishments of both the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service up to January, 1915. When it is remembered that the air force accompanying the original expeditionary force consisted of four squadrons of twelve machines each, that the machines were slow, clumsy, and without cameras or guns, that experiments with wireless were just beginning, it can be appreciated that decisive results were not to be expected. And yet the new service proved its value from the first. On the 22d of August aerial reconnaissances informed Sir John French that large German forces were moving from Brussels toward Grammont in what seemed to be an enveloping movement aimed at his left wing. In those days reports from the air were looked upon with grave suspicion and Sir John French remained at Mons, where he was forced to fight a battle in a perilous position against superior forces. These first months not only proved the value of aeroplanes in reconnaissance, but saw the beginning of the great work they were to do in directing artillery fire. Efforts at fighting in the air were also made and, though ineffectual, they showed the possibilities and led to a demand for fighting planes, a demand that was to increase as long as the war lasted.

The chief defect of the book is that it does not tell enough of what the French and Germans were doing. Practically no mention is made of the part played by their air services, and yet they were so much better prepared in the air, as on land, that their experiences affected the future of the British air force more than its own. Like most official histories this one shows a very sympathetic treatment of the subject. The mistakes pointed out are softened by extenuating circumstances and the good qualities displayed are never slighted. The author, late professor of English literature at Oxford, reveals an attitude of hero-worship on some occasions which he undoubtedly would not have had if he had been young enough to have been an active participant in the fighting. Because of his death during the past year the remaining volumes will have to be completed by some one else.

W. S. HOLT.

La Russie des Tsars pendant la Grande Guerre. Par MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE, Ambassadeur de France. Tome I., 20 Juillet 1914-2 Juin 1915. Tome II., 3 Juin 1915-18 Août 1916. Tome III., 19 Août 1916-17 Mai 1917. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1922. Pp. 379; 347; 357. Each 15 fr.)

M. PALÉOLOGUE is a consummate literary artist. His charming studies of Dante, Alfred de Vigny, and Vauvenargues, as well as of the art of Rome and of China, have led one to suspect it. His history of

Russia during the war confirms it. It is a fascinating account, day by day in diary form, of what he saw, said, and did as French ambassador at St. Petersburg. It has had the success of appearing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (beginning January 15, 1921, with an autobiographical note, unfortunately not reprinted); but some passages occur in the book which were omitted from the serial publication.

The opening chapters describe vividly the visit of Poincaré and Viviani to Russia, and the diplomatic crisis following the assassination of Serajevo. They add some picturesque details to our knowledge of those tragic days, but not as much information as one might wish nor as much as the ambassador must certainly have possessed. There is a vagueness on just the points on which one most wants to be informed, such as the activities of the Russian militarists; nor is mention made of facts contained in certain telegrams which were suppressed from the original French Yellow Book and Russian Orange Book, but which have since been published. Eye-witnesses have described the feeling of resignation and sadness with which the people in France accepted the inevitability of war with Germany; the French ambassador in Russia, on the contrary, writes in a spirit of exultation at its approach, almost as one who had contributed to it. He describes the gala dinner on July 22 at which the Montenegrin princesses told him joyously that their father had written them that there would be war within a month. Two days later, he went to the railway station to say good-bye to Izvolski, who was returning to France; on the platform, lively with the crowd of soldiers and officers, "We exchanged rapidly our impressions and came to the same conclusion: *Cette fois, c'est la guerre.*"

The later chapters note briefly the changing fortunes on the military fronts as the author heard them at the Russian capital. Many interesting pages are naturally devoted to diplomatic negotiations. Japan is offered the German possessions in China if she will join the Entente. England concedes the Straits to Russia. In a long audience the tsar points out to Paléologue how Germany ought to be dismembered and southeastern Europe reconstructed. And there is a long account of the negotiations by which Rumania was finally persuaded to cast in her lot with the Entente. The theme, however, which runs most persistently and interestingly through the volumes is the malign influence of Rasputin. The rumors about this occult figure, his increasing influence over the tsarina and in the appointment and dismissal of high officials at court, and the growing uneasiness with which he was regarded by Russian patriots can be followed in M. Paléologue's pages perhaps more clearly than anywhere else. His suspicions and fears are confirmed by the recently published letters of the tsarina to her weak husband.

One of the things which adds vividness to M. Paléologue's diary of events is the fact that much of it is thrown into dialogue form. There are pages of conversations with Nicholas II., Sazonov, Witte, and innu-

merable officials and charming ladies. One wonders, however, whether these conversations are always reproduced closely from detailed notes written within a few hours after they took place; or whether sometimes the French ambassador, like Thucydides, "made every speaker say what seemed to [the writer] most appropriate on each occasion".

The third volume is perhaps the most interesting and seems to adhere more closely to an actual diary of daily events. It reveals day by day the tragic progress of the impending Russian Revolution. M. Paléologue records his increasing distrust of Sturmer, of the malign influence of Rasputin over the tsarina and of the tsarina over the tsar. Sturmer, he thinks, was ambitious to preside over a general peace congress which should sit at Moscow and settle the war without victory in 1917. Then comes a vivid description of Prince Yussupov's assassination of Rasputin—the ineffectual poisoned wine, the revolver shots, the monk's momentary recovery, dripping with blood, before he was finally despatched and dumped into the Neva. The possibility of the tsar's dethronement by the empress's clique, or by the grand dukes, or by the Duma, was often noted by M. Paléologue, but when it actually took place it came as a surprise and a relief, inasmuch as Nicholas seemed to have fallen so much under the influence of his wife, of Protopopov, and of Rasputin's phantom power. On one occasion Paléologue departed from the strict etiquette which confines an ambassador to the discussion of foreign affairs and tried to open the tsar's eyes to the dangers of the internal situation, but he met with no response from the weak ruler. After Nicholas's abdication, it appeared that those who had begun the revolution could not control it. There arose the dispute between Miliukov and the Soviet as to the statement of Russia's foreign policy: Should Russia continue to fight for victory and Constantinople, or open negotiations for peace with no annexations and indemnities? For weeks Paléologue tried to strengthen Miliukov in the former policy, but without success. He was not even supported by his own government at Paris, which sent out the French socialist, Albert Thomas, to supersede him. The French government regarded Paléologue's usefulness as at an end in view of his close relations with the fallen tsardom and his lack of sympathy with the new régime in Russia. So, Paléologue left Russia in May, 1917, with the most pessimistic forebodings of the anarchy to come.

Nothing in the French Revolution is more interesting than these pages which foreshadow the oncoming revolution and violence in Russia. To the French ambassador it was a terrible tragedy, not only because of what it threatened to all his aristocratic acquaintances in Petrograd, but because it meant that France might lose an ally and an army on Germany's eastern front.

As the author has drawn excellent pictures of so many Russian leaders, touched upon so many diverse subjects, such as Russian music

and drama, society and philosophy, and suggested so many interesting analogies between the Russian Revolution and events in France in 1789, 1830, and 1848, it is a great pity that no index is provided to the rich material scattered through these three volumes.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Works of Samuel de Champlain. In six volumes. Reprinted, translated, and annotated by six Canadian scholars under the general editorship of H. P. BIGGAR. Volume I., 1599-1607. Translated and edited by H. H. LANGTON and W. F. GANONG. [Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto: the Society. 1922. Pp. xxi, 469, xi, with portfolio of plates and maps.)

THE advantages of co-operation in historical undertakings have never been more satisfactorily demonstrated than in the record of the Champlain Society, which has now entered upon the fulfillment of the task to which it committed itself in adopting its name. The first of the six volumes which are to contain *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* justifies all the expectations of those who have watched the development of the society through its probationary period.

The society was organized by the only homogeneous group of American historical students developed during the present century. Full of keen enthusiasm for the history of Canada, they started out to raise a scholastic crop that should match the product of the northwestern wheat lands. Their field had lain fallow since Parkman portrayed its picturesqueness and Winsor uncovered its ore beds for erudition. This enthusiasm met with quick response from their fellow Canadians who were developing its resources in other ways, and the society, under the presidency of the leading banker of Toronto, entered upon its career with the certainty of cordial support which guaranteed the payment of whatever the work might cost.

The publication of a new edition of Champlain's writings was the most obvious duty of the society which took his name as the definite embodiment of its purpose and the limitation of its field of interests. With this in view, those who directed the policy of the society went about the task, not directly, but by laying down a foundation of editorial reputation which should guarantee the definitiveness of the main undertaking when it came to fruition.

They began with Lescarbot, which was translated by W. L. Grant, in consultation with H. P. Biggar, who prepared the introduction. Professor Ganong brought together the results of his Acadian researches in editions of Nicolas Denys and of le Clercq which leave nothing to desire. Less familiar ground was cleared by Professor Munro, who

edited a collection of documents of the seigniorial period; Colonel Wood brought to light the naval side of the British conquest of Canada; Mr. Doughty edited Knox's *Journal* of the campaigns of 1757-1760; and Mr. Tyrrell edited the *Journals* of David Thompson. Each of these works was worth publishing on its own account, and each adds to a knowledge of the history of North America. Taken together, they accomplished much more than this, for the society's publications welded together its group of active editorial workers and accustomed them to the routine of co-operation.

The proof of this pudding is the first volume of the society's *Champlain*, the work on which has been in hand ever since its programme was definitely laid down. The volume contains the narrative of Champlain's earliest known voyage of 1599-1601, the *Des Sauvages* of 1603, and the first section of the *Voyages* of 1613, covering the years 1604-1607. The first two are translated and edited by Mr. H. H. Langton, who, although his name does not appear among those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, has had a full share in the previous accomplishments of the society. The first book of the *Voyages* is edited by Professor Ganong, and Professor Biggar as general editor is responsible for the whole. None of these, nor the others who have been named, has acquired a reputation for intellectual standing markedly above his academic contemporaries. But they have produced a series of books which for solid excellences comes very near being the best that has been done in America. The reason is not far to seek, for every one of these volumes contains evidence that the editor has had much more than the proffered help, the sympathetic criticism of all the others, than which no incentive is quite so potent in producing superior results.

Examining the latest volume somewhat carefully, one gets a feeling, not only that the work has been skillfully done, that details have been looked after, references followed up, and pains taken to avoid slips, but that the whole is the work of all concerned in the undertaking, of whom the responsible editors are merely the representatives upon whom fell the bulk of the labor. This shows most concretely in the cases where the editor happens to disagree with the opinion of a collaborator, oftenest perhaps with that of his chief, the general editor. The good-natured casualness with which the notes record the reasons for both opinions in these cases would not surprise one in a London publication, but if there has been anything quite like it in any recent production in the United States, it has escaped this reviewer. It echoes both seriousness and loyalty to personal and professional standards, but, much more, perfect sympathy and cordial friendship.

The early West Indies voyage is printed from the manuscript copy which is supposed to be that made by the author, although the editors do not enter upon any discussion of this rather obvious question. As they worked with a photographic copy of the original, it should be rela-

tively easy to answer. The manuscript is one of the treasures of the John Carter Brown Library. It contains sixty-two tinted drawings, and the general editor's introduction states that the library trustees permitted the volume to be taken to Boston "so that reproductions in colour might be made". As issued, in a portfolio, these illustrations are printed without the colors. This is no great loss, as the facsimile plates admirably represent all the details of the original drawings. The coloring was not carefully done, and does not give the impression of having been done either within sight of the localities portrayed or directly from sketches made on the spot. It is unfortunate that the society did not follow the example of the Hakluyt Society in its edition of this same manuscript, as the general editor evidently expected would be done, and include at least one facsimile by a modern color-process, so that those who use the volume could see for themselves that these monotone prints serve the purpose of scholarship quite as well as if they were in color.

The reader who is curious to do so is provided with material for an opinion on the question whether the manuscript of the West Indies voyage is that of the author, in a facsimile map which is included in the portfolio. This is on the whole the most important single feature of this publication, being a reproduction of Champlain's original map drawn in 1607, portraying minutely the observations made by him in that year, covering the whole coast line from the neighborhood of Halifax southward to Chatham on Cape Cod. Less valuable, by abstract standards of historical importance, but of greater interest to more people, is a series of carefully studied maps drawn by Professor Ganong and printed alongside Champlain's little sketch maps, translating the latter into terms of actual geographical features, on the basis of Coast Survey charts and personal observation.

G. P. W.

A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland, 1686-1776. By LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Baltimore: Typothetae of Baltimore. 1922. Pp. xiv, 275. \$7.50.)

THE publication of the *Maryland Archives* prepared the way for this book. Using these documents for foundation, Mr. Wroth, assistant librarian in the Enoch Pratt Free Library at Baltimore, has made a useful contribution to our knowledge of colonial printing. The historical part of the volume fills 150 pages, followed by one hundred pages more in small type describing bibliographically 392 Maryland imprints from 1689 to 1777. Full collations are given by sheet-marks and pagination, with the sizes of paper in inches and of printed matter in millimetres. The location of each original is shown by initials of the library.

The first printer, William Nuthead, after an unsuccessful attempt to carry on his profession at Jamestown in Virginia in 1682-1683, under the direction of John Buckner, was obliged by opposition of the authorities there to remove his press to the city of St. Mary's in Maryland,

where under pay of government he operated from about 1685 until his death early in 1695. After removal of the capital to Annapolis, license was granted to Dinah Nuthead, William's widow, in May, 1696, to print law-blanks and other legal forms. The next press was set up at the expense and under the direction of William Bladen at Annapolis in May, 1700, with Thomas Reading as printer, and the first things printed by him were Dr. Bray's sermon before the assembly on May 5, an act for the establishment of religion, and a folio volume of *Maryland Laws*, all in 1700. After Reading's death in 1713, there was no official printer in the colony until John Peter Zenger of New York was employed, from April, 1720, to August, 1721. Following him came William Parks in 1726, Jonas Green in 1738, and his wife Anne Catherine Green and her two sons, William and Frederick, 1767 to 1777. A short account is given of Thomas Sparrow, the first Maryland engraver. The first press at Baltimore was set up by Nicholas Hasselbach in 1765. He was followed, after an interval, by Hodge and Shober in 1772, William and Mary Goddard in 1773, Enoch Story, junior, in 1774, and John Dunlap in 1775.

The subject-material consists largely of official publications. The collected acts of the assembly, the annual session-laws, the votes and proceedings, and the governors' speeches, take up a considerable part of the record, and serve as a source-index to the legislative history of the colony. One whole chapter treats of the Rev. Thomas Bacon and his edition of the laws. Of newspapers, the *Maryland Gazette* was begun by Parks at Annapolis in 1727, and issued irregularly until 1734; it was revived by Green in 1745, and carried on by him and his descendants until 1839. At Baltimore, William Goddard started in 1773 the *Maryland Journal*, which was continued with ability by his sister Mary Katherine Goddard. Their activities in the literary and political life of the period are treated separately in an entertaining chapter. Another Baltimore newspaper, *Dunlap's Maryland Gazette*, was published from 1775 to 1778. In literature, attention may be called to the titles of Richard Lewis's versification of *The Mouse-Trap*, 1728, and *Carmen Seculare*, 1732; also to Ebenezer Cook's *Sotweed Redivivus*, 1730, and *Maryland Muse*, 1731. The descriptions of the editions of Daniel Dulany's *Considerations* on the Stamp Act are of special interest. There is a good index.

WILBERFORCE EAMES.

The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815). By PETER GUILDAY, Professor of Church History in the Catholic University of America. (New York: Encyclopedia Press. 1922. Pp. xv, 864. \$5.00.)

THIS volume covers a field that was fairly well explored by John Gilmary Shea more than thirty years ago, but a great mass of new material since brought to light in the files of Propaganda, in Hughes's *Documen-*

tary History of the Jesuits, in Griffin's *Historical Researches*, in the voluminous Carroll-Plowden correspondence, and in diocesan archives, especially of Baltimore and Westminster, has been used by the author to very good purpose. The result is a history of the Catholic Church in the United States from the middle of the eighteenth century to Carroll's death in 1815.

John Carroll, a Maryland gentleman and a Jesuit of the English province, was teaching in the college of Liège when driven by the suppression of his society in 1773 to return to America. Here he held himself aloof from his brethren, whom he describes to Plowden as swayed by "ignorance, indolence, delusion" (p. 164).

These twenty-two priests, all former members of the Society of Jesus, asked only to be let alone until the society should be restored. They neither desired the assistance of other priests nor the presence of a bishop, lest their tenure of the missionary property be jeopardized. Meanwhile, the country was settling up and many Catholics were coming, for whose wants there was neither sympathy nor provision. The result, of course, was confusion and disorder everywhere.

Almost half of this very long volume is devoted to the controversies and hesitations that preceded and accompanied the establishment of the first bishopric. Dr. Guilday gallantly defends every position taken by this obstinate and suspicious little group. As a consequence he seems to regard Propaganda as "a foreign power" (p. 168), and draws an amazing distinction between the Holy See as "the centre and source of all Catholic government" and its Congregation of Propaganda which is "a foreign official ministry" (pp. 233-234).

Yet his documents show that Propaganda acted with great consideration, patience, generosity, modifying its forms to suit the demands of the Americans and practically letting them have everything they wanted.

Much is made of what is called French interference in the establishment of the hierarchy. An exchange of views in 1783 between the nuncio at Paris and Cardinal Antonelli based on some conversations with Vergennes and Franklin and the Bishop of Autun, the minister of ecclesiastical benefices, becomes a plot that thickens when the Bishop of Autun is discovered to be Talleyrand! Unfortunately for the "intrigue" Talleyrand did not become bishop of Autun till the spring of 1789. Moreover it is sheer nonsense to say that Franklin, who understood very little about ecclesiastical government, could have ever—even if there was anything to the "plot"—considered the appointment of a Catholic bishop in the United States a "partial compensation" to France for its participation in the Revolution (p. 182).

The author has lost a capital chance to make a very useful study of the anti-Irish bias of the Maryland Catholics—Carroll himself not excluded. Smyth is dismissed as an ingrate, Archbishop Troy as a meddler, and all the rest as "rebels". In 1836 Bishop England, smarting under

his Baltimore experiences, will say, "It is one thing to be a Roman Catholic in this country and another to be an Irish Roman Catholic." Perhaps that is the key to many of Carroll's administrative difficulties. It is a pity that in a work of great merit like this, which will surely be a source-book for the history of this period, a more rigorous critical method was not employed. Arguments, reduplication, and irrelevant matter removed, the volume would lose half its size and gain twice its value.

The Causes of the War of Independence: being the First Volume of a History of the Founding of the American Republic. By CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE, Professor of History in the University of Michigan. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. x, 499. \$5.00.)

THIS book, carrying the story of the American Revolution through the outbreak of hostilities at Concord and Lexington, is the first of a projected series of three volumes which together will portray the founding of the American republic to 1789. Had the present volume appeared twenty years ago, it would have created a sensation and have marked an epoch in American historiography. Appearing, however, in the year 1922, its chief service is to correlate and synthesize the results of special researches into Revolutionary history made by a host of students in the intervening period, and, by showing the essential harmony of their conclusions, to give to their findings a new validity. The general reader and the busy teacher will thus find this volume a convenient and trustworthy short-cut to an extensive and somewhat specialized literature. The author's attitude throughout is even-tempered and unruffled and shows no traces of the stormy controversies which have been raised in recent years by certain well-meaning men who seemed to fear that a dispassionate disclosure of the facts surrounding the nation's birth would be destructive of American patriotism.

As the foregoing suggests, the major conclusions of the work rest upon the labors of others. Thus seventy-four different foot-notes contain citations to a single monograph; and two other studies are referred to as frequently as twenty-five times each. The author's selection of secondary works seems at times capricious. For instance, Wallace's *Henry Laurens* receives repeated citation, whereas Gipson's valuable *Jared Ingersoll* is not once mentioned. The author has made use of the familiar collections of printed sources, though chiefly for purposes of illustration. Only three citations to colonial newspapers are made in the entire volume. Although the author alludes to his researches in English and French archives, only thirty-two foot-notes of the one thousand and forty contain references to foreign manuscript material. Further analysis reduces these citations to twelve different documents; and of this number, at least four might have been consulted in the form of transcripts in the Library of Congress. There is apparently only one citation to manuscript material found in the United States.

The author's individuality is best expressed in chapters XII. and XIII., wherein he discusses those underlying divergencies in social, cultural, intellectual, and religious training and ideals which since early colonial days had tended to create misunderstanding between the colonists and Britain. In later chapters he never loses sight of these influences and he shows their bearing upon the development of each new crisis. He makes no mention, however, of the working union of the Presbyterians and the New England Congregationalists formed in 1764, which Gallo-way declared was a factor of prime importance in promoting the independent spirit.

Students of the Revolutionary period would have been grateful if Professor Van Tyne had supplemented the investigations of the research specialists of recent years by exploring some of the unknown territory which still lies between the newly marked trails. The activity of British trading bodies and of the absentee West Indian planters merits careful inquiry for the light it is almost certain to throw upon the successive acts of Parliament concerning America in the period 1763-1776. The whole matter of colonial paper currency, both from the American and British points of view, forms another fertile field for investigation. The administrative activities of the American Customs Board require exhaustive study before we can begin to write definitively of the causes of the colonial revolt. The complex framework of the popular party, with its interrelated parts and differentiated functions, needs much further analysis if we are to understand how an energetic minority succeeded in committing a majority of the population to armed revolt and independence. A thorough examination should also be made of the methods of anti-British propaganda employed by the popular leaders. Such an inquiry would touch lightly upon the constitutional grievances recited in state papers and the more serious pamphlets, and concentrate upon the appeals to passion and prejudice to be found in broadsides, bits of popular doggerel, patriotic songs, caricatures, newspapers, slogans, emblems, etc. The author does well to lay stress on the pulpit as an agency of agitation, but I believe he is mistaken in repeating the usual opinion that pamphlets were more potent in shaping colonial opinion than the newspapers. Thirty-nine new papers were established during the period of agitation, most of them by radical sympathizers; and there is plenty of evidence to show that the popular leaders were masters of the technique of newspaper propaganda.

To enter very fully into criticism of details would give a false idea of the value of the book. However, a few things need to be noted. Professor Van Tyne pictures British commercial control as being more repressive in its actual regulations than most recent students have believed; and he is in error in stating that colonial traders and planters were permitted to "sell only to England" (p. 66). He discusses the royal review of colonial legislation without knowledge, apparently, of

Dr. E. B. Russell's exhaustive treatise on this subject (see p. 150, note). At the same time he ignores the control of American legislation exercised by the king in council through appeals from the colonial courts. Here, rather than in the former case, do we have a true analogy to the action of the Supreme Court in annulling legislation (pp. 151-152). The author's use of the term "Loyalist" is frequently puzzling when applied to individuals and groups prior to the momentous year 1774. Who were not loyalists in that period? The author's statement of the terms upon which the port of Boston might be reopened under the statute of 1774 is only partly correct (p. 393). The exemption of South Carolina from the non-exportation regulation of the First Continental Congress was probably omitted in the interests of compression (p. 442), but thereby the author neglected a fine opportunity to reveal the mutual suspicions and the clash of competing economic interests involved in the carrying-out of the radical programme. Of the typographical errors the most serious are those involving an incorrect citation of pages or other data in foot-note references, as on pages 146, 361 (fourth note); and 370 (fourth note).

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company: a History, 1802-1902.

By B. G. DU PONT. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1920. Pp. 196. \$3.00.)

VERY few of the great business enterprises of the country have remained long under the management and control of their founders, but to this generalization E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company furnishes a notable exception. Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours, student of philosophy and literature, pupil of Quesnay, friend of Turgot and councillor of state, was the active, vigorous forebear of a long line of descendants who have carried on this concern. The original idea was for a land development and trading company with a capital of four million francs each, most of the company's activities to be in Virginia, but with an office in New York.

A series of unforeseen difficulties prevented the carrying-out of the first plans, as well as many of the other varied ideas of du Pont de Nemours, but the keenness of young Eleuthère Irénée du Pont, his son, at that time only twenty-eight years old, led to the formation of a powder-manufacturing company, the total capital available at the outset being \$23,000. In order to meet the difficulties presented by the differences between French and American corporation law two companies were formed—Du Pont de Nemours, Père et Fils et Cie. of Paris, and V. du Pont de Nemours and Company of New York. They were ready to sell powder in the spring of 1804.

From that time until the close of this history in 1902, the story is one of ups and downs, gains and losses. Explosions occurred from time

to time, stockholders in France became impatient, collections were often slow. Yet the project was on the whole a paying one, even in the earlier years. During the period 1804 to 1809, inclusive, sales amounted to \$243,554.79 and profits were \$43,613.68. Just what deductions were made before arriving at this amount is not entirely clear from the figures as given, but the gains were satisfactory.

Among the interesting features may be mentioned the contention of the author, supported by extracts from the files of correspondence, that the company did not make as much money during the war as in time of peace. Demands for peaceful uses of powder are at any rate more numerous than we often realize, and the outbreak of war frequently means the cessation of orders from many sources. Thus during the Civil War the orders for blasting and sporting powder from the Southern and Southwestern states were lost, while much export trade also disappeared because of the fear of seizure at sea. There were difficulties also in shipping to the miners of the Western coast. As a result new factories sprang up, and for a long time were serious competitors. Then there was the slowness of the government in settling accounts, the occasional movement for a government-owned-and-operated powder factory, the importance of watching for inventions and improvements in powder-making, the altering needs of warfare, and the importance of watching closely the general business situation.

The story is a fascinating one, and ends shortly after the change from a partnership to the corporate form of organization in 1899. By this time the business had grown to large proportions, and control was exercised over a considerable number of companies scattered through the country. When in January, 1902, Eugene du Pont died, there was doubt as to what course to follow, and for a time it seemed that control would pass from the du Ponts. Family pride, however, was a spur, and in March, 1902, a new corporation known as E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company was formed, with T. Coleman du Pont as president and with others of the family holding the remainder of the important offices. The properties were said at that time to be worth \$12,000,000.

The history is well told and of compelling interest. One wishes that it were continued to the present, with an account of the great expansion that has occurred during the last twenty years.

ERNEST M. PATTERSON.

The Trans-Mississippi West (1803-1853): a History of its Acquisition and Settlement. By CARDINAL GOODWIN, Ph.D., Professor of American History in Mills College. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 528. \$3.50.)

THE scope of this book is indicated by the second half of the title. There are detailed accounts of the diplomatic negotiations for the ac-

quisition of Louisiana, Texas, and the Southwest, and for the settlement of the northern boundary of the United States. Equally detailed are the descriptions of numerous exploring expeditions and of many local settlements. The book ends abruptly with 1853 and, of necessity, leaves many questions "up in the air".

The whole book leaves the impression that there is little connection between the history of the Northwest and that of the Southwest. The first four chapters, covering the Louisiana Purchase, early explorations, early settlements, fur trade, and commerce, and chapter VII. on the later explorations treat the West as a whole, but the other nine chapters are devoted to particular sections of the country and show no relationship between these sections. Two of these chapters are on Texas, three on Oregon, one on Iowa and Minnesota, one on the Great Salt Lake Basin, one on the settlement of California, and the last relates to the diplomacy of the Mexican War and Gadsden Purchase.

The language is clear and simple. Sometimes the author gets buried in details that apparently lead nowhere. There is slight attempt to follow chronological order, and different chapters cover the same period sometimes with almost the same point of view. The effort to treat explorations separately from trade and settlement accounts for many repetitions. Thus in the chapter on the fur trade there is an account of Astor's operations on the Pacific Coast (pp. 119-124), and in the chapter on early claims to Oregon there is another account (pp. 215-219).

There are some noteworthy omissions. In spite of the great attention given to explorations there is no mention of the romantic exploits of Colter, and no reference to the *Travels* of Maximilian, Prince of Wied, nor to the great expeditions of the Hudson's Bay Company brigades. Except in a quotation of a brief summary by Chittenden there is no mention of the discovery of Yellowstone Park, of South Pass, or of the Great Salt Lake. Nor in the account of missionary activities of the Northwest is there any mention of Father De Smet.

In the acquisition of Oregon, Hall J. Kelley is given a place of prominence formerly assigned by some writers to Marcus Whitman. In the account of the expeditions of the Flathead Indians to St. Louis in search of missionaries the author follows without question the early mistaken accounts which call them Nez Percés. He later wakes up to the fact that they were Flatheads, but makes no explanation of his previous error.

The narrative is generally at its best in the treatment of Texas and California. The account of the American fur trade, derived largely from the masterly volumes of Chittenden, is excellent. It does not attempt, however, to carry the story down to 1853. The description of the British fur trade is vague.

The author has undertaken a big task in an undeveloped field and has given it a scholarly and comprehensive treatment. In spite of some unevenness it is the best book on this period of Western history that has

yet appeared. Its lapses are due not to lack of industry and preparation but to the scattered and fugitive nature of the material. Until there are enough monographs available for an exhaustive treatment of this subject, this book will remain indispensable to every student of Western history. The bibliographies are carefully selected. Combined with Paxson's book, it furnishes the best text for the whole field of the history of the West.

PAUL C. PHILLIPS.

James K. Polk: a Political Biography. By EUGENE IRVING MCCORMAC, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of California. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1922. Pp. x, 746. \$6.00.)

THIS is a careful, exhaustive, and scholarly undertaking of enduring value. Professor McCormac set out to write a political biography—no easy task, for it involved the author in many self-limitations as to the personal side of his subject and tended toward the rewriting of the political history of the nation during the period of Polk's presidency. The author has managed to preserve the balance well. Polk's character and personality are set forth from various angles, though of course his *Diary* is the best exposition of his personal side, and the general political narrative only rarely (as in the case of the Scott-Trist imbroglio) strays far from Polk himself. The author's claim in the preface, to have shown Polk "to have been a constructive statesman—a statesman possessed of vision, sound judgment, and unusual executive ability", is on the whole justified. And it is but fair to add that Professor McCormac's conclusions are in a large way similar to those reached by Mr. Justin Smith, whose *War with Mexico* was published after the completion of the manuscript of the present volume, now printed after considerable delay. From now on it will take some courage to assail the results of these two works, based as they are upon close study of the enormous body of contemporary source-material. One may perhaps murmur a wonder as to how it came about that Polk's contemporaries erred so greatly in judgment. Was it blind partizanship, rational disagreement, or personal dislike which molded the opinion of Webster, Lincoln, Benton, and Calhoun? The phrase "Polk the Mendacious", we are reminded, was coined by Alexander H. Stephens, and not by Von Holst. Whatever the answer to this question may be, it is certain that Polk first and foremost lacked charm and magnetism. In no respect, either in conversation, in speech, or in writing did he ever display these qualities. With lack of charm in personality went lack of distinction in utterance. Polk was unimaginative even though he had vision, and while now and then he uttered something which he recorded as "jocose", no one has accorded to him a sense of humor. Again, with him partizanship was almost akin to a religion. As a disciple of Jackson, he regarded Federalism as an in-

eradicable taint indicating an absence of moral sense. He was a good listener but intensely secretive, and being so, suspicious. His only interest was politics and his early association with politics in Tennessee and at Washington made him an expert, except as a judge of men, but he certainly was a politician first and a statesman afterwards. As a politician he was shifty (the adjective naturally accompanies the noun), yet when confronted with the responsibilities of executive power he became independent and to that extent constructive—a statesman if viewed in the light of the results of his four years of power. As one reads of his interviews with Atocha, and the direction in which those meetings led him, one cannot feel that his moral plane was very high, and in his attitude toward the spoils system, which filled him with wearied disgust, there appeared no appreciation of the essential political immorality of such a scheme. In that regard he was no better and no worse than his contemporaries, or, for that matter, than many of his successors.

Polk's political creed was, first, Jeffersonian: "No former President—not even Jefferson himself—had succeeded so well in putting Jeffersonian theories into actual operation" (p. 685). His place, prior to his accession to the presidency, was proudly acknowledged as one of Jacksonian discipleship, and the nickname of "Young Hickory" was accepted by him without demur. Yet as President he stood upon his own feet. "Polk was ever ready to pay homage to Jackson on matters of no vital importance. But when the occasion demanded independent action—as in the discarding of Blair and Lewis—he did not hesitate to follow his own judgment even at the risk of incurring the General's displeasure" (p. 567).

Polk's political life down to 1844 may be summed up in terms of Jacksonian discipleship. That and a certain training in political manoeuvring make up the record. He was certainly not unknown in 1844, but Professor McCormac in carefully presenting the earlier period does not show Polk as of more than very average attainments. One has no thrill over any utterance, or gratification over any indication of independent or courageous action. He was simply a Jacksonian lieutenant. The record of those years seems to be then a rather labored endeavor to answer the question "Who is Polk?" He had done enough to make him "available" and the Democrats proved by him, as the Whigs had by Harrison, that availability was the main test of a presidential candidate, and that the national convention, even with a two-thirds rule, was a machine to be manipulated by politicians for the choice of an available candidate.

Professor McCormac relies upon Bancroft's statement, quoted by Schouler, as to Polk's four ambitions—the reduction of the tariff, the establishment of the subtreasury, the settlement of the Oregon question, and the acquisition of California. Bancroft's statement has been criticized as very possibly prophecy after the fact. The *Diary*, plunging in *medias res*, when the Oregon matter was under consideration, throws

no light upon the subject, but, whenever formulated, Polk put the performance through. The greatest factor in this accomplishment would appear to have been his determination, never altered, not to be a candidate for re-election. Never robust in health, he was no doubt strengthened in this decision by the strain of executive responsibility. He left office, like so many of his predecessors and successors, a disappointed man, but it was not the disappointment of frustrated ambition, but rather that he had been misunderstood and not appreciated. No occupant of the presidential chair worked harder, had less of recreation, or shifted fewer burdens upon his subordinates. He literally wore himself out in the White House. He was, then, devoted to his duties as President. That explains why he would have nothing to do with the presidential aspirations or intrigues of his cabinet members. His administration he hoped would perpetuate the supremacy of his party, but he would not permit it to be used for the advancement of future presidential ambitions, not even his own.

Such a picture, in part, Professor McCormac has given us. One misses certain side-lights which the views of Polk's opposition contemporaries might have given. The style, as befits the subject, is serious and rather heavy. The pages are too often marred by careless proof-reading. But these are not very serious objections. As a whole the work is extremely well done.

J. S. REEVES.

A History of California: the American Period. By ROBERT GLASS CLELAND, Ph.D. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 512. \$4.00.)

THIS book is a worthy second in the series in which Chapman's *Spanish Period* was the first. The two together give us the history of the great commonwealth on the Pacific in a form at once dignified, scholarly, and readable. We have travelled far, historically, from the archivistic compilation of Hubert Howe Bancroft and the brilliantly sophistical essay of Josiah Royce in achieving the sane, well-balanced, authoritative story of California as told in these attractive volumes.

I had the pleasure of noticing Chapman's book in an earlier number of this *Review*. Cleland's story begins where that left off, taking for the initial chapter the topic "Boston, California, and Canton", which symbolizes the American west coast fur trade. From this he proceeds, logically, to discuss the conditions of foreign trade in California, including the hide and tallow business, the overland fur trade and explorations of Jedediah Smith, Pattie, and their successors, the beginnings of regular overland immigrations, government explorations of Wilkes and of Fremont, the circumstances preceding the Mexican War, the conquest and annexation of California, the gold rush, and statehood.

The more modern period, from the achievement of statehood, is particularly well treated since the author gives us not merely an account of mining life, and the vigilante episodes in San Francisco, stories that have become fairly conventional, but also a fresh and gratifying account of Southern California, the filibustering efforts with Sonora as their objective, politics, the overland mail and pony express, the railroad, "the discontented seventies", recent politics, and material progress—in short, a well-rounded view of the development of California down to our own day.

If one were asked to select from the thirty chapters those which make the most favorable impression, I would take the earlier and the later chapters. With a genuinely epic swing Mr. Cleland carries the reader through the romantic period in which the sea-otter, the ox-hide, and the beaver-skin were the prime attractions in California to American traders, and a good measure of the same enthusiasm is manifested in the last third of the book. The central portion possesses fewer marks of distinction but is still eminently respectable as a whole, and there are places in those middle chapters where the author is at his best both as interpreter of history and as writer. One of these is chapter XVII., the Gold Rush.

His treatment of Fremont is (to one who essayed a new interpretation of that episode eighteen years ago) particularly interesting because it reveals his complete emancipation from the authority of Bancroft and of Royce, whose combined influence distorted that feature of California history for a generation. I have seen nothing more gratifying than Cleland's discussion of Fremont's return from Klamath Lake and his gradual participation in the events resulting in the first conquest. He is less satisfactory on the earlier phase of Fremont's activity which ended in the fiasco of Gavilan Peak. Bancroft and Royce make these the proceedings of a madman or a villain. Cleland excuses Fremont's acts but does not explain them and, to me at least, shows needless timidity in dealing with the evidence which exonerates Fremont from wrong-doing. That evidence, in the form of letters from Fremont himself, and from Larkin, was printed immediately after the conquest. It proves to me that Fremont was engaged in a perfectly legitimate service as an officer of his government and also that a definite, though necessarily an oral, agreement had been reached with the California officials by which he was permitted to carry out his surveying plans. If that evidence can be impeached, it is the duty of a present-day writer to show how it can be impeached.

It would be pleasant, in connection with so good a book, to find it free from minor blemishes, but unfortunately I have not that felicity. It is an error to say that a battalion was recruited, for the California campaign in 1846, "from the Mormon immigrants in Salt Lake" (p. 218); and the proof-reader passed the name "Stephens" for "Stephenson". Eco-

nomic historians would be glad to have the authority for the statement (p. 288) that lumber was sold for \$500 per thousand feet. The omission of any reference to Oregon as a source of mining supplies (p. 306) is symptomatic of a disposition on the author's part to ignore the influence which the first American territory on the Pacific exerted, directly and indirectly, upon the history of California. There are too many evidences of careless proof-reading. No one enjoys reading "had came", "rates was reduced", and "tract" for track. We shall hope, however, that the manifold excellences of the book will so impress the public as to raise at once the demand for a new edition, when all of these trifling defects can be remedied.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Japan and the United States, 1853-1921. By PAYSON J. TREAT.
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1921.
Pp. iv, 283. \$2.00.)

INTERPRETING the East to the West and the West to the East is an enterprise upon which many writers, not a few of them Japanese, have been actively engaged since the Russo-Japanese War. Professor Treat in this book holds up the mirror for the Japanese to see themselves as *some* others see them. In twelve lectures delivered before Japanese university audiences he has outlined the history of their relations with the countries of eastern Asia and the United States.

The period between Perry's arrival and the abolition of feudalism in 1871 furnishes the subject-matter of chapters II. to V., inclusive, and in these chapters Professor Treat is at his best, for his information is most complete and his interpretations of the facts are least open to criticism. The events between the years 1871 and 1905 occupy the next four chapters; these are followed by two chapters devoted to the all-important years between the Russian war and 1919. The final chapters deal with the Peace Conference and the Japanese immigration problem on the Pacific coast. From this distribution of his space it is evident that the author felt it wise to devote nearly two-thirds of the book to the period antedating the war with Russia. In view of his audience this decision was at least discreet, but it also casts doubt upon the wisdom of publishing the lectures in America. To the majority of American readers the last two decades of Japanese history are of much more interest than the period before the Russo-Japanese War. What they wish to be informed about are the relations of Japan to China, Korea, Siberia since the fall of Russian power in eastern Asia. When dealing with recent events it is nearly impossible for even a historian to avoid the temptation to please his audience, especially if that audience is a Japanese one. To the reviewer's mind Professor Treat's volume is replete with interpretations of the shifts of Japanese foreign policy that are open to dispute. When speaking of Korea the author dismisses the matter of its annexa-

tion with the words "Japan should be judged not by the way in which she acquired Korea, but by the use which she made of her great responsibilities toward the Korean peoples" (p. 201), and in another connection he speaks of "her stern measures in Korea", as the cause of much unfavorable criticism (p. 239), and again he admits that "the attitude of the average Japanese to the Korean leaves much to be desired". In trying to follow an author through so many changes of opinion the reader tends to arrive at the conclusion that either the writer does not know what he is talking about, and that could not be said of Professor Treat, or that he is deliberately adjusting his views to the demands of his audience. On such questions as the Twenty-one Demands, the entrance of Japan into the war, and the Shantung settlement our author is equally ambiguous in his treatment of the Japanese position.

There are scattered throughout the chapters numerous pieces of advice to Japanese statesmen on the conduct of foreign policy, and it is these preachments, implying criticism, that give the book much of its appearance of impartiality. On page 245, Professor Treat declares: "Japan, therefore, must do something positive to improve these relations between the Governments and the peoples. . . . To-day China needs unselfish encouragement and support, and the three Powers who have most at stake in rendering this are Japan, the United States, and Great Britain, and of these it means most to Japan. She should, therefore, be ready and willing to coöperate in all good works which will help China to regain her political union and independence." This specific advice is further generalized on page 248 in the following sentence: "But real leadership must be based upon service and not upon force, and no one could begrudge Japan such leadership in Asia."

If this book contributes even in a slight degree to the conversion of the Japanese to a policy of unselfish helpfulness in China, its publication will have at least that justification. As a contribution to current knowledge on the subject little can be said in its favor.

W. W. McLAREN.

A History of the United States since the Civil War. By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER. In five volumes. Volume II., 1868-1872. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xi, 649. \$4.00.)

It is a pity that Dr. Dunning's witty mind and facile pen are no longer available to deal with Oberholtzer's second volume as he dealt with the first. For although I think that my opinion of the value of the work would not have differed from his, I cannot match his wit in avoiding expression of it.

Volume II. covers the years 1868-1872. Reconstruction, Impeachment, the Presidential Campaign of 1868, and Grant as President, are the subjects of four chapters exclusively political. The story of the Ku Klux

Klan, and that of the origin and settlement of the Alabama Claims, are the topics of the next two chapters. They are followed by one dealing with such various matters as the building of the first Pacific Railroad, the projects for an interoceanic canal, diplomatic dealings with China and Japan, and government subsidies.

The last chapter, entitled the End of the Orgy, is an exhaustive collection of all the discreditable and scandalous conditions, movements, and tendencies that could be cited as of the four years under review, unrelieved by the faintest hint that the picture presented is not complete and accurate. A New Zealander, say, endeavoring to acquaint himself with American history, would not find in this chapter a single line to suggest that decency or honesty was not extinct in American public and business life. If he relied on this book alone he would believe that Congress, the church, the bench, the bar, and the newspaper press were completely demoralized, that politicians, clergymen, and professional men welcomed and profited by the corrupt propositions made to them by the railroad and other corporations seeking public favors. All moral perceptions were blunted, if it is true, as asserted on page 539, that "To so many persons the accumulation of wealth had become the one absorbing and all-important object in life that the methods by which the end was gained, no matter how abominable, shocked nobody".

For the most part the book is a version of political history. In the writing of history a judicial temper is desirable, although it may be admitted that some histories written from a frankly partizan point of view are not without merit and usefulness. But we find here an author who never sees more than one side of a controversy, who asperses the motives of all on the other side, and does not refrain from vituperative epithets. It would be easy to quote scores of passages in which the leaders of the party in power at the time covered by this volume are assailed with slur or belittling innuendo. The chapter on Grant as President leaves the reader wondering how so mediocre a man could have been placed in such an exalted station as the presidency, but he would not wonder at the result: "an administration which throughout was singularly wanting in worthy figures or creditable deeds" (p. 306). Sumner, Fish, Boutwell, Garfield, Colfax, Logan, Thaddeus Stevens, of course, and many others are held up to reprobation or scorn, or are bluntly denounced as liars. One wonders what possible bearing on history the author attributed to the peculiarly offensive paragraph about Motley in the note on page 440.

The extreme, even sensational, one-sidedness of the author's attitude is shown, even more than in the text, if that were possible, in the page-headlines. Here are a few of them, selected casually from various parts of the book: "Infamous White Men" (meaning those whom he invariably designates as "scalawags" or "carpet-baggers"); "Mongrel Menageries"; "Grant's Simplicity"; "Disgrace of Colfax"; "Radical Rhet-

oric"; "A Corrupted Press"; "Partisan Fury"; "Grant's Low Example"; "Radical Schemes".

Throughout the book, it is fair to say, the citation of authorities is abundant and, it is to be presumed, accurate. The only just criticism is that they are exclusively such as support the views of the author as to the events, the men, and the political and social conditions he has undertaken to present to his readers. Two inaccuracies may be noted for correction should there be need of a second edition. Santo Domingo, which Grant hoped to acquire for the United States, is in every instance referred to as San Domingo. On page 159 we are told that on a date mentioned a greenback dollar was worth 139¾. Of course the statement should be that a gold dollar was worth so much in comparison with a greenback dollar.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

How America Went to War. By BENEDICT CROWELL, Assistant Secretary of War and Director of Munitions, 1917-1920, and ROBERT FORREST WILSON, formerly Captain, U. S. A. In six volumes. IV., V. *The Armies of Industry: Our Nation's Manufacture of Munitions for a World in Arms, 1917-1918*; VI. *Demobilization: Our Industrial and Military Demobilization after the Armistice, 1918-1920.* (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press. 1921. Pp. xxv, 382; 383-738; xiii, 333.) \$42.00 for six vols.

THESE books have the form and appearance of historical works. They purport to record those activities of the War Department over which the senior author had jurisdiction during a part of the war and for some months following. Volumes IV. and V. are, with the following exceptions, reprinted verbatim from an official report to the Secretary of War by Assistant Secretary Crowell, published by the United States government in May, 1919—three short chapters are added, three short chapters are omitted, twelve chapter-titles are altered, a dozen or more pages are slightly edited, some of the statistical tables are altered, an index is added, the type is larger, and the paper heavier. More than a third of the same material, the part relating to ordnance supplies, has been published before with little change of form and no change of substance in May, 1920, by E. P. Dutton and Company, in a book under the title *American Guns in the War with Germany*, signed by Edward S. Farrow and dedicated to Mr. Crowell. Mr. Crowell in the original governmental publication makes acknowledgment for the preparation of the work to nearly a hundred officers then in service. Volume VI. was prepared in Washington after Mr. Crowell had retired from office.

One cannot pass lightly over these books on the theory that the authors had inadequate access to the sources. The conditions of writing were

ideal for a historian. But these authors appear, consciously or unconsciously, to be extreme adherents to that philosophy of history which must find order and logic in the course of events or read it in. They adopt a formula which they apply in turn to each class of supplies and then they inject true symmetry into the work as a whole by opening and closing with chapters showing how America's plans and performances always co-ordinated accurately with the purposes and acts of the Allied Powers.

These authors see in respect to each commodity involved in our industrial participation in the war (1) chaos on April 6, 1917, followed promptly by (2) plans and programmes which are (3) brilliantly consummated in the events surrounding November 11, 1918. Each and every act recorded is part of a well-ordered plan, intelligently conceived so as to lead to the end sought with the least possible confusion and delay. The losses and wastes could none of them have been avoided, if indeed there were any.

There are other men who looked upon the same events and circumstances and report that they saw, on April 6, 1917, chaos, not in American war industries, which were prosperous and grown to immense size, but in the American War Department, which chaos was only slightly and in places relieved until the close of hostilities made the whole spontaneous and unsystematic struggle no longer necessary.

The manner of the books is illustrated by chapter XXXII., on Vehicles. It is implied that American manufacturers were not equipped in April, 1917, to supply motor-trucks to the army as fast as it could be mustered in. The chapter praises the marvellous work of motor-trucks in saving Verdun. Three thousand trucks of one American firm were on that job when we went to war and many more thousands were in France giving complete satisfaction. No important quantities of these particular trucks were ordered by the American army until July, 1918, after more than a year had been consumed in a vain struggle to design a new composite truck which somebody thought might be better. The authors find all this according to programme—the composite trucks should have come out in 1919 or 1920, it was “planned” to delay a year, order in a hurry, find shipping space short, and have the American Expeditionary Force buy what and where it could in Europe. The authors complacently point out the number of trucks contracted for on November 11, 1918, as if they believe that to be an appropriate measure of the manner of meeting war requirements.

These books are likely to cause those who engage in historical research in the future some confusion when they attempt to check the impressions given with the primary records. This is particularly true in respect to the treatment of munitions of war proper. It is said, for example, that there were no facilities in the United States for making complete rounds of ammunition in quantities on April 6, 1917. The

records of our manufacturing companies show that many million complete rounds created here had been delivered to the Allied Powers before that date. And as for components, the nitrocellulose powder capacity had grown from 1,500,000 pounds per month in 1914 to 1,000,000 pounds per day in April, 1917. The expansion of high-explosives capacity, of shell capacity, and that of the other constituents, except to some extent detonators, had taken a like course. Military-rifle capacity had been raised from zero to 5,000,000 pieces per year. And all or nearly all these munition plants were quite capable of expansion to an extent adequate to meet any new need.

But the War Department, whether it was quite conscious of the trend of its policy or not, began at high noon the creation of many new and extremely difficult designs—machine guns, artillery, ammunition, right through the list. The artillery which our troops used at the front and the ammunition which they fired were purchased by the American Expeditionary Force from the Allied Powers, simply because it was time to strike before the War Department could get these supplies from the United States to the firing line; but the noteworthy fact is that much more than the equivalent of this same artillery was supplied by private manufacturers in the United States to the Allies, some in the form of finished guns, most of it as gun-tube forgings and other semi-finished constituents. And the same is true of the artillery ammunition; the American Expeditionary Force bought 9,000,000 rounds of the Allies, the Allies bought a far larger number than that of complete rounds here.

No catastrophe befell us in the war. But the reader of Mr. Crowell's books should be warned of the sense of security into which they tend to soothe him. We had many months of warning, we neglected to design our tools or prepare plans for procuring them until the war was upon us. Then we did our part largely with borrowed tools. The authors here have so framed their presentation that all this seems natural and as it should be. They make no plea for industrial preparedness, not even in respect to designs and plans.

One lays these volumes down with a feeling of something less than satisfaction. As new books appear on our industrial part in the war, they are read in the hope of finding an impersonal analysis. That analysis we do not find here, but only an account by interested parties, and an account permeated by a too evident desire on the part of the authors to justify and praise all that took place. Perhaps we should not expect the same men to make and write history. Perhaps we are still too close to the events.

FRANK FRITTS.

The Washington Conference. By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL, Procter Fellow in Politics in Princeton University. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. xiii, 461. \$3.00.)

The Shantung Question: a Study in Diplomacy and World Politics.

By GE-ZAY WOOD, B.A. (Yale), M.A. (Harvard), Member of Chinese Delegation to the Washington Conference; Curtis Fellow in International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University, 1919-1921. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1922. Pp. 372. \$5.00.)

THESE two books are more than useful commentaries on the Washington Conference. Mr. Buell attempts a general historical survey of the problems which were before the Conference and Mr. Wood does not reach the Conference till his eighteenth chapter. Nevertheless each volume must be judged to a considerable extent by the view taken of the results of that meeting. Significantly Mr. Wood, who as a Chinese was connected with the press department of the Chinese delegation at the Washington Conference, says: "It is thus evident that the Shantung settlement reached at Washington is not a bad bargain for China. Chinese public opinion in general has reason to be satisfied" (p. 275). Mr. Buell, the American author, is, however, critical of the settlement; in this as in other matters he views the general results as directly or indirectly perpetuating and strengthening Japanese influence or control in the Far East.

Thus Mr. Buell says (p. 200): "Consequently, as long as these [Naval and Four-Power] Treaties are adhered to, Japan is absolutely supreme in the eastern Pacific and over Asia." And again (p. 327): the Conference "strengthened the position of Japan and it increased the hostility of the Chinese and Siberians toward the Japanese". Whatever we may think of these sweeping conclusions this book is a contrast to Mr. Mark Sullivan's chortle over the Washington meeting; this Mr. Pepper has reviewed elsewhere under the apt title—"Pollyanna at the Conference". Mr. Buell's book shows a sense of proportion which Mr. Sullivan's lacked. Rightly the emphasis is laid on Pacific and Far Eastern questions rather than on the limitation of armaments. Here is cool scrutiny, though it may occasionally end in rather flamboyant generalization; and the optimistic, almost lyrical note which characterizes the opinion of most supporters of the present administration in regard to the work and results of the Conference is absent. Mr. Buell's book, however, is not entirely pessimistic; rather is it a healthy though disagreeable corrective diet for those benevolent gourmands who banqueted too joyously at the official table of the American delegation. Senator Lodge won't like Mr. Buell's book.

On the other hand Mr. Buell's survey also lacks at times an intimate touch with some of the important factors which were involved in the work of the Conference. Thus in the discussion of the proposed renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Mr. Buell fails to understand the meaning of Article VI. That did actually provide for the automatic indefinite duration of the alliance unless the treaty were denounced at

some future date. Neither the American nor the Japanese government ever supposed in 1920 or 1921 that proper steps had been taken to terminate the treaty of alliance of 1911. The alliance is in fact in existence, at least technically, until the Four-Power Treaty is ratified by France. Consequently comments in chapter IV. need revision. In similar fashion the statement as to the origin of the Conference (pp. 147-148) is incomplete; for the relationship of the Washington Conference to the British Imperial Conference of July, 1921, is not sufficiently indicated. Some of the criticism directed against the American delegation is also open to question. It does not seem fair to say that "President Wilson had actually fought for his Fourteen Points at Paris, although he was defeated there; but Mr. Hughes admitted defeat from the very first" (p. 322). The factor of American public opinion seems to have been ignored. We did not want to fight for China or for the open door in 1922 and the Japanese delegation knew that as well as Mr. Hughes did. Furthermore, within the American delegation was the pressure of Mr. Root's profound conviction that world opinion was "the greatest power known to human history". When the time comes to revise present estimates of the American concessions which now grate so sorely on Mr. Buell, the greater responsibility for many of them may be found to rest with Mr. Root.

Such criticisms, however, should not disturb the essential fact that the book as a whole is a stimulating review of an exceedingly difficult subject. This is also true of Mr. Wood's more intensive survey of the Shantung Question. Naturally there is a strong bias toward the Chinese side of the case; that, once recognized, is part of its value as a semi-official statement. There are passages and discussions which are beside the mark; but as a careful history of the Shantung problem this volume will deservedly rank high. There is no pretense in the book and its publication should challenge the issue of an equally sincere presentation of the Japanese point of view, which will also be as circumstantial as to China as Mr. Wood tries to be in his treatment of Japanese policy. Both books are well documented and have workable indexes.

A. L. P. D.

History of the Latin-American Nations. By WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1922. Pp. xxiii, 617. \$4.00.)

TREATMENT of the history of the region comprised within the geographical expression "Latin America" has followed one of two modes of presentation. The writers concerned have regarded the several countries into which it is divided as so many parts of an area having substantially the same type of civilization or have considered their political separateness sufficient to justify a recognition of each as an individual

nation. To the latter school belongs Professor Robertson, and his text-book is the best example of it extant in any language. The superiority of his manual indeed to all of its competitors in this field of interpretation is so manifest that comparisons are futile. More than a text-book for college and university classes, it is a work of reference meriting a hearty tribute of acknowledgment for the industry in research and precision of scholarship which it displays. Professor Robertson has rendered a great service in providing teachers, students, and the general reader with a really authoritative text on the history of the Latin-American states.

About one-third of the work is devoted to the period before the attainment of independence. In the remaining portion the history of each of the republics in South America and of Mexico is traced in successive chapters from the third decade of the nineteenth century onward to the present time. The life record of the little countries in the Caribbean and in Central America, however, is condensed into a single chapter. At the close consideration is given to Latin-American "problems and ideals" and the relations of the republics to European nations and to the United States. Except in the case of the last two chapters, descriptions of phases of civilization are supplied which might serve to indicate the conditions prevalent in each of the Latin-American countries to-day. Appended to most of the chapters, also, are summaries that in the main furnish excellent characterizations. The volume has a number of maps and an elaborate bibliography so arranged as to correspond to each of the individual chapters.

Believing that, although "some resemblances exist between the Latin-American nations, yet there are many differences—differences which are potential in determining their destinies" (p. vi), Professor Robertson applies to them the word "nations", instead of "republics", with the object apparently of emphasizing the nationhood that, in his opinion, each of them possesses apart from its fellows in the Hispanic area of civilization. Whether disposed or not to admit that the ideas and institutions implanted by Spain and Portugal and the vicissitudes through which the colonies passed on their way to emancipation from the control of their respective mother countries may have been of greater significance than their development as political entities in determining their destinies, he subordinates such considerations to a recital in detail of the history of each individual state. The multifarious relations arising among them, also, he treats as incidents in their separate national record—a procedure that necessarily involves repetition—or else he vouchsafes them a brief notice in one of the final chapters.

Valuable as the work is, and a testimonial to the scholarship and competence of the author, its very exhaustiveness may interfere somewhat with its usefulness as a text-book, though not as a book of reference. In the latter respect a chronological list of the presidents or other chief executives and of the constitutions of each of the republics would have

been a welcome addition. This brings up the matter of maps and bibliography. So far as the former are concerned, Professor Robertson fares no better at the hands of his publishers than most of his compeers in the field of history. The maps are not at all commensurate in merit with the contents of the work that they are supposed to illustrate. As to the bibliography it might be said that, while full praise must be accorded the effort displayed in accumulating and arranging so much material, there is room for doubt whether it is as serviceable as its size might indicate. Many of the titles might have been omitted to advantage and their places taken by critical estimates of the books that are really worth while.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

An Introduction to Economic History. By Norman S. B. Gras, Ph.D., Professor of Economic History in the University of Minnesota. [Harper's Historical Series, edited by Guy Stanton Ford.] (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1922, pp. xxiv, 350, \$2.50.) In these hurried days we have come to apply the term introduction to a tabloid treatment of a subject, more commonly than to an initial grounding in the definitions and classifications essential to its thorough comprehension. But it is in the latter sense, of prolegomena to economic history, that the title of Professor Gras's book should be read.

The author's purpose is to show, by a special interpretation of illustrative economic facts, five stages of social evolution, and thus to establish a sequential classification in economic history within which the student may group his later accumulations of data. These successive steps in human development are termed collectional economy, when man merely gathers the spontaneous products of nature—the hunting stage; cultural nomadic economy, when men are wandering herdsmen and occasional agriculturalists without fixed abodes; settled village economy, to which even higher civilizations occasionally revert in periods of political disintegration and under colonial conditions; town economy, such as prevailed in America until after the railway era and still survives to some extent in the South; and metropolitan economy, where all the economic functions of a country are polarized with respect to one or more great centres of population.

These are recognized steps in historical progress and familiar cultural classifications applied to existing races and tribes in different degrees of advancement. Their use as a framework for economic history is not novel. Nevertheless this volume has some pretension to originality in addition to its unquestionable merit as a text-book. In the discussion of metropolitan economy there are stimulating suggestions and fresh viewpoints worthy of more elaborate treatment than the author could

give them in so compressed a space. Some of the applications are debatable and a perhaps unintentional aspect of finality is given to our contemporary, city-centred civilization, which a critical study of existing economic forces might incline a student to qualify. But these are minor details so far as the immediate purpose of the book is concerned. It is an excellent class-room aid for both economics and history courses; and its last two chapters, embracing nearly half of the text, will repay the attention of the mature economist.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

Documents and their Scientific Examination. By C. Ainsworth Mitchell. (London, Charles Griffin and Company, 1922, pp. xii, 215, 10 s. 6 d.) This little book gives an outline of methods employed in the examination of disputed documents by means of chemistry and the use of the microscope. After describing the apparatus needed, the author enters upon a series of descriptions of the materials used for records, beginning with paper and including inks, pencils, typewriting machines, and printing. Having previously written much upon the production and properties of inks, his most important contribution here is concerned with that subject. As a result of his own investigations he presents much valuable information about reagents and methods of testing the age and derivation of writing fluids. The composition of the lead pencil also has a history which may be employed with the assistance of the microscope to fix the time and sequence of marks and handwriting. The characteristics of writing are only briefly treated, for the work is more concerned with other external factors. It is not an outline of palaeography, or of the usages of diplomatics, but a convenient handbook for the expert witness in a court of justice. It does not take the place of the chapters in the authoritative writers on the history of manuscripts and documentary forms, but aims to be a practical manual for the discovery of modern forgery. At the same time the historical student will profit by the study of the processes and the reasoning here employed in proving from external evidence the status of a questioned document.

J. M. V.

Intervention in International Law. By Ellery C. Stowell. (Washington, D. C., John Byrne and Company, 1921, pp. viii, 558, \$4.00.) Intervention has traditionally been held to be interference by one state in the affairs of another so as to give direction to the other's policy, domestic or even foreign. The legality of any intervention has therefore been denied by many writers as in derogation of the so-called fundamental rights of states. Mr. Stowell propounds another definition: "Intervention in the relations between states is—the rightful use of force, or the reliance thereon, to constrain obedience to international law." It becomes therefore a body of remedial law, and "sovereignty is the sys-

tem which reduces this outside interference to a minimum". The author has sought to work out his scheme from international practice, and notwithstanding his attempt to divide grounds of intervention between those which are legal and those which are political, the distinction is not quite convincing. Collective intervention may rest upon a legal basis, but even it has frequently been political. It would seem that the author would clothe political intervention with a legal covering, a so-called right of reasonable adjustment, where there has been a refusal by a state to agree to a reasonable adjustment or compromise, even when the rights and interests of that state have been threatened. This is a rather daring generalization from the Hague Convention of 1907.

In addition to the faults of the general plan of the book, embracing divisions which do not seem to be mutually exclusive, the work as a whole is ill-digested. Not only in the foot-notes, but in the body of the text, are copious extracts—exceeding in space the words of the author—the germaneness of which is not always to be perceived. One would scarcely expect to find Attorney General Daugherty's opinion as to the transportation of liquors (pp. 270-275) in a work on intervention, any more than the correspondence between Palmerston and G. C. Lewis on British foreign policy. Such a mélange of extracts affords a variety of incident, but considerable irritation results if the reader is attempting to follow a reasoned and sustained argument. The annotated bibliography is apparently adequate and valuable.

J. S. REEVES.

La Terre avant l'Histoire: les Origines de la Vie et de l'Homme. Par Edmond Perrier, Professeur d'Anatomie Comparée au Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. [*L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, dirigée par Henri Berr.] (Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, 1920, pp. xxviii, 414, 15 fr.) In this book of about four hundred pages the author has condensed the history of the origin of the world and life, and of the coming of man, covering a period of scores of millions of years. The story of the origin of atoms and molecules, of our sun and planetary system, is told in the fifteen pages of the first chapter. The shaping of the earth, its relation to the sun, and its varying climates occupy the next forty pages.

The second part treats of the origin of life and its earliest evolution, the appearance of the great types of plants and animals, and the spread of life into the depths of the oceans and over the continents.

The third part describes the forms of life during the great geological ages. Practically the whole palaeontological and zoological history of life, and a good bit of geology, are here outlined in about one hundred pages. There is little space left for the development of the primates into man.

It is truly a French piece of work, condensed but clear, and well planned and arranged: it "marches". It is the work of a learned,

philosophical, brilliant zoologist. In the chapters on this subject the author is at his best. The chapters on palaeontology are nearly as good, though here his knowledge seems sometimes less accurate. His views of geological development often look risky. Here the reviewer hesitates to criticize lest he betray his own ignorance or outgrown theories. We wish the author could have had more space for the immediate ancestry and the conditions of the coming of man.

Such a book must have the defects of its virtues. It is mostly a series of generalizations which often go over into speculations, some of which, at least, seem to lack firmness of foundation. What else could we demand or expect? It is a panorama, not a portrait. The reader will enjoy it, and gain a general picture of the origin and growth of the world and life which will instruct and help him. The author carries a great mass of facts as well as speculations easily and lightly. The book is never dull; and, best of all, it is always highly suggestive.

Les "Pauvres" d'Israël (Prophètes, Psalmistes, Messianistes). Par A. Causse, Professeur à la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses publiées par la Faculté, fascicule 3.] (Strasbourg and Paris, Istra, 1922, pp. 173, 8 fr.) The University of Strasbourg under its new régime is surely making itself known to the world by its many publications and the present volume is a welcome addition to the number. As the title suggests, the book is a presentation of the hopes, the aspirations, the ideals of "the poor" in Israel—not "the poor" in the material sense of the word, but rather the piously minded, the humble and reverent spirits of Israel.

The author divides his treatment into three parts, which are likewise three successive epochs in the history of the nation. In the first he shows how the people grew from the simple-minded, god-fearing folk of the early nomadic age to a nation in which class rivalry, selfishness, and injustice were rampant. Against this condition of affairs the Nazirites, Rechabites, and prophets in turn protested, championing the simpler, plainer life of the patriarchal age. The second part of the book is devoted to a consideration of the Psalter and the author shows that many of the Psalms are expressive of this same note of simplicity, quietism, and piety. It was "the poor in spirit" who saw God. In the last division the author discusses some of the literature of the intertestamental period and here again we note that the leading thought of the Messianists of the time had this same pietistic strain running through it.

The book is well written and is well abreast of scholarly opinion about the Old Testament. The discussion is abundantly illustrated by Scriptural references and quotations, so that one may check up the interpretations and note the grounds for them. Like most foreign books it lacks that requisite of all books, an index. The volume is a popular

one, but scholarly withal. In it one has in brief compass a review of the inner religious thought of Israel throughout its history and that inner thought the author has well shown to be pietistic.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Les Lorrains et la France au Moyen-Age. Par le Comte Maurice de Pange. (Paris, Édouard Champion, 1919, pp. xxx, 196.) This is a collection of studies, all except one of which appeared previously but through different channels. Somewhat revised by their author, then brought together several years after his death (which occurred in 1913) and provided with a thirty-page introduction (signed by "J. P."), an index, and a good table of contents, they are at once easy to consult and interpretative to a considerable degree of each other.

The Comte de Pange was Lorraine-bred, and of a family whose ties to the soil and to the life of the region began many generations back. While still very young he developed a sort of passion for the history of what he saw about him, and took to collecting and reading the documents—however undecipherable they often seemed. What interested him especially, as the years passed, was not simply the raw facts, but the thinking and temper of the people concerned. For one point, whence came Joan of Arc and the sort of feeling she had concerning the king of France? Patriotism toward France, runs the answer in the first of these studies, patriotism inspired not by interest but by attachment in the abstract, with religious quality and capacity for sacrifice, was a very old thing in Lorraine when Joan's life began. Many say however that Joan, while French in sentiment, was of Champagne. Not at all, says the second study: the part of Domremy where she lived belonged legally to Lorraine—and the demonstration offered is a skillful bit. Of the remaining studies, one gives the Baudricourt origin in Lorraine rather than Champagne, three concern "*Les Lorrains dans l'Histoire Littéraire de France*", and the last concludes decisively that Duke Simon II. of Lorraine was succeeded, in 1206, by his nephew Ferri de Bitche, not by his brother of the same name.

E. W. Dow.

A Brief Account of the Military Orders in Spain. By Georgiana Goddard King, M.A., Professor of the History of Art in Bryn Mawr College. [Hispanic Notes and Monographs.] (New York, the Hispanic Society of America, 1921, pp. xii, 275, \$2.50.) This charming little volume, in the familiar binding and style of the publications of the Hispanic Society of America, is of interest primarily to the traveller along the by-paths of history. For one unfamiliar with the main outlines of Spanish medieval history the account would be unintelligible. It is based directly on early chronicles, more especially on that of Rades about the three principal military orders. These works are followed not

only as to facts but also as to form and style. The author takes up one order after another, running through the lives of each of the masters. Calatrava is accorded 101 pages, Alcántara 54, Santiago 90, and minor orders 16.

So intent is the author upon preserving the atmosphere of her sources, that she employs English of "medieval sound", with much unexplained allusion. On this account the meaning, and even the person referred to, are not always clear. The following are specimens of the literary style: "the account which the Order kept . . . was other"; "Monroy . . . his loyal servitor unwavering"; "a bastard daughter of the Master's to wife"; "belike".

One ought first to read such a book as Merriman's *Rise of the Spanish Empire*, if he is to have an understanding of the significance of the military orders in Spanish life, for there is no intimation of it here. The volume serves its most useful purpose, perhaps, in its characterizations of individuals and descriptions of specific incidents, which may be used to dress up the more sombre facts of history. The following are good illustrations of this phase of the book: stories of the Marquis of Villena, Pedro Girón, and Alonso de Monroy; relations of Alfonso XI. and Gonzalo Núñez; the battle of Aljubarrota; and the murder of Fadrique, Master of Santiago, by his half-brother King Peter.

For the professor of Spanish history and the wanderer "off the beaten track" in Spain the book will be a welcome addition to his library.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

Mystics and Heretics in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages. By Émile Gebhart. Translated, with an Introduction, by Edward Maslin Hulme. (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd.; New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1922, pp. 283, 12 s. 6 d.) The publication of a translation of Gebhart's *L'Italie Mystique* thirty-two years after the appearance of the original seems to serve no purpose. The author had no particular distinction either as a literary man or a scholar, and this work, which implied such a wide field of study, was regarded as a popular exposition, told in a charming style, rather than as a serious historical work. The mass of new documents, new investigations on the period covered by the book, makes it to-day thoroughly inadequate as a presentation of its subject.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart. Von Fritz Hartung. Second revised edition. [Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft, ed. Aloys Meister, Reihe II., Abteilung 4.] (Leipzig and Berlin, B. G. Teubner, 1922, pp. vi, 205, \$1.95.) The collapse of the German Empire and of princely governments in a score of German states, followed by the rise of national and state republican gov-

ernments, naturally suggested a new edition of Professor Hartung's well-known constitutional history; and occasion has been taken not only to add a chapter on the revolution of 1918 and the organization of the new political system but to make some additions and other alterations at certain points throughout the original book. The result is the best brief treatise upon the subject that we have. Part I., dealing with the old empire, from the fifteenth century to 1806, clearly analyzes the constitutional basis of the political system then existing and traces the growth of absolutism in Brandenburg-Prussia, with a good deal of attention to the development of political ideas. Part II. takes up the character of the Confederation of 1815, the constitutional growth of the northern and southern states, the political evolution of Prussia from the Stein-Hardenberg reforms to the war of 1866, the transition from the North German Confederation to the empire, the constitutional aspects of the empire, and, finally, as has been said, the rise of the republican governments in 1918 and after. The book remains, of course, hardly more than an outline. But it is well arranged, well written, and attractively printed; and, being equipped with copious bibliographical notes, it invites and guides to more extended study of the matters with which it deals.

La Liberté Chrétienne: Étude sur le Principe de la Piété chez Luther. Par Robert Will. [Études d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, publiées par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg, fascicule 4.] (Strasbourg, Istra, 1922, pp. xix, 329, 14 fr.) If the mutual understanding of each other's great men contributes to peace and good-will among nations, the lover of concord should greet the series of studies devoted to Luther published by the French Theological Faculty of Strasbourg with no less delight than does the scholar. The excellent monograph on Luther's religious evolution by Henri Strohi has now been followed by Robert Will's masterly analysis of one of the deepest problems of the Reformation.

For the thoughtful student of the life and times of Luther must often have pondered the exact meaning of "the freedom of a Christian man", so much emphasized and yet so obscurely defined by the author of the treatise of that name. Certainly this liberty had nothing political about it; when the serfs demanded emancipation, the Reformer repudiated their articles as making the liberty of Christ a purely external thing. Nor can the thesis be sustained that Luther's liberty meant religious toleration. It is significant that he wavered on this point, that he felt, in his first period, that the implications of his doctrine would result in religious autonomy; but that he later punished dissent, without expressly repudiating his doctrine of Christian freedom, proves that this freedom cannot have been identical with toleration. Least of all was the Reformer's liberty the modern rationalist's joy in wandering untrammelled through the realms of art and science. Nor, on narrower theological

ground, was this early Protestant liberty freedom of the will, which was passionately declared to be in bondage. What then was this Christian liberty? Fundamentally, it was expressed by the idea that only the inward mattered; that a man's soul was his kingdom; that the individual alone counted, and not his works or possessions or mediators or ceremonies or sacraments or worldly condition; that, as Kant later phrased the same truth, nothing is good but a good will. It was a vast and noble thought and one which had, as M. Will brings out, an emancipating effect in political, social, economic, and ecclesiastical life. Much in the book deserves praise besides its elucidation of the main thesis. How fine are the phrases, "Luther's occasionally ferocious quietism" and "the polemic of Luther and Erasmus was on supernatural versus natural religion"!

PRESERVED SMITH.

Histoire de Lorraine (Duché de Lorraine, Duché de Bar, Trois-Évêchés). Par Robert Parisot, Professeur d'Histoire de l'Est de la France. à l'Université de Nancy. Tome II., *De 1552 à 1789*. (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1922, pp. vi, 347, 9 fr.) As was explained in a notice of the first volume of this work, M. Parisot thinks that, to periodize the general history of Lorraine fittingly, attention should be paid primarily to the successive changes in the case or relations of the region with reference to neighboring peoples or countries. He has found thus a time of origins, to 511, in which were brought together the chief ethnic elements of the population and the main sources of its ideas; a Frankish period, 511-925; a period of German dominance or attachments, 925-1270; then a long time marked by progress of French influence, to 1812. The ways and means of French progress, various and almost steadily effective though they were, did not go beyond rights of suzerainty or guard till 1552. But with the occupation by Henry II. of Metz, Toul, and Verdun France was, as it were, installed in the heart of the country, in position to conquer it piece by piece as circumstances should permit. It is to this stage of French progress, or as far therein as 1789, that volume II. applies.

First comes the story, in four chapters, of political events, with attention outstandingly to the acquisition of sovereignty over the three episcopal cities and the bishoprics (sanctioned in 1648), and the gaining of the two duchies (accomplished finally in 1766). Next, an account, in two chapters, of institutions, with emphasis on the gradual replacement of old local liberties by a régime of absolutism and centralization, and increase of financial and military burdens. Then, in three chapters further, is a record of conditions and changes—reflective especially of French progress—as to material and private life and things economic; matters educational, intellectual, and artistic; and the Church and morals.

Throughout the volume appear the same evidences of high competence that marked the first volume. M. Parisot is far from being a brilliant,

appealing writer. But he picks a way through a very complicated lot of matters with thorough mastery, and tells of them in carefully weighed and precisely adjusted words. He is able, too, though native of the region, to keep the light he holds up to the past unsmoked by the passions stirred in recent years.

E. W. Dow.

History of the Free Churchmen called the Brownists, Pilgrim Fathers, and Baptists in the Dutch Republic, 1581-1701. By the late J. de Hoop Scheffer, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Mennonite College and in the University of Amsterdam, Netherlands. With a Memoir, translated from the Dutch by J. de Hoop Scheffer. William Elliot Griffis, A.M., D.D., L.H.D., Editor. (Ithaca, N. Y., Andrus and Church, 1922, pp. xxxi, 253, \$3.50.) The volume before us was written before 1893 (p. vii), and is therefore as a whole over twenty-five years old, while the first portions of the work were prepared (p. xii) before 1880. "Thoroughness, exactness, and precision" (p. iii) are evidently believed to be characteristics of the book.

In estimating the author's achievement, it is only fair that we should take into account the fact that his manuscript was written long ago, when it should undoubtedly have been published, if at all in its present form. Then most of the material herein presented would still have been fresh, whereas now for the most part it is old. However, the author writes with a good spirit and in a straightforward and honest fashion, his sense of proportion is good, and if his work will influence its American readers to look further into the beginnings of English Dissent, its publication will serve a useful purpose. Furthermore, the book offers, we are glad to say, some interesting minor features overlooked by, or unknown to, other writers through inaccessibility. The new material, however, covers only a few pages, but even so, it gives the volume its chief value to the student. The pages which we think furnish the most new evidence are 17-20, 28-30, 56-57, 59-63, 78-79, and 81-83, while chapter X. gives an excellent summary of the troubles that arose between George and Francis Johnson. Besides containing material that is no longer up to date, a work prepared so many years ago naturally suffers from blemishes of various kinds. The eight appendixes, we believe, have all appeared in other publications.

As to the editor's accomplishment, it is difficult to write with as much enthusiasm as one would like. To be sure, his undertaking has been a "labor of love", but that circumstance does not excuse the misprints too frequently found in the book, nor the fact that the text has not been brought up to date, nor the omission of notes which would show that most of the author's material, as well as much not found here, can be seen in English publications of the past twenty years, nor slips in the English of a foreign professor and his son, which might easily have

been eliminated. Finally, we do not at all agree with the following remark in the editor's preface (p. xix): "It would be almost an insult to the bibliographers and ambitious librarians to praise Dr. Scheffer's Work." As we understand it, this is not at all the kind of book sought after by "bibliographers and ambitious librarians", nor is it likely to be especially praised by them.

CHAMPLIN BURRAGE.

The Life and Works of Sir Henry Mainwaring. Volume II. Edited by G. E. Manwaring and W. G. Perrin. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LVI.] (London, the Society, 1922, pp. ix, 303.) The first volume of this work (see this *Review*, XXVI. 828-829) contains the life of Mainwaring. This volume contains his works. They consist of a discourse "Of the Beginnings, Practices, and Suppression of Pirates"; a discourse "Concerning the French Fishing upon the Sowe"; and "The Seaman's Dictionary". All of these are of some value historically. The discourse on pirates reveals much regarding the methods of English pirates by one who is entitled to be considered an authority on the subject. French fishing upon the Sowe has to do with French encroachments upon a particularly rich fishing bank in the English Channel to which the English claimed exclusive rights. It calls attention to one of the minor points involved in the seventeenth-century dispute over the sovereignty of the Narrow Seas. The Seaman's Dictionary is simply a glossary of terms commonly used in navigation and naval gunnery. It was evidently intended for the instruction of gentlemen who got command of ships rather by favor than by seamanship. Modern students will find it of considerable assistance to the understanding of the nautical literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Seaman's Dictionary runs to nearly two hundred pages; the two discourses taken together cover less than sixty pages. Sir Henry Mainwaring's literary efforts were modest at best, and as literature dull in the extreme. Considering the fact that he was an Oxford graduate, a pirate, a naval commander, a royal counsellor, and a friend of some of the most charming men of his time, he really ought to have done better. Indeed the only parts of his life or his works which show any real distinction are the disreputable parts, and about those unfortunately his biographer has been able to disclose very little. When Mainwaring forsook piracy he abandoned the only career in which he had apparently any real chance for immortality. Now that we have an excellent biography of him and a very scholarly edition of his works, we are forced to the conclusion that the oblivion to which the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography* have consigned him is not altogether ill deserved.

CONYERS READ.

British Diplomatic Instructions, 1689-1789. Volume I. Sweden, 1689-1727. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by James Frederick Chance, M.A., F. R. Hist. S. (London, the Society, 1922, pp. xxxviii, 250.) This collection of documents is a most scholarly piece of work, prepared with scientific accuracy and endowed with an admirable index. There is no table of contents, but the introduction is well and thoughtfully written and actually prepares the way for the efficient use of the documents. Enough too has been said about each envoy to make clear his character and position, as well as the circumstances attending his mission.

The "public instructions" are not included, save a few as examples, because such were practically stereotyped. The "additional" and "private and additional" instructions are concerned primarily with the conditions of the moment and contain much more of interest. Selections from the despatches to the envoys, often equivalent to instructions, sent subsequent to the instructions, are also included. The texts are perforce office copies, not originals. The editor retains in general the original orthography, though abbreviations are extended and the use of capitals and the punctuation modernized.

Comparatively few despatches are available from the first years of Charles XII., *i.e.*, the first years of Peter the Great, it should be noted, somewhat more from 1699 to 1709. Thence they come in quite a group, increasing more and more as we near the end of the period, the greater number being dated between 1719 and 1727. One easily recognizes the importance of this period from 1689 to 1727, perhaps not the greatest in Sweden's history, nevertheless an *heroic* epoch, the times of Charles XII. Sweden exerted influence upon European history, eastern and western, during that epoch and her potential importance seemed repeatedly to be a menace in the West, as for instance at the time of the famous interview between Charles XII. and Marlborough.

This volume is one of a series to cover the eighteenth century. It is to be expected that the contents of the other volumes will be as valuable and illuminating and as well constituted.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

L'Influence Allemande en France au XVIII^e et au XIX^e Siècle. Par L. Reynaud, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Clermont. [Collection de Critique et d'Histoire.] (Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1922, pp. 316, 12 fr.) Beginning with the first systematic attempts to introduce the French public to German literature, around 1750, M. Reynaud has undertaken to ascertain how deeply the influence of German thought has been felt in France during the last century and a half. His book contains much material which is new, and is in other parts a very valuable compendium of the most recent works on a very complicated question. It is also, like the recent books of MM. Seillières and René Gillouin, rep-

representative of a very important current of French thought, inasmuch as it is frankly presented as an attempt to bring into the pale of "clear and stern Latin reason, guide and supreme defender of our culture", the French mind led astray by foreign philosophers.

In the first part, entitled *La Brèche*, or "Breaking through", M. Reynaud has conclusively shown that from the very beginning the French public has been attracted by the sentimental and pastoral elements found in certain secondary German writers like Gessner but failed to develop an interest in the German thinkers. *Werther* pleased because of a morbid sentimentality which corresponded to the tendencies of the times, but Goethe's more significant work remained practically unknown until late in the nineteenth century. The influence of Germany was not seriously felt before the publication of Madame de Staël's famous book *De l'Allemagne*.

During the romantic period, it is to some extent the same conventional picture of Germany, loving and sentimental or satanic and fantastic, which appeals to the public. At the same time, however, through Cousin, Quinet, and Michelet, and later through Taine and Renan, German philosophical theories begin to permeate and cloud the French intellect and, if we are to follow M. Reynaud, to replace faith by mysticism, and reason by metaphysical uncertainties. The last chapter, in which M. Reynaud makes a survey of the extent and depth of the penetration of German ideas in France during the years which followed the Franco-Prussian War, will probably be most illuminating to a foreign reader.

Bold generalizations and contradictions cannot be avoided in a work of such a scope; but many of M. Reynaud's generalizations seem very questionable. The influence of the French Revolution on the romantic movement is hardly indicated; one would hesitate to trace to the influence of German philosophy alone the flood of obscenities found in certain naturalistic writers; one feels somewhat surprised to see Jaurès considered as a disciple of Karl Marx while Jules Guesde is not mentioned; one is somewhat surprised to find Edgar Poe, George Eliot, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Ruskin, Swinburne, Oscar Wilde enumerated in one breath and Kipling left out of German influences. One would like to add many reservations and qualifications to several statements of M. Reynaud, but on the whole his book is a remarkable contribution to a very complicated and much discussed problem which confronts at the present time the French people, and is a commendable effort to solve it historically.

GILBERT CHINARD.

La Révolution Française. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur d'Histoire Moderne à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Dijon. Tome I. *La Chute de la Royauté, 1787-1792.* (Paris, Armand Colin, 1922, pp. vi, 218, 5 fr.) Just as there is need of an outline of history and an outline of science so there is need of an up-to-date history of the French

Revolution. Since the great historians of the nineteenth century a wealth of new information has been gained. The old as well as the new source-material has been carefully evaluated. National and provincial historical societies have been founded and they have vied with each other in casting new light upon many phases of the Revolution. The conception of history as a science has been broadened so that at present history covers a much larger field of study. Much excellent monographic literature has appeared.

When we learned, therefore, that Professor Mathiez was preparing a three-volume work on the French Revolution we were pleased. The first volume is, however, a disappointment. It gives every evidence of being hastily prepared, of being written largely from memory of facts acquired during a number of years. The writer omits many facts that are of equal, and even of greater, importance to those he gives. When he generalizes he does not always give the real substance nor draw the proper conclusions. There is nothing to indicate that he is familiar with such detailed monographs as those of Brette and Flammermont and the dozen excellent studies published in the *University of Nebraska Studies*. He may have reasons for not giving references to the sources, but when statements are made that are in disagreement either with well-accepted views or with conclusions reached in the monographic literature the reader would like to know the reasons for them. We find some retrogressions. The book is well written. The narrative is clear and simple. The diction is scientific and dignified. There are words and phrases, however, that savor of the politician and propagandist. The Revolution and the revolutionists are favored.

CARL CHRISTOL.

Letters of Admiral of the Fleet the Earl of St. Vincent whilst First Lord of the Admiralty, 1801-1804. Edited by David Bonner Smith. Volume I. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. LV.] (London, the Society, 1922, pp. viii, 380.) "I have known many a good admiral make a wretched First Lord of the Admiralty." So wrote Jervis, or the Earl of St. Vincent as he is perhaps better known, when he became the head of the British navy under the Addington ministry in 1801. In this first of the two volumes of St. Vincent's correspondence covering the years 1801-1804, David Bonner Smith, the editor, has evidently culled the letters of most interest to the present-day reader. While St. Vincent did not make "a wretched First Lord", his fame rests to-day on his great achievements as a naval officer, as the restorer of discipline after the great mutinies, as the patron of able officers like Troubridge, Collingwood, and especially Nelson, and as the victor at the battle of St. Vincent—for these achievements he is known to-day rather than for his work as a member of Parliament or of the Cabinet. The officer's impatience with administrative machinery is well illustrated

by his remark when he impetuously left one of his first cabinet meetings, "Really, I have no time to throw away". St. Vincent's tenure as First Lord has often been criticized in that, failing to foresee that the Treaty of Amiens would be a mere scrap of paper, he neglected to prepare the fleet for the inevitable renewal of the war. Yet St. Vincent's work as head of the Admiralty was lasting and far-reaching. In a government notorious for corruption he had the rugged honesty and courage to root out favoritism in the navy and corruption in the dockyards. Throughout, especially in the chapter on promotions, his contempt for a type of officers whom he called "old women in the guise of young men" is very evident. Here he appears as the same "Old Jarvie", who as flag-officer had hung mutinous seamen, packed off at a moment's notice insubordinate or inefficient admirals, or flung broadcast sarcastic reprimands. To Admiral Dacres he writes (p. 326): "Your letter reminds me of my old constituents at Yarmouth, who, the moment I did them an act of great kindness, applied for another; and I cannot forbear telling you, frankly, that I am not a little disgusted with the repeated assumptions I have received from your house."

The editor, as previously implied, has arranged the correspondence in chronological order under such captions as The Baltic and the North Sea. The Peace Terms, etc. In addition to a long introduction to the volume, each chapter has its own lengthy introduction. On the whole, the letters shed no new light on contemporary history. And although it may be said that a man's personal, and even his official, letters are a true gauge of his character, the letters of St. Vincent tell us little that was not previously known of him.

HERMAN F. KRAFFT.

World History, 1815-1920. By Eduard Fueter. Translated by Sidney Bradshaw Fay, Professor of History in Smith College. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Company, [1922], pp. v, 490, \$3.00.) This book, which appeared in 1921 as *Weltgeschichte der letzten Hundert Jahre, 1815-1920*, was one which it was worth while to write and worth while to translate. To some of us who believe that the historian of "periods" may well use a broader canvas than western Europe, or even the whole of Europe, furnishes, it is particularly welcome.

What is Professor Fueter's method of approach? In his introduction he tells us that

What has hitherto been called "universal history" or "world history" has been nothing but a conglomeration. . . . Writers have been satisfied with a mere juxtaposition of narratives, when in fact they ought to have shown the interdependence of occurrences taking place in widely separate localities. . . . events shall be so selected as to bring into the foreground those which have universal significance. . . . Europe and the European nations will indeed be given first place; but only those phenomena shall

be set forth in detail which have exercised a wide influence beyond old Europe

and have resulted in the conquest of the world by the European nations and by European civilization, a conquest which has been the most important work of the past one hundred years. This is his programme and a difficult one, particularly because he is far more than an old-school political historian and takes full account in his narrative of economic causes and consequences. To illustrate his point of view, England by the greater control over India which she acquired as a result of the changes following the Sepoy Rebellion was "led into a new political policy in regard to Eastern Asia, and was provoked into one of the most important events of the nineteenth century—the Europeanizing of the Far East" (p. 150).

Has Professor Fueter been successful in his task? On the whole, yes. A Swiss and the author of the scholarly *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie*, he was well fitted to undertake it. His presentation of such contentious issues as are raised in the chapter on the World War shows his fairness and his detached viewpoint. It would be difficult to find a better balanced short account. Moreover, he has a gift for saying things clearly and succinctly. In fact rarely has a large tangled mass of international problems been handled with such a mastery of the factors which underlay them.

As for the selection of material and the proportions observed in his treatment of that material, one may perhaps differ with him. Individual judgments always differ in regard to such matters. For example, the reviewer would question the wisdom of allowing the events in Russia from 1905 to 1914 only one page, while the details of the founding of the French colonial empire in North Africa, 1815 to 1889, are given seventeen. Professor Fueter has a reason for such distribution of space: "the occupation of Algiers by the French has been of the very greatest importance in its influence upon world history and upon the relation of the European states to one another in the second half of the nineteenth century" (p. 128). Still, one raises a question.

There are no maps. The translation is excellent.

HENRY R. SHIPMAN.

The Relation of British Policy to the Declaration of the Monroe Doctrine. By Leonard Axel Lawson, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CIII., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. 153, \$1.50.) Dr. Lawson's book is a recapitulation of a familiar story, rather than an original contribution to historical knowledge. It is most instructive in its consideration of the rôle which commercial interests played in shaping British policy toward South America. That this rôle was large has long been known; but Dr. Lawson brings to the discussion of the

matter an accumulation of statistics and other data that usefully reinforce and substantiate the previous conclusions of other writers. He has also given us an account of Canning's diplomacy in 1823, which, while altering no established conceptions, and unduly ignoring the elements of conflicting opinion with which the Foreign Secretary had to deal in the British Cabinet, is none the less an especially useful exposition of this phase of the colonial question.

That the attitude of Great Britain had an important part in shaping American policy and producing the famous declaration of 1823 is the principal conclusion of this book, and one which hardly needed elucidation. Dr. Lawson is on less secure ground when he seeks to show that the American attitude was of high, if not equal, importance in shaping Canning's diplomacy, and bringing it success. Such a view rests upon an imperfect knowledge of the actual dangers against which Canning had to contend.

It is a pity, indeed, that running through the whole volume is the implicit assumption that the Continental powers seriously menaced the liberties of the South American republics. This assumption is hardly warranted by the facts. Had Dr. Lawson taken pains to develop the policy of France and Russia, he would have found it necessary to alter the tone of much of his narrative, and to give an entirely different emphasis to its conclusions.

It seems to the reviewer that it is a grave question whether an important problem of diplomatic history can be adequately treated from investigations made, like Dr. Lawson's, almost exclusively in a single Foreign Office. It is not thus that the soundest and most critical contributions can be made.

DEXTER PERKINS.

The Colonial Clippers. By Basil Lubbock. Second edition. (Glasgow, James Brown and Son, 1921, pp. xvi, 433, illustrations and plans, 16 s.) In this book the author of *The China Clippers* has given a full and accurate account of the great sailing fleets that plied between Great Britain and Australasia between 1850 and 1890: the emigrant ships, the wool clippers, the iron clippers, and the New Zealand trade. Although "written specially for the officers and seamen of our [British] Mercantile Marine", and in the form of a catalogue, it contains much to interest the student of colonization and of Australasian history. Generous space is allotted to the splendid American-built clipper ships, such as the *Lightning*, *James Baines*, *Neptune's Car*, *Red Jacket*, and *Sierra Nevada*, which distinguished themselves in the Australian trade; many more data will here be found on Donald McKay's peerless quartette of Black-Ballers than in any American book. The work is lavishly and beautifully illustrated.

S. E. M.

Histoire de la Troisième République. Par Lieutenant-Colonel Émile Simond. Tome IV., *Présidence de M. Loubet, 1899-1906.* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle et Cie., 1922, pp. 591.) Colonel Simond's fourth volume is in almost every respect the exact counterpart of his first three volumes, which were reviewed in the January (1922) number of this journal (XXVII. 353-354). It, too, consists of a general chronicle of public affairs, divided into short sections arranged in chronological order, and of special chapters dealing with colonial, naval, and military matters.

The general chronicle is a little longer, equally arid, but perhaps a trifle less colorless than the corresponding portions of the earlier volumes. The special chapters on the army and the navy again consist almost altogether of statistics and administrative details. The colonial chapter is devoted to Africa. It has the defects but not the merits of the corresponding chapters of the first two volumes.

If this volume exhibits any difference from the first three it is that in this one Colonel Simond reveals a little more of his personal attitude. He is hostile, in varying degrees, to each of the three ministries which were in power during the period of which he writes. He dislikes Waldeck-Rousseau for his action in regard to the Dreyfus case and for the passage of the Law of Associations, Combes for the delation scandal and his measures against the religious orders, and Rouvier on account of the Law of Separation and his handling of the Morocco controversy in 1905.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

La Dernière Ambassade de France en Autriche: Notes et Souvenirs. Par Alfred Dumaine, Ambassadeur de France. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1921, pp. xiii, 245, 7 fr.) This readable little volume is made up for the most part of charming essays which M. Dumaine published in various French periodicals between 1916 and 1920. One of them deals with Vienna revisited in 1919. He found the pleasure-loving Viennese as pleasure-loving as ever, crowding the sidewalks and the cinemas, and without rancor either toward the former Hapsburgs or the present Allied officers; of the economic distress he says but little. The larger part of the volume consists of cleverly drawn pen-portraits of the leading personages whom he encountered while French ambassador at Vienna from 1912 to 1914—Francis Joseph and the archdukes, Berchtold and his associates at the Ballplatz, and his own colleagues in the diplomatic corps. Among those whom he singles out in several passages for special condemnation was the German ambassador, Tschirschky.

He was a colleague whom one preferred not to meet unless it was strictly necessary to talk with him. Under an exterior of a man of the best society and though acquitting himself of the necessary courtesies with an automatic exactness and precision, it was impossible for him to conceal for more than ten minutes the violence of his character, his pride, and his desire to dominate. . . . A poor imitation of Bismarck.

he reminded one only of the latter's faults. . . . The success of his career, due to one of the least justified caprices of the emperor, had puffed him up with infatuation [pp. 131-133].

M. Dumaine strongly insists on the French thesis that Germany all the time was egging Austria on to war and that Berchtold was but a careless weakling, thoroughly subject to Tschirschky's dictation—a view not wholly supported by the documents published by Kautsky and by the Reichstag Investigating Committee.

On the Balkan wars and the events leading to the 1914 crisis, M. Dumaine touches but lightly and briefly. One is surprised that the author, being in such a good position for observation, gives so little new or first-hand information on the causes of the war. He seems inclined to accept the reports of others. He repeats, for instance, Mr. Wickham Steed's fantastic but unsubstantiated story that at Konopischt on June 12 Emperor William and Francis Ferdinand planned to partition Austria and rearrange the map of Central Europe in such a way as to provide crowns for the children of the archduke's morganatic wife.

S. B. F.

Letters from the Front: being a Record of the Part played by Officers of the Bank in the Great War, 1914-1919. In two volumes. (Toronto, the Canadian Bank of Commerce, [1921], pp. clix, 2, 344; xlix, 498.) These volumes, published by the Canadian Bank of Commerce as a memorial record of the men and women of its staff who entered the military service of the empire, will make an appeal especially to two classes of readers—to those who saw active service in any capacity and to those who are professionally interested in the history of the Great War. The letters cover almost the entire period of the war and it is impossible for one who served "over there" to read them without recalling with renewed vividness his own share in the great struggle. There is indeed a very fine literary and dramatic quality in quite a number of the letters, as for example, Lieutenant Newton's (I. 115) or Lieutenant Patterson's (I. 128) or Lieutenant Jones's (I. 200). It is somewhat invidious to mention these when there are many others of the same high quality. Several members of the Bank's contingent wrote quite frequently during the years 1915-1918 and their letters offer a most interesting opportunity to study the process of making a first-class veteran soldier out of a bank clerk. This is particularly true of the missives of Lieutenant Vidler.

For the professional student of history the collection is harder to evaluate. With over 1700 employees of the Bank in the service it would seem that more than 315 letters written by 185 men would have been received. If so, it is important to the historian to know upon what principle selection was made. Furthermore, letters as historical evidence must generally be regarded with suspicion of a conscious desire on the part

of the writer to produce a certain effect. Such letters are those of Cadet McClafferty (I. 182) and Lieutenant Newton (I. 195). However, on the whole your reviewer gathers from all the letters, taken together, a clear impression of faith in the righteousness of the cause and quiet confidence as to the outcome. It is the spirit which pervades these letters which must constitute their chief value as historical evidence. They are all written by privates or company officers and consequently they are little concerned with large operations or questions of strategy, and yet of great interest to the historian will be the enthusiasm shown when the German superiority in quantity and quality of shell fire was overcome or when British command of the air was established or over the spectacular success of the tanks at Cambrai.

The second volume contains an exceedingly valuable résumé of the military operations of the war and brief biographies of all the men who left the service of the Bank to join the colors. There are no typographical errors of importance and the indexing is adequate.

F. L. THOMPSON.

La Gloire de Verdun: les Faits, le Commandement, le Soldat. Par le Commandant Breveté H. Bouvard. [Les Cahiers de la Victoire.] (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1922, pp. vii, 165, 6 fr.) It will be many years before the name of Verdun loses its power to thrill the human race. There was enacted one of the mightiest struggles ever waged by two nations for the triumph of their ideals. Even at this late date, therefore, we welcome this concise but most interesting history of the battle of Verdun by Major Bouvard, the well-known author of the *Military Lessons of the War*.

It was a happy thought to recall, first, as a background for the recent struggle, the relation of Verdun to the military life of western Europe, the geographical character of the surrounding country, and the importance of that ancient fortress in the defensive system of France.

Major Bouvard rightly maintains that the part played by Verdun in the Great War was not simply the glorious and tragic episode of 1916 but a much larger rôle which began with the first battle of the Marne to end only with the decisive American offensive and the final victory. All through the war Verdun remained the fearless and unconquered outpost threatening the flank of the German army and guaranteeing the safety of Paris.

Although written in a tone of high moral elevation and permeated with heartfelt admiration for the heroic soldiers that held the fortress, the book is primarily of a technical nature and contains authoritative information as to the strategy of the battle and the distribution of forces.

In the last chapters, due credit is given the American army for its glorious participation in the military operations of the sector of Verdun. First of all, on the twelfth of September, 1918, General Pershing by the

conquest of the famous salient of St. Mihiel definitely removed the menace to the fortress from the south, and in the remaining weeks before the Armistice he cleared the ground to the Meuse.

"Thus", concludes the author, "the American soldiers magnificently continued the work of their French brothers of 1916."

PAUL PERIGORD.

The Conquest of New Granada: being the Life of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada. By R. B. Cunningham Graham. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xi, 272, \$4.00.) The author has added another volume to his growing list of biographies of the Conquistadores, and one his publishers do not hesitate to compare with the classic accounts of Parkman and Prescott. Mr. Graham's familiarity with Hispanic America and his previous offerings in the field lead us to expect a worthy production, but personally we prefer to compare the present work with that by the late Sir Clements R. Markham bearing the same title. Curiously enough our author never once specifically mentions this book, and this significant omission must perforce serve as our cue.

Markham devoted only about a third of his modest volume to the actual exploits of Quesada, but one will find it useful as a sort of guide to the more extensive present offering. In this Mr. Graham chiefly relies on the *Noticias Historiales* of Fray Pedro Simon, but supplements his chief source with occasional references to more familiar narratives, and to his own travel experiences. The resultant product is not wholly satisfactory, as regards either style or subject-matter. There is a noticeable tendency to philosophize about the obvious and to lug in miscellaneous information. There are a few misspellings and typographical errors and several useless accents, not to mention the omission of a necessary one in the subtitle. The author seems to follow no definite rule in regard to paragraphs or foot-notes and he continually repeats in the latter the Spanish words of perfectly obvious phrases. There are occasional misstatements and too few definite references to authorities. These, however, are only minor blemishes. His work as a whole is commendable. His hero was a notable Spanish conqueror, less audacious than Cortés, but more humane than Pizarro. He obviously tried to imitate both, but the kingdom of the Chibchas proved exceedingly difficult to enter and the returns for his heroic efforts far less gainful than the rewards of his more noted exemplars. More fortunate than they, he was able to return to the scene of his conquests and there to round out an honored but strenuous old age. His name may never become a household word, but Mr. Graham's enthusiastic story will help to make it so.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors. By John R. Swanton. [Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73.] (Wash-

ington, Government Printing Office, 1922, pp. 492, \$1.00.) This monograph, like Swanton's other study of the *Tribes of the Lower Mississippi*, is a record of ethnological researches of great utility for the historian of the frontier. It deals in encyclopaedic fashion with the distribution, relationships, and early fortunes of the great Creek confederacy, including tribes like the Yuchi and Yamasee and Shawnee who, in their decline, merged wholly or in part with the Creeks; and of neighboring Indians who influenced Creek history. The later, better known episodes of the Creek and Seminole wars and of the removal westward are outside its scope. There is added a comprehensive survey of Indian population in the Southeast. Eight plates present reproductions of contemporary maps, while two other maps have been painstakingly compiled to illustrate distribution and migration. The sources are largely the records of explorers and colonists, Spanish, French, and English. The footnotes are better evidence of the author's wide and critical reading of contemporary documents, many still in manuscript, than the inadequate bibliography.

Even more completely than Swanton's earlier monograph this is essentially aboriginal history—only incidentally concerned, however, with the contacts of the whites and the Indians. The author has clearly established his main contention, that the Creek confederacy was evolved over a long period of time by the aggregation of many elements, some far removed, linguistically, from the nucleus of Muskogee; and that there were notable accompanying changes in the location of many southern tribes. These developments were promoted by various influences, but especially by frontier warfare. The Yamasee War of 1715, in particular, is shown to have been a turning-point in the fortunes of many of these folk. Other influences imported by the Europeans are given rather less than their due weight. Many obscure tribal movements must surely be referred to the rivalries of trade.

V. W. CRANE.

The Story of the Arndts: the Life, Antecedents and Descendants of Bernhard Arndt, who Emigrated to Pennsylvania in the Year 1731. By John Stover Arndt. (Philadelphia, Christopher Sower Company, 1922, pp. 427, \$5.00.) The Arndts came to Pennsylvania in 1731, from Baumholder, Germany, because a pig, fattening in the stable against the needs of winter, had to be sold in order to meet a special tax levied to meet the expenses of a wedding in the duke's household (p. 14). The account of the rise and growth of this family in the new land of freedom and opportunity contains all the elements of romance, adventure, and achievement that typify the experience of so many of our early families, and make so fascinating the story of our social development. Here was a poor immigrant family, consisting of the parents and four children, which in less than two hundred years multiplied through eight generations

into 1240 descendants, scattered over all sections of the country, identified with nearly every form of professional, political, and commercial activity, and affiliated with nearly every religious belief. Unfortunately, the book also gives evidence of the tendency among our early American families to decline in numbers with the passing generations; for it is noticeable that among the earlier branches of the family records of six and more children are common, whereas if there are any children to bless later unions, seldom is the number above one or two.

The basis of the early history of the family, both in Germany and in America, is a narrative written in a family Bible by Capt. John Arndt, a Revolutionary soldier who was wounded at the battle of Long Island. At the outbreak of the Revolution there were eight Arndts between the ages of sixteen and fifty, and every one of them served in the patriot army. A full chapter is devoted to an account of the services of Maj. Jacob Arndt in the French and Indian War, in the last general assembly of the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, and as a member of later councils and assemblies of that state. Extended mention is also made of Charles C. P. Arndt, who, when a member of the territorial council of Wisconsin, was shot on the floor of the assembly (*Wis. Mag. of Hist.*, March, 1922).

Outside the introductory chapters on the early history of the family, most of the genealogical sketches were prepared by Mr. Warren S. Ely, librarian of the Bucks County (Pa.) Historical Society. The arrangement throughout is good, and may well serve as a model in this respect for works of family history. The illustrations are not too numerous, and there is an index to persons as well as a general index.

The reviewer, a native of Adams County, Pennsylvania, was disappointed in finding no reference to the founders of Arendtsville in that county; probably there was no reason to expect this in the story of the branch of the Arndt family contained in this volume.

L. F. S.

George Washington. By William Roscoe Thayer. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. ix, 5, 274, \$3.50.) Mr. Thayer has produced a well-written, fairly proportioned, and thoroughly orthodox history, which records with accuracy and with a good sense of relative values the principal facts of Washington's life and the leading events of the period of his public activity.

The author confesses or rather avows that he is maintaining a thesis. He is endeavoring to humanize the demi-god or superman Washington, to portray the father of his country as a flesh-and-blood man who was far removed from the inaccessible personage of heroic proportions but of shadowy outline, of popular misconception. He brings many facts and relates many incidents to support his thesis and succeeds in winning the reader's assent but not in compelling his conviction. Mr. Thayer

occasionally yields to the temptation which besets all who write motivated history. Speaking of the charge that Washington was seeking a rich wife, the author states that he "no doubt had a clear idea of what constitutes desirable qualifications in marriage, but I believe he would have married a poor girl out of the work-house if he had really loved her", which possibly might have been true but is not substantiated by evidence.

Interesting illustrative material has been taken from Ford's edition of the *Writings of Washington*, while for the facts of the historical narrative the writer seems to depend almost wholly upon the better known and accessible histories. Consequently, save in the emphasis placed upon the human traits of Washington, the book contains little of interest to the student who is fairly familiar with the history of the period.

Mr. Thayer seems to be somewhat confused as to the party history of Washington's first administration. He states (p. 186) that the place of the Anti-Federalists "was taken principally by the Republicans over against whom were the Democrats. A few years later these parties exchanged names". Political scientists would object to the designation (p. 154) of *requisitions* apportioned by the Continental Congress among the states as *taxes*. Historians will scarcely agree with the opinion (p. 161) that although James Wilson was a prominent man at the time of the convention his "fame is bedraggled or quite faded now". Neither can one acquiesce in the persistent fallacy (p. 174) that the oratory of Hamilton routed the Anti-Federalists at the Poughkeepsie Convention and won the victory for the Federalists. Melancthon Smith held the Clintonian forces intact notwithstanding the oratory of Hamilton until the arrival of the news that nine states had ratified. This changed vitally the situation and rather than remain out of a Union already formed the Anti-Federalist majority broke and the convention ratified the Constitution.

The volume under review takes its place among the better short biographies of Washington, but it can hardly be awarded pre-eminence among them. The definitive one-volume life of Washington remains to be written.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

Political Ideas of the American Revolution: Britannic-American Contributions to the Problem of Imperial Organization, 1765-1775. By Randolph Greenfield Adams, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Trinity College, North Carolina. (Durham, N. C., Trinity College Press, 1922, pp. 207, \$2.00.) The author frankly says that his book is meant as a contribution to international law, but his method has been truly historical and the reviewer can discover no instance where the author has fitted his facts to his theory, a custom quite too common among writers on politics. His book is also, as he says, a chapter of Britannic imperial history and a fragment of our own history. Believing

that the "monster of sovereignty" is the chief stumbling-block of international co-operation, he has studied the contribution that America made to the supreme problem of politics while working within the laboratory of the Britannic Commonwealth. The iron fetters of a brief review do not permit the development of the thesis that even in the struggle which rent the empire there was being worked out the idea of a league of nations, later to be much more nearly realized in the British Commonwealth of Nations "without too much idle discussion as to the residence of sovereignty". Chapters on the British Imperial Problem in the eighteenth century; the early glimpses of the idea of a Commonwealth of Nations; theories about taxation and representation, and as to the things Parliament could not do; and finally the eighteenth-century discussions on limiting and dividing sovereignty, and the relation of such arguments to modern thought, all constitute a most illuminating commentary upon the greatest problem of our day. The book is exceedingly well written, clear, graceful, sure, not hidebound in expression, and exposing a wide range of knowledge beyond the bounds of the materials in hand. It is a pity that so excellent a book could not have been better printed.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

Legislative Procedure: Parliamentary Practices and the Course of Business in the Framing of Statutes. By Robert Luce, A.M. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. vi, 628, \$5.00.) This volume is announced by the publishers as the first of a series of four. The others are to be: *Legislative Assemblies—their Framework, Make-up, Character, Characteristics, Habits, and Manners*; *Legislative Principles—the History and Theory of Lawmaking by Representative Government*; and *Legislative Problems—the Merits and Defects of the Lawmaking Branch of Government, with a Consideration of Tendencies and Remedies*.

In nearly every chapter of the present volume the author accompanies a discussion of the present practice in the various legislatures and an argument as to what the practice should be, with a brief statement of its historical development in Parliament and in American legislatures. While making good use of the *Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, of *Hinds's Precedents*, and of state constitutions, past and present, he has, for the most part, attempted no research in manuscript journals or other original sources. In his search in secondary sources for widely scattered material, Mr. Luce has been painstaking. That the result in many cases is not adequate is not his fault. No writer on legislative problems can hope to do better until historians specializing in such problems, or students of such problems with adequate training in historical research, furnish us for each state a study of what actually has been and is now the practice under the constitution and legislative rules of that state.

In addition to the subjects relating to procedure there are chapters on Debate, Oratory, Leadership, Partisanship, Wording of Laws, and Helps for Law-Makers.

For the student of political science and the legislator the book is of absorbing interest and great importance. Especially valuable is the critical analysis of the methods employed and the rules observed in legislative bodies, and suggestions as to what the practice should be. The suggestions are fully supported by argument and the opposing views fairly stated.

For reasons not apparent (there is no preface) no mention is made of the subject of organization of the legislative body, either generally, or in relation to contested elections. Possibly this subject is reserved for the second volume. One matter of increasing importance in federal legislation—the function of the conference committee—is not treated as fully as could be desired, and it is disappointing that more space is not given to the procedure of the national Senate. No bibliography is appended, and in too many cases sources are not cited.

Mr. Luce writes clearly, vividly, and entertainingly, and enlivens with a vein of humor many pages that in less skillful hands might well be tedious.

MIDDLETON BEAMAN.

The English Traveller in America, 1785-1835. By Jane Louise Mesick, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1922, pp. ix, 370, \$2.50.) The author of this interesting work has taken the books written by nearly eighty English travellers in the United States whose experiences describe the impressions made upon them by the country and its people during the half-century after the achievement of independence. She has not considered the French and Germans who visited America and wrote about their visits, but has limited her examination to those who came from Great Britain and who may be supposed to have been less alien in their views than Continental observers.

Instead of taking them up chronologically or paying any great attention to the geographical scope of their journeyings, she has treated separately the different subjects upon which the travellers wrote. Thus we find chapters upon Slavery, Trade and Finance, Religion, Care of the Unfortunate, etc.

The style is clear and pleasant and the opinions of the visitors are stated with fairness and are plainly compared with each other. The chief criticism to be made upon the book is that the author accepts the statement of the traveller in several cases as accurate, without further confirmation. She is not quite fair to the American Colonization Society (p. 134), the mint was never established in Washington (p. 198), while the number of burials in Trinity Church Yard (p. 257) is surely

much overstated. The work is very well indexed, which is especially important for a book the outlines of whose divisions are, of necessity, rather vague. One of the most valuable chapters is that entitled *Famous Controversies*, in which is given a succinct account of the attacks made on the United States in such works as the *Quarterly Review* and the travels of Captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope and the replies which were made to their attacks.

As we are carefully told, the study is necessarily limited by such facts as that the travellers rarely left a well-beaten track, and chiefly noted such facts and objects as appeared to them remarkable or peculiar. Within these limits, the summarizing of the impressions of the English travellers is useful to every student of American history and the book is also one which may well be recommended for pleasant reading.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

The American Party System: an Introduction to the Study of Political Parties in the United States. By Charles Edward Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. x, 439, \$3.00.) Some time ago I inquired of a student of mine about the attitude of the Democrats of his native state of Maine on a controverted question that was then before the country. "Oh!" was his reply, "our family doesn't *know any Democrats!*" The reply was not intended to be snobbish, nor did it convey anything except the fact—namely that political affiliations in parts of New England are based in large measure on racial and social considerations.

The discussion of just these social, racial, sectional, and religious factors in party alignment (ch. I.) is, to the historian, the most useful part of Professor Merriam's book.

Examination of a very few cases [he asserts] will reveal the early age and origin of party affiliations, will show how they are encrusted with family and social interests, with associations and with early recollections until it becomes an exceedingly difficult matter to change them. Let the average voter ask himself when and why he first became a partisan, and the non-rational character of the process will at once become evident.

For one thing, this chapter forces the historian to question to what extent any of the presidential elections which he describes was a real referendum on public questions, and to what extent it was a mere counting of heads to discover how many of them were prejudiced one way or another at a given time. In the second place, the chapter justifies the recent tendency to devote less attention to past politics, and more to social, racial, and other movements in American history.

Another suggestive portion of the book is the account (p. 220 ff.) of the activities of such professional and trade organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in the procurement of legislation. Unhappily the

historian is unable to evaluate influences of this kind for lack of accurate information.

In other respects Professor Merriam's book is the usual account of party organization and activity in the United States, but told extremely well and with an unusually firm grip on the realities of our form of government. The foot-notes are excellent guides for further reading.

There are a few mistakes, which are slips rather than errors: Bryan was not nominated in 1912 (p. 287); the name Roosevelt appears four times in the list of presidential and vice-presidential candidates (p. 288)—it would be clearer if initials indicated that only three of these entries referred to Theodore; the statement (p. 289) that since 1876 all candidates of the major parties have lived east of the Mississippi would be objected to by a former resident of Lincoln, Nebraska; "44, 40 or Fight"; the percentages of Republican and Democratic votes (p. 325), 1880-1892, are inaccurate.

C. R. L.

From Isolation to Leadership: a Review of American Foreign Policy. Revised. By John Holladay Latané, Professor of American History in the Johns Hopkins University. (Garden City and New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1922, pp. 296, \$1.20.) According to Professor Latané's statement in the preface to this reissue of the work which formerly appeared in 1918, just before the Armistice, a friend suggested that the title might well be "From Isolation to Leadership, and Back". And, indeed, despite the assertion of the author that he does not "regard the verdict of 1920 as an expression of the final judgment of the American people", the reader senses a hint of deep disappointment running through the latter and new portion of the work.

The purpose of the author is to show how the "policy of isolation" came into existence, and how through force of circumstances it had actually broken down long before the World War, although it persisted as a phrase to conjure with. This theory of isolation had become a tradition only, "but a tradition which has tied the hands of American diplomats and caused the American public to ignore what was actually going on in the world".

The chapter-headings indicate pretty accurately the field covered: Origin of the Policy of Isolation, Formulation of the Monroe Doctrine, the Monroe Doctrine and the European Balance of Power, International Co-operation without the Sanction of Force, The Open-Door Policy, Anglo-American Relations, Imperialistic Tendencies of the Monroe Doctrine, and the New Pan-Americanism. Chapter X., on the Failure of Neutrality and Isolation, has been rewritten to contain a summary of events subsequent to the time when the original work was produced, and the final chapters, on the Treaty of Versailles and the Washington Conference, carry the story down to the spring of 1922.

A useful thing has been done in pointing out the significant part England played in the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine as well as showing how the same Doctrine, even when it had become tinged with imperialism, was really dependent for continued existence on the changing "balance of power" policies of European governments. To show how partizan politics had not a little to do with shaping American foreign policy, and particularly with the wrecking of President Wilson's programme, is another contribution of the book.

Professor Latané has done good service in bringing out simply and without controversial heat facts which ought to be widely disseminated. As usually is the case, however, one fears that this little book will be read by only a small part of those whom it should reach.

L. B. SHIPPEE.

Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar. By Asa Kyrus Christian. (University of Pennsylvania, 1922, pp. vii, 208.) To the average student of American history, "Mirabeau B. Lamar" is but a name. He is vaguely recalled as sometime president of the Texan republic, but little more is known of him. It is seldom realized that he was the uncle of two better known men, L. Q. C. Lamar and Howell Cobb. Nor is it generally remembered that he was a poet of considerable merit.

Mr. Christian's monograph is then a distinct contribution to the literature of this period of American history, though it makes no claim to be a definitive and complete biography. In its professed intention of setting forth the public services of M. B. Lamar it succeeds very well. About one-eighth of the book is devoted to Lamar's life before and after his term as president of Texas. The rest deals with his administration. For convenience this portion is divided into four phases: domestic affairs, frontier defense, the Santa Fé expedition, foreign affairs.

Of Lamar the public official, Mr. Christian has given a very good account; of Lamar the man, one catches but a glimpse. As the author has studied his sources very carefully, it is to be hoped that he will expand this monograph into a genuine biography through which one may become acquainted with the man Lamar, his personality and his character.

The material is well arranged and drawn mainly from original sources. Occasionally there is such an error as a casual reference to a little-known individual without an explanation of his relation to the narrative. The book has a good bibliography, but the index is utterly inadequate.

MILLEGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Meade's Headquarters, 1863-1865: Letters of Colonel Theodore Lyman, from the Wilderness to Appomattox. Selected and edited by George R. Agassiz. (Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922, pp. xv, 371, \$4.00.) Theodore Lyman served as volunteer aide on General

Meade's staff from September, 1863, until the close of the war. A Harvard graduate, a man of independent means, travelled and cultivated, clever and possessing a lively sense of humor, handsome and agreeable, many opportunities were afforded him to witness much that was interesting and important. With Meade his relations were intimate, and he was constantly brought in contact not only with distinguished officers but with many notables, including President Lincoln.

No serious student of "The Wilderness" can afford to miss his account of the events of that campaign as they disclosed themselves to Headquarters; and his admirable portrayals of individuals throw much light on the psychology of the Higher Command. There are amusing references to the idiosyncrasies of the "Great Peppery" as he calls Meade, but Lyman leaves no doubt as to his admiration for Meade as a man and as a soldier. Grant's personality interested him greatly. He writes with warm admiration of the troops in the Wilderness Campaign, an admiration extended to the enemy as well. He deplores the type of men sent to fill the depleted ranks toward the end of the war. "By the Lord! I wish those gentlemen who would overwhelm us with . . . the offscourings of great cities could only see—only *see* a Rebel regiment in all their rags and squalor. If they had eyes they would know that these men are like wolf-hounds and not to be beaten by turnspits."

A note gives at first hand the episode which, in Lyman's opinion, was the beginning of Sheridan's ill-feeling against Warren and Meade. There is a graphic description of Hancock in the thick of battle. Sherman is quoted as saying, "Columbia—pretty much all burned and burned good".

Lyman accompanied Meade when he visited Lee's headquarters immediately after the surrender. "Lee did not recognize him and when he found who it was said: 'But what are you doing with all that grey in your beard?' To which Meade promptly replied: 'You have to answer for most of it!'"

Certain references in the letters were manifestly not written under the dates given. This is explained in a note; but it is disconcerting to find an engagement mentioned that not only was not fought until some days later than the date of the letter but later than the dates of letters following.

The book is excellently printed.

A Half Century of Naval Service. By Seaton Schroeder, Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy, retired. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1922, pp. ix, 2, 444, \$4.00.) This book was not written for students of history, and there is not much in it for them. Admiral Schroeder's naval career covered a period more momentous in developing the technique of naval warfare than the three preceding centuries; but, writing as he did for the general public, he has told little of this technical develop-

ment, or of his own reactions toward it. In the first part of the book, there are a few passages to delight lovers of the old sailing navy; but the latter half is too much filled with reviews, receptions, and balls, with what the governor said and the text of the admiral's after-dinner speeches (original and translation), to be very interesting. The book does show something of the varied duties which officers of the United States navy were (and are) called upon to perform. These included, in Admiral Schroeder's case, dismounting "Cleopatra's Needle" at Alexandria and bringing it to New York, finding the native lair of the tile-fish, charting the Mediterranean, and governing Guam. There is an entertaining chapter on the latter experience, and an informing one on the little-remembered (by us) expedition against Korea of 1871. How many American historians know that our Asiatic squadron, unwanted and uninvited, sailed up the Salée River to negotiate a "treaty of amity and commerce"; that, when the native forts opened fire, a force of 650 men was landed, the forts were gallantly taken by storm, and the Korean garrison, which "fought hopelessly to the last man", slaughtered?

A Journal of the Great War. By Charles G. Dawes, Brigadier-General, Engineers. In two volumes. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921, pp. xiv, 344; vi, 283, \$10.00.) General Dawes's book belongs to the class of *mémoires pour servir*, that is to say, it is a contribution to the history of the war, made by one important and intelligent participant, describing events from his individual point of view, but not constituting a final or wholly adequate history, even of that part of the warfare which fell under his own personal observation. The book can be roughly divided between three general topics, all of which are interesting to the public: (1) an analysis of the work done through the Military Board of Allied Supply, of which General Dawes was the American member; (2) an account of the buying for the American Expeditionary Force, in which General Dawes, as general purchasing agent, acted as a co-ordinator of the various departments of the army; (3) a personal and intimate picture of General Pershing. A great amount of most interesting information and narrative is conveyed, in a direct and forcible style, and the record of what was done in the way of co-ordination will always be valuable, but the degree of co-ordination achieved is, in fact, constantly exaggerated. The personal touches which abound are vivid and pleasing. There are many good illustrations, especially portraits. The last seventy pages of the first volume are occupied with General Dawes's official report to General Pershing, made as American member of the Military Board of Allied Supply. The whole of the second volume is occupied with his final report and daily reports as general purchasing agent.

Delaware and the Eastern Shore: Some Aspects of a Peninsula Pleasant and Well Beloved. By Edward Noble Vollandigham. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922, pp. 330, \$5.00.) This is not a book of formal history, but it belongs to a class of books more useful to the historian, when done as well as this, than many histories or historical sources. To the student of American history few things are more important than a vivid sense of the character of each particular region, its inhabitants, its formative influences, and its atmosphere. In the case of a region that has changed so little in modern times as that which lies between Delaware and Chesapeake bays—the region embracing the state of Delaware and the “Eastern Shore” of Maryland and Virginia—past and present characteristics illuminate each other, and may well be described together. Mr. Vollandigham proceeds by topics rather than in either a chronological or a geographical order, and interweaves his history with his descriptions. One could not pick out from his book a consecutive history of Delaware or of these eastern counties of Maryland and Virginia. But he is a very intelligent man, who writes excellently, though sometimes with a little obvious intention toward the drawing-room table; he knows well the region which he describes, and loves it (as one rightly should), yet is a man of reading, and of travel elsewhere, and takes a view of its present and its past that is nowise provincial. His historical knowledge is in general sound, and he achieves what he aims at, to explain what this rather charming but little known region is, and what it has been. The book has many illustrations, well reproduced from photographs of extraordinary merit.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Within the last few days before the issue of this number of the *Review*, December 27-30, the Association has been holding at New Haven its thirty-seventh annual meeting. In addition to attractive elements of the programme indicated in the preceding number, mention should be made of two groups of papers of common interest to historians and archaeologists, presented at two joint sessions of this Association and the Archaeological Institute of America, the second of them devoted to the subject of papyri; of a session devoted to legal history, a new practice much to be commended; and of a meeting of the "patriotic societies", devoted especially to the work and plans of their Connecticut branches. The Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, addresses the Association upon Some Aspects of Our Foreign Relations, and Sir Robert Borden on Certain Aspects of the Political Relations between English-Speaking Peoples. Varied and hospitable social entertainments are included in the programme. The presidential address, by Professor Haskins, appears in earlier pages of this number. Our April issue will contain the customary record of the meeting and of the papers.

Vol. I. of the *Annual Report* for 1919 is in page-proof, and is expected to be printed and distributed in the first months of the year. Vol. II., parts 1 and 2, containing papers of Moses Austin and Stephen F. Austin of Texas, and to be bound as two volumes of some nine hundred pages each, is in galley-proof. It is intended that vol. I. of the next *Annual Report* shall contain (in order to "catch up") the formal records and committee reports of the meetings of 1920, 1921, and 1922. Meanwhile, the supplementary volume of bibliography, *Writings on American History, 1920*, is nearly ready for issue, in advance of the other volumes attributed to that year. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Essay on G. J. A. Ducher and Commercial Policy in the French Revolution by Lieut. F. L. Nussbaum, the last of the prize essays to be independently published, is awaiting only the completion and printing of its index.

It will be remembered by many members that the quota of *Annual Reports* allowed to the Association under the printing act is only two thousand, while the membership runs several hundred beyond that figure, and that therefore the assistant secretary is instructed to send the *Annual Reports* only to those members who have expressed a desire for them. New members are always notified of this provision. Yet, since this is not always kept in mind by members, new or old, it may be useful to mention that the Association still has a considerable supply of the following re-

ports: 1913, vols. I. and II.; 1914, vol. II. (the General Index); 1916, vols. I. and II.; 1917; 1918, vols. I. and II.; and *Writings on American History*, 1918 and 1919. Members desiring any of these may obtain them by writing to the assistant secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

The Pacific Coast Branch met at Stanford University on December 1 and 2, Professor Payson J. Treat presiding. Professor Henri Pirenne, of Ghent, addressed the society on the subject of Mohammed and Charlemagne, Professor Henry S. Lucas, of Washington, on Erasmus, Mr. J. J. Hill, of Stanford, on the American Fur Trade in the Far Southwest; and there were other papers.

The American Council of Learned Societies (of which the American Historical Association is a member), while still waiting for means which will enable it to undertake the extensive duties for which it was designed, has appointed a committee for the preliminary consideration of projects for the preparation of an adequate Dictionary of American Biography, comparable to the British *Dictionary of National Biography*. The committee consists of Messrs. John Erskine, of Columbia University, Thomas W. Page, of the new Institute of Economics, Frederic L. Paxson, of Wisconsin, Frederick J. Turner, of Harvard, Robert S. Woodward, formerly president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and J. F. Jameson, chairman.

PERSONAL

Henry Vignaud, dean of the Americans in Paris, died there on September 16, at the age of ninety-one. His career in governmental service was a notable one, for, a Louisiana editor and Confederate captain, he went out to Paris in 1863 as a secretary to the Confederate envoy Slidell, yet in 1872 is found assisting at Geneva the Alabama Claims Commission, and from 1875 to 1907 was secretary to the American legation and embassy in Paris, always highly regarded by his government, and by the Americans who came there, for he was a man of many endearing qualities. A scholar of extraordinary learning and acuteness in the field of the early voyages and discoveries in America, he was distinguished by a long series of writings, chiefly relating to Columbus. The chief were the *Letter and Chart of Toscanelli* (1902), *Étude Critique sur la Vie de Colomb* (1905), and, the culmination of his studies, his *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (1911), in which he set forth, with a wealth of learning, his view that Columbus set sail on his first voyage with the object of discovering new islands, rather than of going to India—views summarized in the little book which, at the age of ninety, this astonishing veteran produced last year, *Le Vrai Christophe Colomb et la Légende*.

Austin Scott, for forty years a member of the faculty of Rutgers College, and one of the few remaining original members of the American

Historical Association, died on August 15, 1922, at the age of 74. During the first years of the Johns Hopkins University he lectured there on American history, being at the same time assistant to Mr. George Bancroft in his historical work. From 1882 to 1891 he was professor of history, from 1891 to 1906 president, from 1906 to his death professor of political science and public law, in Rutgers College. He was an earnest, impressive, and influential teacher, a genial friend and a public-spirited man, active not only in the interests of his college but also in those of the history and historical society of New Jersey.

Sir Julian S. Corbett, the British government's official naval historian of the war, died on September 21, at the age of nearly 68. The chief works of his earlier years, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (1898), *The Successors of Drake* (1900), *England in the Mediterranean* (1904), *England and the Seven Years' War* (1907), and *The Campaign of Trafalgar* (1910), covered admirably a large portion of English naval history. He was the author of important writings on naval strategy, and edited for the Navy Records Society several volumes of its publications. The Committee of Imperial Defence selected him as the official naval historian of the war, and in 1920 and 1921 the first two volumes of his history were published, and immediately received warm admiration. He contributed to one of the earliest numbers of this journal (II. 1) a valuable article on "The Colonel and his Command", and frequently reviewed books of naval history for it; his review of the fifth volume of de la Roncière in our October number may have been his last published writing.

Miss Margaret S. Morriss, dean of the Women's College in Brown University, has been made associate professor of American history there.

Dr. Theophile J. Meek, late of Meadville Theological Seminary, has been appointed professor of Biblical literature and Semitic languages in Bryn Mawr College.

Dr. James E. Gillespie, formerly instructor in history in the University of Illinois, is now assistant professor of European history in the Pennsylvania State College.

Professors John H. Latané and W. W. Willoughby of the Johns Hopkins University have for several months been absent on a tour of South America, returning at the beginning of January.

Dr. Thomas P. Martin has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Louisville.

Mr. V. Alton Moody, hitherto of the Middle Tennessee State Normal School, has become assistant professor of history in Albion College, Michigan.

GENERAL

The Fifth International Congress of Historical Studies, appointed to take place in Brussels, April 8-15, gives promise already of a large attendance and much success. The sections thus far organized embrace respectively Oriental history, that of Greece and Rome, Byzantine studies, medieval, modern-and-contemporary, ecclesiastical, legal, and economic history, the history of religions, of civilization, of education, art, and archaeology, historical methodology and the auxiliary sciences, the history of the World War, and matters of archives and the publication of historical texts. At present it appears that twenty or thirty American scholars will be present, and there is likely to be a section or session for American history. The secretary is Dr. F. L. Ganshof, 12 Rue Jacques Jordaens, Brussels, to whom applications for membership may be sent; but Americans intending to be present are particularly requested to communicate with the chairman of the American Historical Association's committee on the subject, J. F. Jameson.

The historical congress which accompanied the centennial commemoration of Brazilian independence was held at Rio de Janeiro on September 8-15, in the rooms of the Sociedade de Historia e Geographia Brasileira. The president of the republic officially opened and closed the congress, which embraced some fifty delegates, representing nearly all the American countries. Many papers were read in the various sections, and many will be printed by the society named. Among the papers read we note the following, by writers from the United States: papers on the Commercial Relations between the United States and Brazil from 1798 to 1812, by Dr. Charles L. Chandler, on the same for 1822-1922, by Dr. Julius Klein, on James Watson Webb, U. S. Minister to Brazil 1861-1869, by Mr. N. Andrew N. Cleven, a comparative paper on Minas Geraes and California, by Professor Percy A. Martin, one on the Treatment of Slaves in the Brazilian Empire, by Miss Mary W. Williams, and others by Professors I. J. Cox and Herman James. The formal address on behalf of the American Historical Association was delivered by Mr. Chandler. Other American historical scholars present and representing that association were the ambassador of the United States, Mr. Edwin V. Morgan, and Dr. William L. Schurz, commercial attaché in Rio.

The Twenty-first International Congress of Americanists will be held in Holland in 1924, by invitation of the Dutch government. That of 1925 is scheduled to be held at Gothenburg, Sweden; that of 1926 in Philadelphia.

It is well known that there has been a long and wearisome struggle for a suitable National Archive Building in Washington such as every other civilized nation provides itself with as a matter of course. Every individual member of Congress agrees that we ought to have one, but last February the House threw out, with enthusiasm and by a vote of 113

to 8, a Senate amendment appropriating money for the purchase of a site. The principal argument was that the government already owned several available sites in Washington, which is not the case, but the disproof is complicated; others held that, while the building was needed, post-office buildings in certain localities were needed more. As for the present session, the Treasury estimate for the purpose has been cut out by the Director of the Budget at the outset, and will not even reach the House. The latest phase of this discreditable record is that Senator Smoot, chairman of the Public Buildings Commission, despairing for the present of securing any appropriation for the building, proposes to buy now a million dollars' worth of steel stacks, install them in the great inner court of the old Pension Office (a building not fire-proof, with a wooden roof), and concentrate there, for the time being, those overflowing masses of records and papers that now crowd all government buildings, clog all government business, and cost \$110,000 per annum for rents of privately owned buildings, scattered, unsafe, and unsuitable. Well said old Oxenstjerna on his death-bed, to his son, "Nescis quantilla prudentia homines regantur"!

The Pulitzer prize of \$1000 for the best biography teaching patriotic and unselfish service to the people has been awarded to Hamlin Garland for his work *A Daughter of the Middle Border*, which, with the author's earlier volume, *A Son of the Middle Border*, constitutes the life-story of the author's parents (Macmillan).

The second volume of Oswald Spengler's much discussed *Der Untergang des Abendlandes; Umrisse einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte* has appeared under the title *Welthistorische Perspektiven* (Munich, Beck, 1922, pp. 635). Meanwhile, comments on his earlier volume continue unabated. A clear and incisive attack upon his position is K. von Schück's *Spengler's Geschichtsphilosophie; eine Kritik* (Karlsruhe, Braun, 1921, pp. 39). A study of the religious position of Spengler, *Zum Untergang des Abendlandes* (Königsberg, Bons, 1922, pp. 56), is by J. Wenzel. Otto Selz makes a careful examination of Spengler's method in *Oswald Spengler und die Intuitive Methode in der Geschichtsforschung* (Bonn, Cohen, 1922, pp. 30).

Messrs. Longmans announce revised and enlarged editions, brought down to the present time, of Professor Clive Day's *History of Commerce*, Professor E. L. Bogart's *Economic History of the United States*, and Professor D. R. Dewey's *Financial History of the United States*.

The October number of the *Historical Outlook* contains Another Shot at Mr. Wells, by Professor Lynn Thorndike, of Western Reserve University; a paper, by Dr. George F. Zook, on Economic Relations of England and Ireland, 1660-1750; the reports of the Philadelphia Conference on history in junior and senior high schools; and the official report on history text-books used in the public schools of New York City. The November number contains a paper by Professor Harry E. Barnes, of

Clark University, on the Significance of Sociology for the "New" or Synthetic History, read at the St. Louis meeting of the American Historical Association last December, with discussions of the paper then read by Drs. J. F. Rippy, M. S. Handman, W. B. Bodenhafer, and J. E. Gillespie. The December number is occupied with statements of the plans and progress of the National Council for the Social Studies.

History for October contains an article entitled An Apology for Historical Research, by Professor A. F. Pollard, adversative to that of Professor Barker in the July number; one on the Struggle for the Right of Association in Fourteenth-Century Florence, by Professor N. Rodolico of Messina; a survey by Mr. J. A. Williamson of the modifications brought to the story of the Pilgrim Fathers by recent research; and an examination into the number of casualties involved in the Peterloo Massacre of 1819, by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan.

The chief historical articles in the *Catholic Historical Review* for October are a paper on the general subject of the Study of Church History by Bishop Shahan, rector of the Catholic University of America, and a bibliography of the principal publications of 1918-1920, inclusive, in that field, prepared by Rev. W. F. Whitman.

In the October number of the *Journal of Negro History* Herbert B. Alexander compares slavery in Brazil and in the United States; there is an article by George W. Brown on the Origins of Abolition in Santo Domingo, and one by M. M. Fisher on Lott Cary, the colonizing missionary in Liberia, accompanied by many documents relating to his life.

We receive from London the announcement of *The Slavonic Review*, edited by Messrs. Bernard Pares, R. W. Seton-Watson, and Harold Williams, and published thrice a year by the School of Slavonic Studies in the University of London, King's College, beginning June, 1922. A portion of the contents will always be historical, though Slavonic economics, philology, and literature are also to be represented. The first number contains an article on the Early Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and Serbia, by Mr. Michael Gavrilović, Jugo-Slav minister in London; one on the Composition of the Earlier Russian Chronicles, by Professor Nevill Forbes of Oxford; and one on the Russian Radicals of the Sixties, by H. T. Cheshire.

Climatic Changes, their Nature and Causes (Yale University Press), by Dr. Ellsworth Huntington and Professor Stephen S. Visher, presents Dr. Huntington's "solar cyclonic hypothesis", traces the evolution of climatic changes over great periods of time, and discusses their relations to geological phenomena and to human history.

The Population Problem: a Study in Human Evolution (Oxford University Press, pp. 316), by A. M. Carr-Saunders, is an attempt to survey the problem named from an historical and evolutionary standpoint.

Dr. R. L. Sherlock's book entitled *Man as a Geological Agent: an Account of his Action on Inanimate Nature* (London, Witherby) is a comprehensive and valuable study of a field having large importance in the history of civilization.

Sir James G. Frazer has accomplished the seemingly impossible task of compressing into a few hundred pages the wealth of material contained in the original twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough*, and has brought out (Macmillan) a new one-volume edition of that famous work.

Mr. Daniel B. Updike has made a most important contribution to the bibliographical department of historical lore in the two volumes of his *Printing Types, their History, Forms, and Use* (Harvard University Press), in which, with great learning, the history of typography is discussed, with 367 illustrations derived from volumes in the chief American libraries of rarities.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Spangenberg, *Die Perioden der Weltgeschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVII. 1); George Sarton, *The Teaching of the History of Science* (Isis, IV. 2).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: M. Besnier, *Chronique d'Histoire Ancienne Grecque et Romaine*, I. (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

The third volume of the *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* of M. Weber has appeared under the title *Das Antike Judentum* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921, pp. vii, 442). The first part deals with the Israelitish league and Jehovah, the second with the origin of the Jewish outcast classes.

Raffaele Pettazzoni, whose history of Persian religion appeared recently, has published a history of Greek religion under the title *La Religione nella Grecia Antica fino al Alessandro* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, pp. xii, 416). It is of equal merit and importance with its predecessor.

Die Antike Kultur in ihren Hauptzügen dargestellt (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922, pp. 242) by F. Poland, E. Reisinger, and R. Wagner, replaces the earlier *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*, which appeared in 1913. It is an unusually serviceable summary.

Professor Johannes Kromayer, of Leipzig, and Col. Dr. Georg Veith, of the War Office archives in Vienna, with assistance from various scholars, have produced an elaborate *Schlachten-Atlas zur Antiken Kriegsgeschichte* (Leipzig, H. Wagner and E. Debes) of which the first two *Lieferungen* have reached us. These two contain twelve plates (out of 34, to present in all 120 maps), and are sold at two dollars each. Upon the basis of all modern researches, including those of the learned authors, and of many personal inspections of battlefields, the maps illustrate battles and sieges from the Allia to the siege of Numantia, 390-133 B.C., on a

scale of 1:50,000, and some field operations. They are accompanied by letterpress containing explanations and discussions of mooted points. Professor Kromayer has also published a group of studies on Marathon, Allia, and Caudium, under the title *Drei Schlachten aus dem Griechisch-Römischen Altertum* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1921, pp. vi, 80).

G. Colomb in *L'Énigme d'Alésia* (Paris, Colin) rejects the traditional identification with Alise-Sainte-Reine in Auxois for a site in Franche-Comté which has already been contended for by Delacroix, Quicherat, and others.

Dr. T. Rice Holmes's *The Roman Republic and the Founder of the Empire* narrates, in three volumes, the events of the period from the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus to the death of Caesar, the later period being treated with especial fullness.

The University of Texas has published a study entitled *The Founding of the Roman Empire*, by Dr. Frank B. Marsh, adjunct professor of ancient history in that institution. This volume is the first of a projected series of *University of Texas Studies*.

Professor R. V. D. Magoffin of the Johns Hopkins University has in press a volume on *The Three Flavian Caesars*.

The Yale University Press publishes a series of lectures on *After Life in Roman Paganism*, delivered at Yale University by Professor Franz Cumont of Brussels, formerly professor in the University of Ghent, in which the cults, beliefs, and religious practices of pagan Rome relative to life after death are authoritatively and interestingly set forth.

Professor J. B. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire, from the Death of Theodosius I. to the Death of Justinian* (London, Macmillan, two vols.), though it bears the same general title as the book published in 1889, is the fruit of so much revision as to be practically a new work.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. Fichtner-Jeremias, *Der Schicksalsglaube bei den Babyloniern* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, 1922, 2); F. Graefe, *Studien zur Marinegeschichte des Altertums* (Hermes, LVII. 3); G. H. Box, *Judaism and Hellenism* (Church Quarterly Review, October); B. A. G. Fuller, *The Eleusinian and Orphic Mysteries* (Hibbert Journal, October); P. Cloché, *L'Importance des Pouvoirs de la Boulé Athénienne au V^e et IV^e Siècles avant J.-C.* (Revue des Études Grecques, July 1921); B. W. Wells, *Taxation and Bureaucracy in the Declining Empire* (Sewanee Review, October); J. W. Mackail, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Journal of Roman Studies, X. 2); A. Brückner, *Osteuropäische Götternamen; ein Beitrag zur Vergleichenden Mythologie* (Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung, L. 3).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

C. Guignebert continues his consideration of the thesis that the gospel narrative is a tissue of legend, begun in the *Problème de Jésus* (1914), in *La Vie Cachée de Jésus* (Paris, Flammarion, 1921, pp. 211). The present volume studies the first chapters of Matthew and Luke.

The house of John Murray has added, to the two volumes issued some years ago, an English translation, by Rev. Claude Jenkins, librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, of vol. III. of the late Monseigneur Duchesne's *Early History of the Christian Church*, relating to the fifth century.

A real and important need is filled by M. Pierre de Labriolle's learned and interesting *Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne* (Paris, *Les Belles Lettres*). An English translation is projected.

Before the war the Strasbourg Academy of Sciences planned the issue of a new and scientific edition, from the manuscripts, of the acts of the earlier general councils, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, to be edited by Professor Eduard Schwartz. One of the two volumes for the council of Constantinople, of A.D. 553, was published in 1914. It is now announced from Berlin, by the Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, that seven of the ten volumes for the councils of Ephesus (431) and of Chalcedon are nearly ready for print.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: P. Fedele, *Rassegna delle Pubblicazioni su Bonifazio VIII. e sull' Età sua, degli anni 1914-1921*.

An attempt at a comprehensive survey of *Le Travail dans l'Europe Chrétienne au Moyen-Age* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 430) is made by P. Boissonnade.

An historical survey of the development of the idea of the sovereignty of the people which has especial value for the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century is *La Sovranità Popolare del Medio Evo alla Rivoluzione Francese* (Turin, Bocca, pp. 220), by E. Crosa.

The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge has published a small book (pp. 94) on *The Albigenian Heresy*, by the Rev. H. J. Warner.

G. Mollat, well known for his thorough and extensive researches on the history of the Avignon papacy, has now published *La Collation des Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques sous les Papes d'Avignon, 1305-1378* (Paris, Boccard, 1921, pp. 353).

The *Defensor Minor* of Marsilius of Padua, now for the first time edited by Mr. C. Kenneth Brampton (Birmingham, Cornish, pp. xviii, 74), is an elaboration of and supplement to his better known *Defensor*

Pacis, was written in 1342, and is now printed from a unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Dr. De Lacy O'Leary, of the University of Bristol, is about to publish, through Messrs. Kegan Paul, *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*.

Dr. Jacob Mann has completed, by the publication of vol. II. (London, Milford, pp. 430), his account of *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, based chiefly on documents discovered some twenty-five years ago in the Genizah of Cairo.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Reinach, *Un Témoignage Indirect et Inaperçu sur le Druidisme* (Revue Archéologique, May); M. Jusselin, *La Chancellerie de Charles le Chauve d'après les Notes Tiroiennes* (Le Moyen Age, January, 1922); J. W. Thompson, *Early German-Slav Trade* (Journal of Political Economy, August); Ch. Diehl, *Les Fouilles du Corps d'Occupation Français à Constantinople* (Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, May); Canon Barry, *The Doctor Angelicus* (Dublin Review, October); Lynn Thorndike, *The Latin Pseudo-Aristotle and Medieval Occult Science* (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, April); P. Durrieu, *Le Titre Historique de "Roi de Jérusalem"* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); C. H. Haskins, *Michael Scot and Frederick II.* (Isis, IV. 2); C. Kenneth Brampton, *Marsiglio of Padua, I. Life* (English Historical Review, October).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Édouard Rott has published the seventh volume of his monumental *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses, de leurs Alliés et de leurs Confédérés* (Paris, Alcan, 1921, pp. 688), of which the eighth is soon to appear. The present volume covers the critical years 1663-1676, when the ambitions of Louis XIV. kept the cantons in a state of nervous fear.

Mr. George Simpson Eddy of New York has reprinted from a copy among the Franklin pamphlets in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania *A Project of Universal and Perpetual Peace*, by Pierre André Gargaz, a former galley-slave, presented by him to Benjamin Franklin and printed by the latter on his private press at Passy in 1782. The document is a curious one, of interest for a sketch of a League of Nations.

The councillor of the French embassy at Rome, F. Charles-Roux, has published *Autour d'une Route; L'Angleterre, l'Isthme de Suez et l'Égypte au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. 389), a valuable study of the rise of British interest in the route to India via Suez, which Bonaparte's expedition awakened and shaped. The book is both sympathetic and scholarly.

The Copenhagen publishing firm of Gyldendal, which celebrated in 1920 its 150th anniversary, has begun the publication, in a series of thirty volumes of moderate size, of a general work on the history of the nineteenth century, *Det Nittende Aarhundrede*, under the general editorship of Professor Aage Friis of the University of Copenhagen. The scheme calls for the production, by co-operative effort on the part of some thirty-seven of the best Scandinavian scholars, of comprehensive treatments of the political, social, economic, technical, and intellectual development of the European and other civilized nations throughout the century. Some two-thirds of the volumes, which are well illustrated, have already appeared. Cultural relations are emphasized; thus, there are separate volumes on such topics as the progress of philological research in the century, that of education, of philanthropy, art, literature, music, and the theatre, respectively, the thirtieth volume being one on the main currents in nineteenth-century thought by the celebrated Professor Harald Höffding, to be followed by an index volume.

Two volumes of diplomatic history announced by Longmans, Green, and Company, are a *History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914*, by E. B. Mowat, fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and *Social and Diplomatic Memories, 1884-1893*, by Sir J. Rennell Rodd, lately British ambassador in Rome, who in the years designated was an attaché or secretary in the British diplomatic service at Berlin, Athens, Rome, and Paris.

Readers interested in the subject of Dr. Joseph V. Fuller's article in a former volume (XXIV. 196-226) on "The War-Scare of 1875" will find new material, prepared from a German point of view, in no. 3 of the *Forschungen und Darstellungen aus dem Reichsarchiv*, namely, "Die Deutsche-Französische Kriegsgefahr von 1875".

The New Constitutions of Europe, by Professors Howard L. McBain and Lindsay Rogers (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, pp. 612), consists in the main of texts of constitutions of the states occupying the territories which before the war were Germany, Austria, and Russia, but there are good historical introductions to each and a preliminary portion of 164 pages, in which the whole recent movement of constitutional reorganization, with the exception of that in Ireland, is described and discussed.

La Crise des Alliances (Paris, Grasset, 1922, pp. 427), by A. Fabre-Luce, is not a book of opinion, but an effort at an objective and dispassionate historical account of Franco-British relations, from the signature of the peace with Germany to the Genoa Conference. It is a most carefully documented volume.

The Genoa Conference, by J. Saxon Mills, with a foreword by Mr. Lloyd George, is an historical record of the work of the conference (New York, Dutton).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. H. Tawney, *Religion and Business: a Forgotten Chapter of Social History* [the Reformation] (Hibbert

Journal, October); Freiherr von Danckelmann, *Der Brandenburgisch-Englische Allianztraktat vom Jahre 1690* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, VIII. 1); H. de Landosle, *Le Congrès de Bade en Suisse, 1714* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Raymond Recouly, *The Contrasts between the French and Russian Revolutions* (World's Work, November); Dean W. R. Inge, *The Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh Review, October); A. L. Dunham, *The Origins of the Anglo-French Treaty of 1860* (Nineteenth Century, November); E. C. Corti, *Les Idées de l'Impératrice Eugénie sur le Redressement de la Carte de l'Europe d'après des Rapports du Prince Richard de Metternich* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); Count Primoli, *L'Impératrice Eugénie et le Tsar Alexandre II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); A. Zévaès, *Les Trois Internationales*, I., II. (Nouvelle Revue, September 15, October 1); P. B. Potter, *Origin of the System of Mandates under the League of Nations* (American Political Science Review, November); A. L. P. Dennis, *The Freedom of the Straits* (North American Review, December); Gen. T. H. Bliss, *The Armistices* (American Journal of International Law, October).

THE WORLD WAR

General review: U. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Deutsche Literatur zur Völkerbundfrage 1918-1921* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, XLVI. 2).

R. Blachez attempts, in *La Nation Armée et l'Idéologie des Nationalités* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. 203), an inquiry into the fundamental causes of the World War. He holds the principle of nationality, the rivalries of Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, and British imperialism to be the roots of the conflict.

Volumes of the naval and maritime and aerial history of the war, in the series prepared under the auspices of the British Committee of Imperial Defence, have already appeared and been noticed in this journal. The first of the volumes on land warfare has now appeared, *Military Operations, France and Belgium, 1914* (Macmillan), compiled by Brig.-Gen. J. E. Edmonds. It covers a period of some two and one-half months only, from mobilization up to the transfer of the British army, in October, 1914, from the Aisne back to the left wing. It is not expected however that the same scale of treatment will be continued in subsequent volumes.

The best brief German account of the war is Major Volkmann's *Der Grosse Krieg, 1914-1918* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1922). It is based upon material in the German archives and use has also been made of the best books published in other countries.

E. Massard has written of *Les Espionnes à Paris* (Paris, Michel, 1922, pp. 224), purporting to give the truth concerning Mata-Hari and others of her sort.

Ludovic H. Grondijs is the author of *La Guerre en Russie et en Sibérie* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 586), the best account yet available. It is written from an impartial point of view and furnishes documentary evidence in abundance.

Under the direction of the general staff of the French navy, Captain P. Chack is writing a history of *La Guerre des Croiseurs* (Paris, Challengel, 1922, pp. xx, 374). The first volume covers the period from Aug. 4 to Oct. 1, 1914. It is carefully done, and abounds in documentary material.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Recouly, *Les Heures Tragiques d'avant Guerre*, X., Rome, II. (Revue de France, September 1); A. Rivaud, *La Propagande Allemande*, II. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); G. Hirshfeld, *À propos des Mémoires de Guillaume II.*; *Les Responsabilités de la Guerre d'après les Archives des Empires Centraux* (Mercure de France, November 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

General review: C. Bémont, *Histoire de Grande Bretagne*, II. (Revue Historique, September).

A continuation committee of the Anglo-American Conference of Professors of History held in London in 1921 has collected information about the procedure necessary for obtaining reproductions of manuscripts of historical interest from the chief archives of Great Britain, and inquiries on this subject may be addressed to the secretary of the Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W. C. 1. A committee on the editing of documents has made a preliminary report respecting the editing of medieval texts, which after further consideration is intended to be published. It is permissible to repeat the advice heretofore given in these pages, that all American historical students going to London should register at the Institute of Historical Research, as well as at the office of the American University Union, 50 Russell Square.

The Development of the British Empire, by Howard Robinson, is from the press of Houghton Mifflin Company.

The next volume of the *Cambridge Studies in Legal History*, edited by Professor Hazeltine, will be *Interpretations of Legal History*, by Professor Roscoe Pound, of Harvard University, based on lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, last spring.

A monograph on *Medieval English Nunneries*, by Miss Eileen Power, formerly lecturer in Girton College, just published by the Cambridge University Press, fills a noticeable gap in English social and ecclesiastical history.

The University of Manchester, in *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, by Professor Eilert Ekwall of Lund, has published a work of the utmost

importance in its field, by one whose knowledge of Scandinavian, Celtic, and Anglo-Saxon languages and history enables him to do justice to both the linguistic and the historical conditions involved in his problem.

The Yale University Press expects soon to issue in its historical series a volume by Mr. W. O. Ault on *Private Jurisdictions in England*.

Dr. Cora L. Scofield, formerly of the University of Chicago, brings out this winter (Longmans) an elaborate work, in two volumes, on *The Life and Reign of Edward IV*.

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company have issued *Doctors' Commons and the Old Court of Admiralty; a Short History of the Civilians in England*, by William Senior, of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law.

An additional source-book, and one of much merit, is *Select Naval Documents* (Cambridge University Press, pp. 224), edited by H. W. Hodges and E. A. Hughes, and running from the time of Henry VIII. to that of Nelson.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a fresh edition of Sir John R. Seeley's *Growth of British Policy*, edited, with a memoir of the author, by the late Sir George Prothero.

Mr. Arthur T. Bolton, curator of the Sir John Soane Museum, after long study has produced an admirable and beautifully illustrated work on *The Architecture of Robert and James Adam, 1758-1794* (London, Country Life, two vols., pp. xvi, 344; xii, 361, 92, viii), rich in biographical and social information as well as in description and discussion of houses and decorative work.

The second volume of the *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, covering the period from 1815 to 1866, will be issued soon after the date of this journal.

Westminster Abbey: the Church, Convent, Cathedral, and College of St. Peter, Westminster (London, Philip Allan, 2 vols.), is by H. F. Westlake, custodian and minor canon of the abbey, and supplies it at last with an adequate history.

The first volume of the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, established by the University of Wales, contains a list of Lambeth manuscript records relating to Wales under the Commonwealth, a list of manuscripts in the library of St. Asaph's Cathedral, and a list of the parish register transcripts of the diocese of St. Asaph.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for October has articles on the Admiral of Scotland, by A. R. G. McMillan; on the Orkney Pennylands, by J. Storer Clouston; on Henry V. of England in France, by I. N. U. Muir Wilson; and on a Letter to Scotland from the Council of Basel, by Dr. R. K. Hannay.

British government publications: *Index of Chancery Proceedings*, ser. I., James I., vol. I., A-K.

Other documentary publications: *Year Books of Edward II.*, vol. XVI., 7 Edward II. (Selden Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Stewart-Brown, *The "Domesday" Roll of Chester* (English Historical Review, October); Egerton Beck, *The English Austin Canons* (Dublin Review, October); Lynn Thorndike, *Daniel of Morley* (English Historical Review, October); W. S. Holdsworth, *The History of Remedies against the Crown* (Law Quarterly Review, April, July); E. F. Churchill, *The Dispensing Power of the Crown in Ecclesiastical Cases* (*ibid.*, July); A. F. Pollard, *Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors*, II. *The Star Chamber* (English Historical Review, October); J. J. Duryea, *Notes on Wolsey's Reform* (Dublin Review, October); R. L. Schuyler, *The Rise of Anti-Imperialism in England* (Political Science Quarterly, September); M. Dorothy George, *Some Causes of the Increase of Population in the Eighteenth Century as illustrated by London* (Economic Journal, September); A. L. P. Dennis, *British Foreign Policy and the Dominions* (American Political Science Review, November); A. R. G. McMillan, *The Scottish Court of Admiralty*, II. (Juridical Review, June).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 414; for India, p. 398.)

The Oxford University Press is bringing out a history of *Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by Robert Dunlop.

Miss Constantia Maxwell, lecturer in modern history in Trinity College, Dublin, has prepared for publication, by Messrs. Allen and Unwin of London, a source-book, with historical introduction, entitled *Irish History from Contemporary Sources, 1509-1610*.

The Macmillan Company announces a reissue of the two volumes by the late George L. Beer, on *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, published in 1907, and *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660*, published in 1908.

The Prince Consort Prize essay of 1922, *The Colonial Policy of William III. in America and the West Indies*, by G. H. Guttridge, will soon be published by the Cambridge University Press.

Volume V. of the third series of the *Historical Records of Australia* (Sydney, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, pp. xxi, 959) is mainly occupied with Tasmania, 1825-1827, but also has minor sections devoted to the Northern Territory and to the abortive settlement at Western Port, of the same period.

FRANCE

At the instance of the Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre, the society which established the already celebrated Bibliothèque et Musée de la

Guerre, the University of Paris has established a special professorship of the history of the World War. Its main purpose will naturally be, at the first, the critical study of the sources. As first incumbent of this new chair, the university has chosen M. Pierre Renouvin, assistant secretary general of the society.

The second volume of J. Mathorez's *Les Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Paris, Champion, 1921, pp. 446) deals with the German, Dutch, and Scandinavian visitors and immigrants to France. It reveals an unsuspected amount of travel and migration in a period when means of communication were poor. The coming of foreigners was encouraged, and gave France many important figures. The return of students and merchants to their own countries spread French influence and furnished support to French diplomacy. Among the striking facts are the age-long attractiveness of France for the Germans, and the relative ease with which they were assimilated.

A distinguished contribution to the history of French architecture is F. and P. Lesueur's *Le Château de Blois, Notice Historique et Archéologique* (Paris, Longuet, 1914-1921, pp. 313).

The second volume of Gustave Dupont-Ferrier's *Du Collège de Clermont au Lycée Louis-le-Grand* is entitled *Du Prytanée au Lycée Louis-le-Grand* (Paris, Boccard), and deals with the period from the reopening of the college under a changed name to the present time.

The admirable biography of Madame de Maintenon, by Madame Saint-René Taillandier, niece of Taine, has been translated into English by Lady Mary Loyd (London, Heinemann).

A careful monograph on military service at the end of the reign of Louis XIV. is *Racolage et Milice, 1701-1715* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xv, 336), by G. Girard. It deals with the period when the army was being recruited with volunteers and by force for the War of the Spanish Succession. It furnishes the first good account of the militia, established by Louvois in 1688, suppressed in 1697, and re-established in 1701.

La Réglementation du Commerce des Grains en France au XVIII^e Siècle (Paris, Champion, 1922, pp. 266), by C. Musart, throws much light on the history of commerce during the period and also upon the ideas relating to commerce and its control.

Figaro: the Life of Beaumarchais (London, Hutchinson), by John Rivers, is the fruit of thorough and conscientious work, yet very readable.

La Justice Militaire sous la Révolution (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. 95) by G. Michon, describes the system of military courts and punishments in vogue under the old régime and the various changes made during the Revolution. The severe and arbitrary discipline of the royal army was gradually reformed until the law of 3 pluviôse an II (Jan. 22, 1794)

established military courts, procedure, and punishments reasonably in accord with the ideals of the ordinary criminal law and calculated to safeguard the rights of the individual. Under the Thermidorians and the Directory changes of a reactionary sort were adopted. Even at the present day France has not returned to the liberal policy of the Convention during the Terror in the matter of discipline in the army and navy. While that policy was liberal to the enlisted men it held the officers to an unusually rigid accountability. The study of the actual workings of the system under the Terror is interesting but quite insufficient to prove the author's obvious thesis in its behalf.

A valuable publication of the University of Strasbourg, based on the records of the Directory and of the central administration of the Bas-Rhin, is *La Constitution Civile du Clergé et la Crise Religieuse en Alsace, 1790-1795*, by Professor Rodolphe Reuss (tome I., 1790-1792, pp. vi, 378).

It has come to our knowledge that the valuable library of Napoleonic literature and collection of engravings formed by Friedrich M. Kirch-eisen, of Berlin, is for sale.

Gambetta and the Foundations of the Third Republic, by Harold Stannard, is a study of Gambetta and his place in French history, with a detailed account of his creation of the French army (Boston, Small, Maynard, and Company).

The second volume of A. Houtin's *Le Père Hyacinthe Réformateur Catholique* (Paris, Nourry, pp. 362) deals with the period from 1869 to 1893. It recounts the efforts of Loyson to found in France a reformed Catholic church, his excommunication, and subsequent leadership in the fight against ultramontanism.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Decq, *L'Administration des Eaux et Forêts dans le Domaine Royal en France au XIV^e et XV^e Siècles* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January, 1922); G. Weulersse, *Sully et Colbert jugés par les Physiocrates* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, X. 2); P. Bertrand, *Les Vrais et les Faux Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*, I. (Revue Historique, September); M. Dubruel, *La Querelle de la Régale sous Louis XIV.*, I. *Le Premier Heurt, 1673-1676* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Marquis de Forbin, *La Mission à Rome du Cardinal Forbin-Janson, sous le Pontificat d'Alexandre VIII.*, II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); A. Choulguine, *L'Organisation Capitaliste de l'Industrie existait-elle en France à la Veille de la Révolution?* (Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale, X. 2); E. Campagnac, *Robespierre et la Politique Étrangère*, I., II., III. (Nouvelle Revue, August 1, 15, September 1); C. Leroux-Cesbron, *Un Allemand Propriétaire en France pendant la Révolution* (Revue des Études Historiques, July); J. Depoin, *Napoléon Journaliste* (*ibid.*); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Napoléon à Fontainebleau en 1814* (Revue des

Études Napoléoniennes, July); M. Levailant, *Chateaubriand et son Ministre des Finances*, IV. (Revue des Deux Mondes, August 1); E. C. Corti, *Napoléon III. après Sadowa, d'après des Rapports du Prince Richard de Metternich* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); Princess Metternich, *Souvenirs: Compiègne, Fontainebleau, 1870* (Revue Universelle, October 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

As a result of Professor Eugene H. Byrne's eight months of recent work in Genoese archives, the library of the University of Wisconsin has photographs of some 30,000 documents of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, from those archives.

The *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XLIV. 1-4, begins with an article by Don Gelasio Caetani on Margherita Aldobrandesca (b. 1254) and her connection with his family, the third of her husbands having been Roffredo Caetani. It is a strange tale of Roman aristocratic ways in Dante's time. This scholar has begun, with a genealogical volume, the publication of a series of a dozen quarto volumes of historical materials from the rich archives of his house, that of the dukes of Sermoneta. In the same number of the *Archivio*, G. Castellani continues his studies preparatory to a new edition of the *Fragmenta Romanae Historiae* of Rienzi's time; G. B. Picotti continues his studies of Leo X. by a long article on Giovanni de' Medici in the conclave that in 1492 elected Alexander VI.; and G. Zippel describes Roman materials for the history of the Knights of Rhodes.

Le Carte degli Archivi Reggiani fino al 1050 (Reggio, Lavoranti, 1921, pp. xxiv, 475), published by P. Torelli, in collaboration with Professors A. K. Casotti and F. Tassoni, is a useful addition, from a single locality, to the collection of charters available in Italy.

Signor Romolo Caggese, in *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi Tempi* (Florence, Bemporad, pp. 690), gives a careful account of the political history of the reign and a still fuller study, based on ample documentary research, of the economic and social conditions of the kingdom of Naples in Robert's time.

The second volume of L. Olschki's *Geschichte der Neusprachlichen Wissenschaftlichen Literatur* is *Bildung und Wissenschaft im Zeitalter der Renaissance in Italien* (Leipzig, Olschki, 1922, pp. x, 344).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Rodocanachi, *Les Courtisanes Italiennes à l'Époque de la Renaissance* (Revue de France, September 15); G. Gallavresi, *La Franc-Maçonnerie et la Formation de l'Unité Italienne* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); P. Matter, *Cavour Publiciste avant 1848* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, July); A. González Palencia, *El Califato Occidental* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, April); David Hannay, *The Mesta* (Edinburgh Review, October).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Work on the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* goes forward apparently as actively as before the war. The folio series of the *Scriptores* has been brought to an end with vol. XXX. unfinished. Among the issues of the past year we may note *Scriptores*, nova series, tom. I., *Heinrici Surdi de Selbach Chronica*, ed. H. Brésslau; *Leges*, sect. I., tom. V., pars II., *Lex Baiuvariorum*; *Deutsche Chroniken*, tom. IV., pars II., and *Epistolae*, tom. VI., Hadrian II. Hereafter, while Hahn of Hannover will continue to publish the old *Scriptores*, the *Leges*, and the school editions, the new *Scriptores*, the *Deutsche Chroniken*, the *Diplomata*, and the *Neues Archiv* will be issued by Weidmann of Berlin.

The second volume of Albert von Hofmann's *Politische Geschichte der Deutschen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1922, pp. 723) has appeared. It is a good handbook.

A good popular account of *Der Heilige Bonifatius, Apostel der Deutschen* (Freiburg, Herder, 1922, pp. xii, 307), which utilizes the researches of Tangl, is by J. J. Laux.

Arnold E. Berger has published the third volume of *Martin Luther in Kulturgeschichtlicher Darstellung* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1921, pp. x, 370), a continuation of the notable work begun in 1895 by F. Gesz, and continued by the present author.

Materials on a very murky period in Bismarck's career have been gathered by O. Gradenwitz in *Akten über Bismarcks Grossdeutsche Rundfahrt* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1922, pp. 57). The volume covers the period of Bismarck's trip to Vienna and to a number of important German cities, in 1892. F. Rachfahl has summarized briefly many of his investigations in *Bismarcks Englische Bündnispolitik* (Freiburg, Fischer, 1922, pp. 27). O. Jöhlinger, in *Bismarck und die Juden* (Berlin, Reimer, 1921, pp. vii, 206), studies an interesting phase of Bismarck's policy.

The memoirs of Kaiser Wilhelm II. have been brought out in this country by Lemcke and Buechner. The title of the volume is *Kaiser Wilhelm der Zweite: Ereignisse und Gestalten aus den Jahren 1878-1918*. The same firm has published the memoirs of the Crown Prince: *Kronprinz Wilhelm: Meine Erinnerungen aus Deutschlands Heldenkampf*. An English translation of the former, *Memoirs of Wilhelm II.*, has been published already by Harper and Brothers; one of the latter, *My War Experiences*, has been published in London by Hurst and Blackett.

J. Haller has published a sharply critical study of Bülow's administration, *Die Ära Bülow* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1922, pp. ix, 152). He concludes that foreign policy was irretrievably mishandled, domestic matters mismanaged, and the foundations of the monarchy shaken.

The Allgemeine Geschichtsforschende Gesellschaft of Switzerland has consolidated its two publications into one periodical, *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte*, of which the first volume (Zurich, Leeman, 1922) contains a discussion of the Helvetii by Dr. Felix Stähelin, and a series, contributed by Dr. Alfred Stern, of the correspondence of Frederick William IV. and Napoleon III. in 1856-1857, about the affairs of Neuchâtel, the material being derived from the Prussian archives.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Heusinger, *Servitium Regis in der Deutschen Kaiserzeit; Untersuchungen über die Wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse des Deutschen Königtums, 900-1250* (Archiv für Urkundenforschung, VIII. 1); A. Hauffen, *Das Elsass und Strassburg im 16. Jahrhundert* (Preussische Jahrbücher, July).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The forty-third of the *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven*, being the report for 1920 (2 vols., pp. 804, 444), contains, of special interest to Americans, a lively account of an examination of the archives of British Guiana, by Mr. F. Oudschans Dentz of Paramaribo, searching for materials for the history of Dutch Guiana, and an inventory (pp. 617-687) of the archives of Curaçao. The archives of all the Dutch West Indies anterior to 1829 have now been transferred to the Hague. None of those of Curaçao, here catalogued, run back of 1708.

The fifth volume of Dr. Japikse's edition of the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, prepared under the auspices of the National Historical Commission, relates to the crucially important years 1585 and 1586.

A detailed survey of the injuries and losses sustained by the various archives of Flanders during the war, prepared by Louis de Plancke, is to be found in volume LXV. of the *Annales de la Société de l'Émulation de Bruges*.

Les Pèlerinages Expiatoires et Judiciaires dans le Droit Communal de la Belgique au Moyen Age (Louvain, Bureaux du Recueil, 1922, pp. viii, 244), by Dr. E. van Cauwenbergh, librarian of the University of Louvain, is an exhaustive study of the utilization by civil tribunals of pilgrimages to more or less distant shrines as a penalty for crimes or as a portion of the arrangements for establishing peace or terminating feuds. This practice existed especially in Liège, Brabant, and Flanders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in some cases the custom came to be embodied in formal law. The origin of the custom in ecclesiastical practice, the crimes, the procedure, and the enforcement of the judgments are each carefully set forth with full citations from the documents. A special chapter is devoted to the sentences to pilgrimage imposed by the court of the rector of the University of Louvain. There is also a list of nearly two hundred shrines to which pilgrimages are re-

corded to have been ordered by the Belgian courts, and an appendix of illustrative documents.

A highly important and interesting study of the phase of painting which connects the Flemish Renaissance with the Middle Ages is published by Count Paul Durrieu under the title *La Miniature Flamande au Temps de la Cour de Bourgogne, 1415-1530* (Brussels, van Oest, 1921, pp. 83, with heliotype reproductions of 153 miniatures). The same publishers announce, to appear in another handsome quarto, an authoritative study of *La Miniature Française du XIII^e au XV^e Siècle*, by M. Henry Martin, administrator of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, with heliotypes of 134 miniatures from manuscripts of the period named.

Professor E. Hubert, upon retiring from the rectorship of the University of Liège, published *L'Édit de Joseph II. sur les Kermesses* (Liège, Poncelet, 1921, pp. 204), a study of one of the well-meant acts of Joseph II. which exasperated the inhabitants of the Austrian possessions in the Low Countries.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, has brought out a volume on the *Economic Development of Denmark before and since the War* (Oxford University Press).

Volume XIV. of *Islandica*, the annual published by Cornell University Library, relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection, is a bibliography of Icelandic books of the seventeenth century (pp. xiii, 121), by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson. That learned scholar has ransacked the libraries of London, Copenhagen, and Reykjavík in order to complete this record and description of some 255 Icelandic books and pamphlets, continuing his description of sixteenth-century books, published in 1916, *Islandica*, IX. In the seventeenth century there was one press in Iceland, managed at Hólar by Bishop Guðbrandur Þorláksson and his descendants till 1685, and after that at Skálholt; but Mr. Hermannsson includes, besides the issues of this press, all books and pamphlets by Icelanders or of Icelandic origin printed outside of Iceland during the seventeenth century.

Professor Michael Rostovtzeff's elaborate work on *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* has been issued this autumn by the Oxford University Press.

The value and interest of *The Emperor Nicholas II. as I Knew Him* (London, Humphrey), by Maj.-Gen. Sir John Hanbury-Williams, is derived mainly from the fact that the author was chief of the British military mission to Russia in 1914-1917.

Some four hundred letters, in English, of the late tsaritsa, running from April, 1914, to December, 1916, have been published in a volume,

Pisma Imperatritsi Alexandri Feodorovni k Imperatoru Nicolaiu II., tom. I. (Berlin, "Slovo", 1922). Another volume, published by Ullstein in Berlin, contains, along with further letters, her diary during the last months of her life, April 30-July 3, 1919, the day of her execution.

General Loukowsky was director of mobilization in the Russian army at the beginning of the World War and at a later time chief of staff to Brussilov and Kornilov, and held other important appointments. His *Memoirs of the Russian Revolution* is an important contribution, of which an English translation has lately been published by T. Fisher Unwin.

Lithuania, Past and Present (London, Fisher Unwin), by E. T. Harrison, is the work of one who, familiar with Baltic affairs before the World War, has since then been secretary of the British Commission for the Baltic Provinces and acting British vice-consul for Lithuania. Of its copious information, much is historical.

An important contribution to the history of the Reformation is *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est-, und Kurland* (Leipzig, Heinsius, 1921, pp. xix, 851) by Leonid Arbusow, who has taken up the specialty of the late A. Berendts. The volume is the third of the *Quellen und Forschungen zur Reformationsgeschichte* of the Verein für Reformationsgeschichte.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: I. Lubimenko, *Les Marchands Anglais en Russie au XVII^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, September); Baron de Méneval, *L'Avènement d'Élisabeth de Russie, 1741* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); E. Bortchak, *Napoléon et l'Ukraine* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); M. Dufourmantelle, *La Politique de Germanisation en Pologne Prussienne* (Revue Économique Internationale, September); Junius, pseud., *Die Etappen der Russischen Revolution* (Neue Rundschau, July).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The Island of Roses and Her Eleven Sisters, or the Dodecanese from the Earliest Time down to the Present Day (London, Macmillan), by Professor Michael D. Volonakis, covers with fairness and good scholarship the varied history of Rhodes and the neighboring islands now held by Italy.

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

Under the supervision of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, ten well-equipped expeditions have been at work in various localities. The French Archaeological School has been digging at Jericho, the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society at Tiberias (Hamata), the University of Pennsylvania at Beisān, Harvard at Samaria, the University of Chicago at Megiddo, the Palestine Exploration Fund at Askalon; the

Franciscans have continued their work of uncovering and preparing for reconstruction the ancient synagogue at Capernaum; the British School has begun explorations at the mouth of the plain of Esdraelon, and the Danes at Shiloh, while the American School of Oriental Research has made interesting excavations at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah), disclosing seven successive periods of building, between 1200 B.C. and 70 A.D.

Gabriel Ferrand has translated from the Arabic the *Voyage du Marchand Arabe Sulaymân en Inde et en Chine* (Paris, Bossard, 1922, pp. 157), written in 851. It is included in the collection of classics of the Orient.

The September issue of the *Journal of Indian History* contains an article on the Rise of the Imams of Sanaa in Arabia, by Dr. A. S. Tritton, professor of Arabic in the Muslim University at Aligarh; a second part of the paper by Sita Ram Kohli on the Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; and one of 162 pages, mostly documents, compiled by the editor, Professor Shafaat Ahmad Khan, on the Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations relating to Bombay, 1660-1677.

Dr. Chuan Shih Li, instructor in economics in Futan College, Shanghai, publishes in the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* (XCIX. 2, pp. 187) a treatise on *Central and Local Finance in China*, being a study, in considerable part historical, of the fiscal relations between the central, the provincial, and the local governments.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Kuske, *Die Weltwirtschaftlichen Anfänge Sibiriens und seiner Nachbargebiete vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Schmoller's Jahrbuch, 1922, 1, 2); A. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde* (Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises, X. 3); J. O. P. Bland, *The Washington Conference and the Far East* (Edinburgh Review, October).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A history of *The Partition and Colonization of Africa*, by Sir Charles Lucas, formerly assistant under-secretary in the Colonial Office, issued lately by the Oxford University Press, has chapters on the late campaigns in that continent and the results of the war to its map.

R. Lambelin's *L'Égypte et l'Angleterre; vers l'Indépendance* (Paris, Grasset, 1922, pp. vi, 259) covers the period from Mehemet Ali to the present. It deals with French relations to the problem of Egyptian nationalism, especially the support of the restoration government, and the French loan to Mehemet Ali of military instructors, engineers, and doctors, and contains a clear account of the rivalries and struggles for predominant influence during the last century.

The History of Mauritius, 1507-1914 (London, East and West, pp. xii, 110), by S. B. de Burgh Edwardes, is a clear, well written, and straightforward chronicle, by a young Mauritian.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Richet, *Madagascar au XVII^e Siècle* (Nouvelle Revue, October 15); J. d'Ivray, *La Première Occupation Anglaise en Égypte, 1807* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

In the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Dr. Stock has finished the manuscript of the first volume of his *Proceedings and Debates of Parliament respecting North America*, covering English, Scottish, and Irish parliaments from 1584 to 1688. The manuscript of the first volume of the *Spanish Documents illustrating the History of New Mexico*, etc., collected for the institution by the late Dr. A. F. Bandelier, and edited for the department by Professor Charles W. Hackett, has been for some time ready for the press. Mrs. Surrey has nearly finished her work in Paris, upon her calendar of documents, and will soon return to New York.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress are: letters of Eliza Parke Custis (Law) to David B. Warden, 1811-1831 (30 typewritten copies from originals); miscellaneous letters of David Porter, 1808-1838 (167 pieces); ten volumes, from the Department of State, of correspondence of the Presidents of the United States and others with the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and others, 1790-1816, including two facsimiles of L'Enfant's plan of the city of Washington, and Andrew Ellicott's original survey of the District, 1793; from the House of Representatives, papers relating to Indiana Territory, 1800-1811 (38 pieces); a group of 41 broadside acts of the New Jersey legislature, 1804-1851; the account-books of Boinod and Gaillard, publishers of the *Courrier de l'Amérique*, 1784-1795, 2 vols.; photostat copies of miscellaneous manuscripts, relating to Ira Allen and the history of Vermont, 1774-1802 (over 5000 pieces, known as the "Wilbur Photostats"); confidential reports of Charles A. Dana to Edwin M. Stanton, 1863-1865 (typewritten and manuscript copies); additions to the Grover Cleveland Papers of 269 letters to E. C. Benedict, A. B. Farquhar, Don M. Dickinson, and William J. Curtis, 1884-1908 ("McElroy-Cleveland Collection"); miscellaneous papers of James Madison, 1795-1842 (18 pieces); letters from William H. Seward to Samuel B. Ruggles, 1837-1859 (21); copies of letters from St. Jean de Crèvecoeur, 1783-1788; 19 miscellaneous legal papers of Alexander Hamilton, 1785-1800; 18 miscellaneous land papers of Robert Morris, 1785-1804; a photostat copy of the proceedings of the New England Corporation, 1656-1686; and a large mass of papers of S. P. Chase.

The Division of Publication of the Department of State has put forth, as a means of answering many inquiries, a pamphlet of 93 pages, entitled *A Short Account of the Department of State of the United States*,

largely historical in character, setting forth the history of the department's organization, branches, and former and present functions.

Allyn and Bacon have brought out in their series of school histories *A History of the United States*, by the late Charles Kendall Adams and Professor William P. Trent; the Century Company has brought out *Our Republic: a Brief History of the American People*, by S. E. Forman.

A history of the United States in the Slovak language, *Dejiny Spojených Státov Amerických*, by Jozef Hill, has been brought out in Pittsburgh by the History Publishing Company.

Putnam has published *The Law of the American Constitution: its Origin and Development*, by Charles K. Burdick, with two introductory chapters by Francis M. Burdick.

Selig Perlman is the author of *A History of Trade Unionism in the United States*, which Macmillan has published in the series of *Social Science Text-Books*.

The *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, XXXI. 2, at its meeting of October, 1921, contains a paper of much value by Mr. Charles Evans on Oaths of Allegiance in Colonial New England; a full history of the Island of Monhegan, by C. F. Janney; and a paper by J. B. Wilbur on the Making of the Republic of Vermont.

It is very rarely that an historical journal needs to take notice of a bookseller's catalogue, but certainly an exception must be made of catalogue no. 429 of Maggs Brothers of London, a stout volume of 600 pages in which nearly 1700 items of Americana are described, including an extraordinary number of historical rarities, many of which are unique or extremely rare, or of much historical interest, as the full descriptions show. Among the manuscripts we note a large collection of the correspondence of Juan Ruiz Apodaca, viceroy of Mexico 1816-1821, and a letter-book of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe of Upper Canada, 1792-1793.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

In no. 1 of the *Leyden Pilgrim Messenger* (Leyden, Brill), Dr. D. Plooij prints a lecture on recently discovered letters of the Pilgrim colony in New England, giving the text of one of Governor William Bradford, 1649, one of Rev. Ralph Smith, 1633, and one of Governor Thomas Prince, 1634; also one of Rev. Hugh Peter, from Salem, 1639. Professor A. Eekhof discusses Brewster's print of the Dutch translation of Dod and Cleaver's *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*.

In the *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, X. 3, M. Émile Lauvrière continues, from 1632 to 1650, his careful studies of Acadian history (Razilly and Aulnay).

The late Professor H. L. Osgood, as was observed in the *Review* some time ago, left almost complete four volumes on *The American*

Colonies in the Eighteenth Century. The manuscript has been put into shape for the printer and is about to be published by the Columbia University Press. The entire work will appear during the present academic year. Professor D. R. Fox has written a biography of Professor Osgood which will be published at the same time though in a separate volume.

Many readers and school-teachers will be glad to know that the Macmillan Company has reissued the late Mrs. Alice Morse Earle's attractive volumes of social history of the colonial period, *Child Life in Colonial Days*, *Home Life in Colonial Days*, *Stage-coach and Tavern Days*, *Curious Punishments of Bygone Days*, *Old-Time Gardens*, and *Sun-dials and Roses of Yesterday*.

The American Geographical Society has reprinted, handsomely, in a small volume of 20 pages, *A Short Account of the First Settlements of the Provinces of Virginia, Maryland, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, by the English* (London, 1735), with a map by John Senex, text and map sustaining the Penn claim to possession from 39 degrees north.

The Caxton Club of Chicago is about to republish the English edition (London, 1761) of Charlevoix's *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, to be edited by Miss Louise P. Kellogg.

Professor Samuel E. Morison is putting into print (Oxford, Clarendon Press) a book of *Sources and Documents on the American Revolution, 1760-1789*, uniform with Stubbs's *Select Charters*.

The Princeton Battle Monument (Princeton University Press, 1922, pp. 131) includes a history of the monument, by Allan Marquand; an account of the dedication, by Christian Gauss; a Ballad of Princeton Battle, by Henry Van Dyke; and a history of the battle, effectively written by Thomas J. Wertenbaker (all four, professors in Princeton University). It was at Princeton that Congress in 1783 authorized the erection of an equestrian statue of Washington commemorating the chief events of the war, including the battle of Princeton, but it was not until 1887 that steps were taken to erect a monument there, and it was not until June, 1922, that the monument was completed and dedicated. The Philadelphia City Cavalry Troop and the Fifth Maryland, the only military units which took part in the battle of Princeton and still survive as organizations, participated in the exercises of dedication.

Dr. F. Lee Bennis's monograph, *The American Struggle for the British West India Carrying-Trade*, which was awarded the Justin Winsor Prize for 1920, will be published during the present year as a volume in the *Indiana University Studies*.

The University of Michigan expects soon to issue, as one of its historical publications, Senator William Plumer's *Memorandum of Proceedings in the United States Senate, 1803-1807*—new material of much value and interest, edited by Professor Everett S. Brown.

The Michigan Society of Colonial Wars has brought out the *Journal of Joseph Valpey, jr., of Salem, November, 1813–April, 1815: with other Papers relating to his Experience in Dartmoor Prison*. The journal was prepared for publication by the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, and an introduction is furnished by a relative of the diarist. The journal presents first the experiences of a voyage from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, then a crisp narrative of adventure, February–August, 1814, on the privateer schooner *Herald*, then a record of imprisonment at Halifax, whence the writer was transferred to Dartmoor prison in England. About half the journal is devoted to a description of the prison and to an account of his daily life there, until his release near the end of April, 1815. A description of the prison and of the "British Massacre on the sixth of April A. D. 1815", by another prisoner, found at the close of the Valpey journal, is added; also, some letters, and verses such as prisoners write.

Essentials of Church History: a History of the Church [meaning, of the Mormon Church] *from the Birth of Joseph Smith to the Present Time*, by Joseph F. Smith, comes from the Deseret News Press, Salt Lake City.

An address on *The Life and Public Services of General Zachary Taylor*, delivered by Abraham Lincoln in Chicago, July 25, 1850, and printed in the *Chicago Journal* of July 27, has recently been discovered by Edward W. Baker of Barry, Illinois, and has been issued in a neat volume by the Riverside Press.

Jesse W. Weik, who collaborated with Herndon in writing a life of Lincoln, has brought out a volume to which he has given the title *The Real Lincoln: a Portrait*, the purpose of which is to treat more adequately than was done in the former work the human side of Lincoln, enlarging in particular upon Lincoln's domestic life and his activities as a lawyer (Houghton Mifflin Company).

Jefferson Davis: his Life and Personality, by Morris Schaff, is characterized as "the indisputable historical record of Mr. Davis as a soldier, statesman, and American gentleman, written by an officer of the northern armies" (Boston, John W. Luce and Company).

Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company announce a new military history of *The Civil War in America*, by Walter G. Shotwell.

In the January and April numbers of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* will be published, in two long installments, a carefully studied paper on the *Virginia (Merrimac)-Monitor* fight by an eye-witness, who was at the time a soldier in the United States army.

Imperial Washington: the Story of American Public Life, from 1870 to 1920, is from the pen of Richard F. Pettigrew, former United States senator from South Dakota (Chicago, Charles H. Kerr and Company).

From Harrison to Harding: a Personal Narrative, covering a Third of a Century, 1888-1921, is by a veteran Washington newspaper man, Arthur W. Dunn (New York, Putnam).

Dr. James Ford Rhodes continues his celebrated book by the publication of a volume entitled *The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909* (Macmillan, pp. x, 418).

Messrs. Dutton have brought out a *Life of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore*, in two volumes, by Allen S. Will.

The Institute for Government Research has issued, as the third of its *Service Monographs of the United States Government*, *The Bureau of Mines: its History, Activities, and Organization*, by Fred W. Powell (New York, Appleton).

A History of the First Division during the World War, 1917-1919, compiled by the Society of the First Division, is brought out in Philadelphia by Winston.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The New England History Teachers Association held its annual fall meeting at Simmons College on November 4. The general subject of the papers was that of Recent Developments in Eastern Europe. Professors A. I. Andrews, R. H. Lord, and Jerome Davis discoursed on the South-eastern Countries, Poland and the Baltic States, and Russia, respectively.

Charles E. Goodspeed of Boston has published a volume containing a comprehensive and well-illustrated survey of New England shipping, nautical instruments, and navigation, entitled *The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607-1907* (pp. 476), by John Robinson, curator of the Marine Room of the Peabody Institute in Salem, and George F. Dow, curator of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

A work in three volumes, bearing the title *History of the Pilgrims and Puritans, their Ancestry and Descendants: Basis of Americanization*, of which Joseph D. Sawyer is the author and Dr. William E. Griffis is the editor, has been brought out in New York by the Century History Company.

The October number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains an article by Rufus S. Tucker on the Expansion of New England.

Horse Raising in Colonial New England (Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station Memoir 54), by Deane Phillips, is an excellent study of a phase of the economic history of colonial New England which has hitherto received but scant attention. An interesting fact brought out by the author is the intimate connection between horse-raising in New England and the sugar industry in the British West Indies.

The New Hampshire Society of the Colonial Dames of America, through its Committee of Historic Research, offers a prize of \$100 for the best monograph on a subject taken from the history of New Hampshire, prior to 1775. The competitor must be a resident of New Hampshire, or a student of either Dartmouth, the New Hampshire State College, or St. Anselm's College. Inquiries respecting the matter should be addressed to Miss Agnes Hunt, 263 North Bay Street, Manchester, N. H.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has brought out, as vol. LXXV. of its *Collections*, a check-list of *Broadsides, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts 1639-1800*, edited by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, who with wonderful industry and success has found in twenty-five libraries, American and European, more than 3000 of these fugitive pieces, illustrating the history of government, politics, business, crimes, executions, verse, and typography in Massachusetts. There are many facsimiles, a learned introduction, and a good index.

Francis B. C. Bradlee contributes to the October number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* the first installment of a study of the Suppression of Piracy in the West Indies, 1820-1832. A list of Essex County Vessels captured by Foreign Powers, 1793-1813 (to be continued) is a compilation from the *American State Papers*. There are also tributes to Robert S. Rantoul, by Charles W. Eliot and Alden P. White, and a letter from William Vans to Samuel Curwen, Loyalist, dated at Salem, Jan. 2, 1784.

Mr. Sidney Perley, of Salem, will publish, when a sufficient number of subscriptions have been received, the first volume of *A History of Salem, Massachusetts*, covering exhaustively and from original sources the history of the village from its founding by Roger Conant in 1626 to 1638. Biographical and genealogical material, a map, and many illustrations are to be included in this authoritative work.

A History of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, by Rev. Wilson Waters, is brought out in Chelmsford, by the author.

Smith College Studies in History, vol. VII., no. 4, is *Recollections of James Russell Trumbull* (1825-1899), scion of the Connecticut family of the name, printer, editor, and, in his later years, historian of Northampton, Massachusetts. The *Recollections* are edited by a niece, Anna E. Miller.

Among the recent accessions of manuscripts to the Rhode Island Historical Society are: a collection of papers relating to Tiverton and Little Compton, the gift of Mr. Samuel Utley of Worcester, Massachusetts; and a muster-roll of several companies of Rhode Island militia in the War of 1812. The society's *Collections*, vol. XV., no. 4 (October), contains an illustrated account of Early Rhode Island Seals, and a continuation of the paper by Harry L. Barnes on the Wallum Pond Estates.

The Connecticut State Library has received from Miss Mary A. Birge, of East Windsor Hill, six volumes of the daily diary kept by her ancestor, Asa Bowe of that place, from 1806 to 1848, a full record of personal and community activities.

The Connecticut Historical Society has recently received as a gift from Mr. George E. Hoadley, one of its members, a valuable collection of colonial, Continental, and state bills comprising about 1300 specimens, representing all of the Old Thirteen, a collection of more than two hundred bills and bonds issued by the Confederate states, more than a hundred miscellaneous bills issued by various states and corporations, a number of early printed broadsides relating to money, prices, and financial matters in Revolutionary times, and letters and documents concerning the issue and redemption of bills and financial matters in general.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The Manuscripts and History Section of the New York State Library has acquired an important collection of papers and maps relating to the colonial and Revolutionary history of Schenectady and the Mohawk Valley; some 2000 abstracts of Revolutionary pension records, presented by Mr. Floyd G. Greene of Rochester; and a collection of some 5000 papers, mainly the papers of the Hon. Abraham Van Vechten (1762-1837), prominent in public office and in the legal profession. This last collection was brought together by Abraham Van Wyck Van Vechten, and has been presented by his daughters, Mrs. Knox and Mrs. Huntington.

In 1652 Director General Stuyvesant took the village of Beverwyck, now Albany, out of the jurisdiction of the colony of Rensselaerswyck and erected the court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, an inferior bench of judicature with appeal to the director general and council of New Netherland, and with jurisdiction extending from Kingston and Esopus upward. Its records, till the erection of the mayor's court of Albany in 1686, have almost all been preserved, and the state's Division of Archives and History has now published the first volume of a translation from Dutch into English, by the highly competent hands of Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, state archivist, *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, 1652-1656* (pp. 326)—a full record of the village life.

The October number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a biographical account of Samuel Loudon (1727-1813), merchant, printer, and patriot, with some of his letters. There is also a third installment of the catalogue of American Revolutionary diaries, etc., by Dr. William S. Thomas.

In the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library, the list of references on Provençal literature, language, and history continues through October, November, and December. In the October number is found also

a list of the plans of the siege of Yorktown in possession of the library, together with a particular description of the Renault map, a copy of which was recently given to the library by Mrs. Charles S. Fairchild, of Cazenovia.

In the October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* is found the Articles of Agreement between the Owner and the Ship's Company of the Privateer Ships *General Washington* and *Belisarius*, contributed by Henry R. Drowne.

Hamilton College celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1912. A volume now published by the college, *Documentary History of Hamilton College* (pp. 292), contains much correspondence of Samuel Kirkland, the founder, charters and other documents of Hamilton Oneida Academy (founded 1793), proceedings of the regents of the University of the State of New York, the college charter of 1812, early proceedings of the trustees and college laws of 1813, and similar documents, preceded by Mr. Elihu Root's centenary address.

The October number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society contains an appreciation, by Rev. W. H. S. Demarest, of the late Dr. Austin Scott; an article by Edith H. Mather on George Scot of Pitlochry; one by Elias Vosseller on James W. Marshall, the New Jersey Discoverer of Gold; one by E. Alfred Jones on English Convicts in the American Army in the War of Independence; and one by J. F. Folsom on Witches in New Jersey. There is also a letter from John Cleves Symmes to Elias Boudinot, dated at Lexington, May 1, 1790. A Young Man's Journal of 1800-1813 is continued.

The Vineland Historical Magazine prints in the October number a brief journal of Henry W. Cansdell, M.D., chiefly pertaining to hospital work at Camp Utley, Wisconsin, January to March, 1862. The *European Journal* of Charles K. Landis (1874) is continued.

The July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an address by George P. Donehoo, state librarian, on the Indians of the Past and of the Present; a paper by Hon. Charles I. Landis on Jasper Yeates and his Times; and one by George C. Gillespie on Early Fire Protection and the Use of Fire Marks. The October number includes a paper by A. T. Volwiler on George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782, and the "Account of the Journey of Br. and Sr. Ludwig v. Schweinitz from Herrnhut to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania", translated from the Moravian church archives by Miss Adelaide L. Fries. The history of the Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry is continued.

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published another volume of its *Index to Economic Material in the Documents of the States*, viz., Pennsylvania, part III., by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse, completing the entries for that state.

The *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia*, autumn number, 1922, contains the conclusion of Professor Harry E. Barnes's article on the Criminal Codes and Penal Institutions of Colonial Pennsylvania.

The *Papers Read* before the Lancaster County Historical Society Mar. 3, 1922, includes, as its principal content, a History of Lancaster County's Highway System from 1714 to 1760 (with map), by H. Frank Eshleman.

Among the articles in the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are: the Colonists of William Penn, by Marcia B. Bready; Education in Western Pennsylvania, 1850-1860, by Florence E. Ward; Earlier Lawrenceville, by Rev. Edward M. McKeever; and General John Gibson, by John B. Gibson. With the close of the year 1922 Charles W. Dahlinger withdrew as editor of the magazine, and was succeeded by Professor Alfred P. James of the University of Pittsburgh.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Vol. XLII. of the *Maryland Archives*, which is expected to appear in 1923, will contain the proceedings and acts of the general assembly from 1740 to 1745; vol. XLIII., which is planned to appear in 1924, is expected to contain the Journal and Correspondence of the State Council, October 27, 1779-November 10, 1780, being the fifth volume of that series.

In the September number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* appears the first installment of the Diary of Robert Gilmor, the eminent merchant of Baltimore (d. 1848). The diary, which begins on Christmas day, 1826, is chiefly a record of daily associations, written in an attractive style, and interesting for its intimate glimpses of personalities. The present installment closes at the middle of March, 1827, when the author is in Charleston. There are numerous annotations by author and editor. Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's biography of James A. Pearce is continued.

As a result of an appropriation of \$5000 by the last general assembly, the Virginian archives (Virginia State Library) have secured somewhat more than 30,000 photostat copies of Confederate muster-rolls which were removed during the evacuation of Richmond in 1865.

Mr. Fairfax Harrison contributes to the October number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* a paper on Western Explorations in Virginia between Lederer and Spotswood (latter seventeenth century); and Mr. E. Alfred Jones contributes, with introduction and notes, a letter regarding the Queen's Rangers, from Alexander Innes, inspector-general of the provincial forces, to Sir Henry Clinton, dated Nov. 9, 1779. Among the other contents of this number are a body of minutes of the council and general court, 1622-1629, and con-

tinuations of the series, Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704, and Virginia State Troops in the Revolution.

The contents of the October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* include the second chapter of the autobiography of Robert R. Howison, which carries the title Fredericksburg, her People and Characters; some addresses, etc., of the Democratic Societies of 1793 and 1794 in Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and a second installment of the Letters of Robert Pleasants, Merchant at Curles, 1772.

Among the contents of the October number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* are: the Journal of Captain Henry Massie (kept between Fredericksburg and Boston, April-June, 1808); some documents pertaining to the Loyal Company, a land company organized in 1749 by Dr. Thomas Walker, John Lewis, and others; some letters of James Monroe, 1809-1812, principally to Dr. Charles Everett of Charlottesville; a letter of Patrick Henry, May 27, 1777, relative to the deportation of royalists; a sketch of Colonial Orange, 1734-1776, by Bessie Grinnan; and sketches of some professors at William and Mary College.

Dr. Philip A. Bruce, Dr. Lyon G. Tyler, and Mr. A. J. Morrison have undertaken to prepare a history of Virginia in three volumes, of which the first, 1607-1763, will be written by Dr. Bruce, general editor of the series, the second, extending to 1861, by Dr. Tyler, and the third by Mr. Morrison. The work, which will contain biographies as well as history, will be published by the Lewis Company of Chicago.

The Planters of Colonial Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, is a study of the underlying economic factors in the history of Virginia (Princeton Press).

The latest publication of the North Carolina Historical Commission is a volume of *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, edited by Miss Adelaide L. Fries. The commission has secured in the past two years five hundred volumes of county records from the older counties of the state. They consist of wills, deeds, inventories, tax lists, and marriage bonds. Mr. R. D. W. Connor has made a systematic search for North Carolina material in the British Public Records Office and the British Museum, and the commission has made provisions for systematic copying of this material.

Mr. Earl G. Swem, librarian of William and Mary College, has edited for *Heartman's Historical Series* (no. 37) *An Account of the Cape Fear Country, 1731*, by Hugh Meredith (Perth Amboy, N. J., Charles F. Heartman), and, for the same series (no. 38), the *Description of the Dismal Swamp and a Proposal to Drain the Swamp*, written by Col. William Byrd of Westover. The idea of draining the swamp was revived in 1763, and Washington took much interest in the project.

The *Proceedings* of the twentieth and twenty-first annual sessions (1920, 1921) of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina appears as bulletin no. 28 of the *Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission. Papers of an historical character read at the session of 1920 were: Vitality in State History, by J. G. deR. Hamilton; What the World wants of the United States, by Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College; Patriotism, by Professor John Erskine of Columbia University; William Richardson Davie and Federalism, by H. M. Wagstaff; and an Eighteenth Century Circuit Rider (Judge James Iredell), by Frank Nash. At the session of 1921 were these: Confederate Ordnance Department, by D. H. Hill; the Historian and the Daily Press, by Gerald W. Johnson; an Old Time North Carolina Election, by Louise Irby; and the Bread and Butter Aspect of North Carolina History, by D. D. Carroll. The bulletin also contains, in connection with each session, a North Carolina Bibliography, covering the period from November, 1919, to November, 1921.

The September number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains a paper by Judge Andrew Cobb, president of the Georgia Historical Society, entitled the Right to Live: will the State protect it, or must we rely upon Federal Authority?; one by Hon. Pleasant A. Stovall, former minister to Switzerland, on the Neutrality of Switzerland; and a discussion, by Professor J. D. Wade, of the Authorship of David Crockett's *Autobiography*. Dr. Roland M. Harper continues his studies of agriculture in Georgia, devoting the present paper to the Development of Agriculture in Upper Georgia from 1890 to 1920. The Howell Cobb Papers in this number extend from June, 1857, to December, 1860.

St. Andrews, Florida: Historical Notes upon St. Andrews and St. Andrews Bay, by George M. West, is published in St. Andrews by the Panama Publishing Co. The volume includes maps and an appendix containing the official record of the vessels employed in the blockading fleet of St. Andrews Bay.

In the April (1921) number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* are found two discourses on the life and character of George Mathews, president of the supreme court of Louisiana, the one a panegyric by Étienne Mazureau, attorney general, delivered in January, 1837, translated from the French by Mrs. H. H. Cruzat, the other a discourse by Hon. Charles Watts, presumably delivered about the same time. There are also documentary contributions from the Cabildo archives, edited by Henry P. Dart, including the oath of allegiance to Spain (1769), and records of the superior council of Louisiana, 1727-1728.

WESTERN STATES

A new edition of the *List of References on the History of the West* (pp. 156), by Professor Frederick J. Turner and Frederick Merk, is brought out by the Harvard University Press.

The September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has papers on the Religious Conceptions of the Modern Hurons, by William E. Connelley of the Kansas State Historical Society, and on the Federal Operation of Southern Railroads during the Civil War, by R. E. Riegel of the University of Wisconsin; also, an interesting letter of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, St. Louis, March 7, 1861, and an account of Gustaf Unonius's Swedish reminiscences of Northwest America (Upsala, 1861-1862).

The firm of Putnam has brought out *Mississippi Valley Beginnings: an Outline of the Early History of the Earlier West*, by Henry E. Chambers.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its fifteenth annual meeting at Columbus, in the building of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, on November 24 and 25. The president's address, by Professor Clarence E. Carter, was on the State and Historical Work. Professor Dodd of Chicago gave addresses on Lee and the Confederacy, and on the New Foreign Policy of the United States, and there were papers on Circuit-Rider Days in Ohio, 1812-1826, by Professor W. W. Sweet of DePauw University, and on the Downfall of the Whig Party in Kentucky, by Professor E. M. Coulter of the University of Georgia. The Ohio History Teachers Association met at the same time and place.

The *Transactions* (1922) of the Western Reserve Historical Society record many valuable acquisitions during the year, particularly of items, both printed and manuscript, pertaining to the Civil War, and of early newspapers. Among the former may be mentioned the minute books of the executive committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, 1857-1864, and some early records of religious bodies, Congregational, Presbyterian, Baptist; among the latter are extensive files of Ohio newspapers.

In the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* Mr. C. B. Galbreath records at length the celebrations of the centennial anniversary of the birth of General Grant. Other contents are: an account, by Dr. Frank Warner, of Catherine Gougar, the Indian captive, and a paper by Professor Willis A. Chamberlin on Ohio and Western Expansion.

The July-September number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the fifth of the selections from the Gano Papers, which are of October and November, 1813.

The Rev. Wilson Waters of Chelmsford, Massachusetts, is the author and publisher of *The History of St. Luke's Church, Marietta, Ohio*.

In the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: a brief account, by John C. Chaney, of Ascension Seminary and Captain William T. Crawford; an article by J. F. Connell on Indiana Primary Laws; one by B. F. Stuart on the Deportation of the Pottawattomie

Indians; and continuations of Carl Brand's studies of the Knownothing Party in Indiana and H. H. Pleasant's history of Crawford County.

Public Men of Indiana: a Political History from 1860 to 1890, by Francis Trissal, has been brought out in Hammond, Indiana, by the W. B. Conkey Company.

The chief articles in the July number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* are one by Rev. J. B. Culemans on Missionary Adventures among the Peorias, one by William A. Mese on the Virginian Colonel John Montgomery, and one by William S. Merrill on Father Allouez. The discussion on mooted points in Illinois history begun in the April number is continued by Dr. Milo M. Quaife, in contributions, models of urbane controversial style, on Chicago origins, while in the October number E. J. Fortier discourses of the establishment of the Tamarois Mission.

Mr. Otto A. Rothert, secretary of the Filson Club, has prepared with affectionate care, and published as no. 30 of its publications, an elaborate volume on the Louisville poet Madison Cawein, *The Story of a Poet: Madison Cawein* (Louisville, John P. Morton and Company, pp. xi, 545, with sixty illustrations). His biography is carefully worked out from recollections and newspaper material, and is supplemented by a "post-humous autobiography" made up from the poet's letters. Estimates and tributes from contemporaries, and an elaborate bibliography, complete a very worthy memorial.

The contents of the *Michigan History Magazine*, vol. VI., nos. 2-3 (double number), include: Rix Robinson, Fur Trader, by Mrs. Mary F. Robinson; Peter White, by James Russell; Assinins and Zeba, the two oldest permanent settlements on Keweenaw Bay, by Francis Jäcker; Ho! Gogebic County! by Charles R. Cobb; Benton Harbor College and its President, Dr. George J. Edgcumbe, by Mrs. Victoria C. Edgcumbe; Historical Work in Michigan, by Alvah L. Sawyer; and Dutch Journalism in Michigan, by Henry Beets.

The Michigan Historical Commission has issued as *Bulletin*, no. 15, the *Prize Essays* written by pupils of the Michigan schools in the local history contest.

Recent accessions of original material to the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, include a log-book of the British armed sloop *Welcome*, a vessel used on the lakes in 1779-1781; papers of several old Detroit families; the Eber Brock Ward papers, of interest in connection with the development of navigation on the Great Lakes; those of Marshall Wright Chapin, relating to the Civil War; and those of Hon. Thomas W. Palmer, of business and political interest, and relating to the Chicago Exposition of 1893.

The Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, has brought out in attractive form a volume of which the title-page reads: *Corpora-*

tion of the Town of Detroit: Act of Incorporation and Journal of the Board of Trustees, 1802-1805, and which has an introduction by C. M. Burton. The charter of incorporation, granted by the assembly of the Northwest Territory, Jan. 18, 1802, provided for the government of the town by a board of five trustees, together with a secretary, an assessor, a collector, and a marshal; this journal is the record of the town's government until the organization of the Territory of Michigan. The records of fines for violations of fire regulations stand out prominently. The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, vol. I., no. 6 (September), includes some letters (1820, 1822), etc., relating to the Black Swamp Road; no. 7, material on the plank roads of Michigan.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has recently acquired the large and varied collection of papers accumulated in the course of a long and active public career by the late Bishop Samuel Fallows of Chicago. The society distributed to its members in December an edition of the introductory volume in the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* series. It is *A History of Agriculture in Wisconsin*, by Dr. Joseph Schafer, the society's superintendent.

In the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* Gen. Charles King continues his *Memories of a Busy Life*, devoting this installment to the war with Spain. Three articles, by D. J. Gardner, Truman O. Douglass, and Maria G. Douglass, respectively, are concerned with early days in Platteville and the Wisconsin lead mines. In the section of documents appears the first installment of the *Diary of a Journey to Wisconsin in 1840* (kept by Frederick J. Starin); also a letter of Senator James R. Doolittle to Charles A. Dana, written from Chicago, Apr. 16, 1880. The editor makes some appropriate comments on Historical "Firsts", "Exclusives", and "Incomparables".

The Minnesota Historical Society has acquired the correspondence and papers of the late George A. Brackett, presented by his son, Chapin R. Brackett. Probably the greatest value of the papers lies in the material they contain for the history of Minneapolis from 1857 to 1920. Another acquisition of value is the records, manuscripts, etc., accumulated by Rev. George C. Tanner of Minneapolis as registrar of the Episcopal diocese of Minnesota. This material, which is described as covering the period from the 1840's to the second decade of the present century, has been turned over to the society in accordance with a resolution of the diocesan council several years ago. One of the noteworthy items is the diary (seven volumes, 1859-1870) of Rev. Henry B. Whipple, and his reminiscences. The society has also acquired the diary of Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth (Apr. 11 to Aug. 25, 1859).

Professor William P. Shortridge of the University of Louisville is the author of a monograph entitled *The Transition of a Typical Frontier: with Illustrations from the Life of Henry Hastings Sibley*, "Fur

Trader, First Delegate in Congress from Minnesota Territory, and First Governor of the State of Minnesota" (Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Company, pp. vii, 186). The work is largely a biography of Sibley, with a Minnesota frontier setting. The first chapter shows the Sibleys as a type of the New England element in the West. It is followed by a chapter on the fur trader's frontier, one on the pioneer days on the upper Mississippi, and these by a succession of studies in territorial problems and conditions. There is also a chapter on the Indian problem of the frontier, and one on the last stand of the Sioux Indians in Minnesota. The concluding chapter bears the title *Pioneer Dreams Come True*, suggested, evidently, by Sibley's retrospect in 1884 upon the marvellous transformation of the frontier since his first advent upon it half a century before.

The January (1922) number of the *Annals of Iowa* includes a continuation of David C. Mott's contribution, the Lewis and Clark Expedition in its Relation to Iowa History and Geography, and a biographical account of Calvin W. Keyes, Iowa centenarian, by Dr. Charles Keyes.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has brought out a *History of Banking in Iowa*, by Howard H. Preston.

In the September number of the *Palimpsest* Bruce E. Mahan gives some account of the Trappists in Europe, the transplantation of a group of them to Iowa, and their life there.

The contents of the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* include a paper by Walter B. Stevens on Alexander McNair; one by B. F. Blanton entitled a True Story of the Border War; the fifth of Wiley Britton's articles on Pioneer Life in Southwest Missouri; and other continuations.

The October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the first installment of a remarkable History of a Texas Slave Plantation, by Abigail Curlee; the second part of Anna Muckleroy's study of the Indian Policy of the Republic of Texas; and the fifth installment of the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence, edited by E. W. Winkler.

During the biennium 1920-1922 the archive division of the Texas State Library has received by transfer from the department of the secretary of state of Texas some 33 volumes of executive records and correspondence, of which 17 volumes are of the period of the Republic (1836-1845) and 16 of the period 1846-1875; a body of unbound executive correspondence of the period 1846-1873, consisting chiefly of letters to the governors, and numbering between 23,000 and 24,000 manuscripts; and a variety of other records and papers, such as papers relating to military affairs (1846, 1861-1867), reconstruction (1867-1870), Indian outrages (1846-1880), resignations of judicial officers (1839-1874), reports of the secretary of state (1851-1871), treasurer's reports (1850-

1872), etc. Among these are the Spanish decrees of Coahuila and Texas, 1827-1835 (printed). The library has also received the manuscript history of the 13th Tennessee regiment in the Civil War, by Rev. James West, presented by Miss Elizabeth H. West, state librarian.

The October number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains an article by C. J. Smith on Early Development of Railroads in the Pacific Northwest; a continuation of Professor Edmond S. Meany's account of Newspapers of Washington Territory, as also of his papers on the Origin of Washington Geographic Names; and Van Ogle's Memory of Pioneer Days, with an introduction by Professor Meany.

Articles in the September number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are: the Oregon Question, 1818-1828, by Verne Blue; and Education in the Oregon Constitutional Convention of 1857, by Ira W. Lewis. The principal documentary contribution is the Mission Record Book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Willamette Station, Oregon Territory, commenced 1834, to which Charles H. Carey furnishes an introduction. There is also a letter from John Ordway of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to his parents, dated at Camp River Dubois, Apr. 8, 1804.

CANADA

Of the *Report of the Public Archives* of Canada for 1921 (pp. 425) one-half consists of the text of proclamations of the governors of Lower Canada from 1792 to 1815, continuing a previous series. Then follows a "Calendar of Shelburne Correspondence relating to Canada", without indication whether from originals in the possession of Lord Lansdowne or in Michigan; a calendar of vols. 1-23 of series C. O. 42 in the London Public Record Office, the volumes in that series which precede the point where the Canadian transcripts called at Ottawa Series "Q" begin; some fifteen letters of Governor Parr of Nova Scotia to Shelburne, 1783-1789, relating to immigration of Loyalists into the Maritime Provinces; and the text of the statutes of Upper Canada, 1792-1793, reprinted from the unique copy in the Sulpician Library at Montreal.

The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, by Dr. Charles C. Tansill, appears as series XL, no. 2, of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*.

The annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society was held at Simcoe July 5 to 7, concurrently with the dedication of the memorial at Port Dover to Dollier de Casson and Galinée. The principal address of the dedication exercises was by Dr. James H. Coyne, on the Dollier-Galinée Expedition, 1669-1670. Among the papers read during the meeting were: the County of Norfolk in the War of 1812, and Alexander McKee, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, both by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank; Thomas Scott, the Second Attorney General of Upper Canada, and the Ancaster Bloody Assize of 1814, both by Hon. W. R. Riddell.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The November number of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* is one of extraordinary interest and merit. There is a thoughtful and useful paper by Professor W. W. Pierson, jr., entitled *Some Reflections on the Cabildo as an Institution*; Mr. Gilberto Freyre presents one of most unusual interest on *Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*; Paul S. Taylor, one on *Spanish Seamen of the New World during the Colonial Period*; and A. C. Wilgus chronicles the relations of Blaine and the Pan-American movement. Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville has an entertaining note on the images of *La Señora de la Caridad at Illescas in Castile and at Cobre near Santiago de Cuba*.

The manuscript for *The Mexican Nation: a History*, by Associate Professor Herbert I. Priestley, librarian of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, has been accepted for early spring publication by the Macmillan Company.

A careful and sympathetic account of the efforts made in 1920 and 1921 to achieve a union of the five republics of Central America is furnished by V. Sáenz in *Cartas a Morazán* (Comayagua, *El Sol*, 1922, pp. 224).

The Academy of History of Havana, to celebrate the fourth centenary of the removal of that city from the south to the north coast of Cuba and its establishment in its present position, offered a prize for the best documented history of the city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The prize has been awarded to a *History of Havana in the Sixteenth Century* by Miss Irene A. Wright of Seville, accompanied by 180 heretofore unpublished documents in the Archives of the Indies and eight unpublished maps of the city's early fortifications. The work will be published in the Academy's *Anales* and in a later edition apart.

No. 56-57 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* contains the final installment of the *Coloquios de la Verdad* of Father Pedro de Quiroga (circa A.D. 1563), concerning the hindrances to conversion of Indians in Peru; the whole treatise can now be obtained as a separate volume (pp. 129), edited by Fray Julián Zarco Cuevas.

V. Maurtua, a Peruvian delegate to the Assembly of the League of Nations, gives an account of the Tacna-Arica dispute in *Sur le Pacifique du Sud: le Procès du Pérou et de la Bolivie contre le Chili* (Dijon, Darantière, 1922, pp. 286).

An account of German activity in one of the countries of South America is *Das Deutschtum in Uruguay* (Stuttgart, Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft, 1921, pp. x, 382), by W. Nelke.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. J. Turner, *Sections and Nation* (*Yale Review*, October); L. M. Larson, *Did John Scolvus Visit Labrador and Newfoundland in or about 1476?* (*Scandinavian Studies*,

VII. 3); C. T. Libby, *Who Planted New Hampshire?* (Granite Monthly, October); Charles Moore, *George Washington's Boyhood* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, November); R. V. Harlow, *A Psychological Study of Samuel Adams* (Psychoanalytic Review, October); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *Bread and the Superintendent of Bakers of the Continental Army* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, September); Col. C. F. Bates, *Alexander Hamilton's Military Plans* (Infantry Journal, October); Maj. E. N. McClellan, U. S. M. C., *From 1783 to 1798* (Marine Corps Gazette, September); Isabel L. Smith, *Seals of the Executive Departments* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, November); Gamaliel Bradford, *Damaged Souls*, I. *Aaron Burr* (Harper's Magazine, December); *id.*, *John Brown* (Atlantic Monthly, November); F. B. Simpkins, *The Election of 1876 in South Carolina*, II. (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Firmin Roz, *La Crise de la Paix aux États-Unis* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); T. Chapais, *Lord Durham et son Rapport*, I., II. (Canada Français, September, October); F. Landon, *Canadian Opinion of Abraham Lincoln* (Dalhousie Review, October); H. Bedford-Jones, *Canada's First Historian* [Major de Bacqueville de la Potherie] (Canadian Magazine, September); J. P. Edwards, *The Vicissitudes of a Loyalist City* [Shelburne] (Dalhousie Review, October); J. F. Rippy, *Pan-Hispanic Propaganda in Hispanic America* (Political Science Quarterly, September); N. Politis, *Une Expérience de Tribunal International Permanent en Amérique Centrale* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVI. 2); C. E. Chapman, *An American Experiment in Nicaragua* (Review of Reviews, October); Manuel Sanguily, *Sobre la Génesis de la Enmienda Platt* (Cuba Contemporánea, October); E. Roig de Leuchsenring, *La Ingerencia Norteamericana en los Asuntos Interiores de Cuba, 1913-1921* (*ibid.*, September).

The
American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT NEW HAVEN

THERE have been thirty-seven annual meetings of the American Historical Association, and there are not thirty-seven places where meetings of so large a body, especially when conjoined with other large societies, can advantageously be held; therefore it not infrequently happens of late that a meeting is held, after an interval of years, where one has been held before. In such a case it is natural to one who, beginning at the beginning, has attended thirty-three out of the thirty-seven annual meetings, to make mental comparisons between, for instance, the thirty-seventh annual meeting, held at New Haven on December 27-30, 1922, and the fourteenth, held in the same agreeable city in the corresponding days of 1898. First of all, one could not fail to be struck with the difference in the background or setting, the outward appearance of Yale University. The number of academic buildings added in these twenty-four years, and in some cases their beauty and magnificence, and those of the federal and other buildings adjacent, were impressive elements in the comparison. It seemed that little remained unchanged except the three old churches on the Green—and the climate. But there was the same cordial hospitality, though proffered by other hands, and the same desire and the same assiduous effort to make the meeting a success. A notable evening reception was held, by the president of Yale University and Mrs. Angell, in the stately Memorial Hall, and there were other evening gatherings under the roof of the Yale University Press, at the Graduates Club, at the Faculty Club, and at the Elizabethan Club. The New Haven Colony Historical Society and the Art School threw open their interesting collections. It should be gratefully recorded that the chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements was Professor Max Farrand, its secretary Professor John M. S. Allison, the chairman of the Committee on the Programme Professor David S.

Muzzey. The headquarters of the Association were at the Hotel Taft. The registration showed the attendance of 361 members, thirty-six more than last year, and one more than at the Washington meeting of December, 1920. Convention rates were granted by the railroad associations, as in 1921 and many earlier years.

In 1898 the Association had a membership of between 1100 and 1200; its present membership is nearly 2600. Its invested funds then amounted to \$11,539; their present amount is four times as great. Among the papers read at the earlier meeting there were, it must be confessed, a greater number having a high order of merit than in the case of the recent meeting; but, on the other hand, the programme of the latter showed in the comparison, in the most gratifying way, how greatly the historical interests of the Association and of its members have widened in less than a generation, and how many fruitful corporate activities it has meantime undertaken. Perhaps none of these has shown or will show more important results than have flowed from the now celebrated Report of the Committee of Seven on the teaching of history in secondary schools, laid before the New Haven meeting of 1898 by the committee's chairman, Professor McLaughlin, but the number of professional "good works" now going forward in the hands of committees of the Association is certainly impressive. For one more remembrance, it was at the New Haven meeting of 1898 that the Association took under its wing the *American Historical Review*, then three years old, a step which the editors may venture to hope it has never regretted.

As is usual, several other societies of similar character held their annual meetings at the same time and place. With the Agricultural History Society, which has an organic relation to the American Historical Association, embodied in a formal document, there was a joint session devoted to the agricultural history of the United States. With the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which, even at so great a distance from the Mississippi Valley, met in considerable numbers, there was also a joint session, occupied with papers interesting to both societies. The American Catholic Historical Association held its third annual meeting, and a highly successful one, under the presidency of Professor Robert H. Lord, of Harvard University. Its sessions included practical conferences on archival centres for American Catholic history, and on the subject of a general bibliography of church history. Among the papers read at its other sessions we may note, as of special value, that of Rev. Dr. J. J. Rolbiecki, of the Catholic University of America, on Dante's Views on the Sovereignty of the State; that of Rev. Joseph M. Egan, of St.

Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, on the Vatican Council and the Laws of Nations; that of Rev. Dr. Francis A. Christie, of the Meadville Theological School, on Recent Phases of the Catholic Social Movement; that of Rev. Maurice F. McAuliffe, president of St. Thomas's Seminary, Hartford, on the Beginnings of Catholicism in Connecticut; and that of Dr. Leo F. Stock, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington and the Catholic University of America, on the United States at the Court of Pius IX. A fuller account of this society's meeting will appear in the *Catholic Historical Review*, and of the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

All three of these societies, and also the "Hispanic American group", had dinners, with speeches, notable among which were the remarks of Professor Turner, of Harvard, on Agricultural History as a Field of Research, and those of Professor Bolton, of California, in advocacy of college courses which treat of American history as a whole, as contrasted with those which confine attention to the history of the United States alone. Besides the dinners, there were several "luncheon conferences", and even one "breakfast conference", on the Resources of American Libraries for purposes of history, wherein the evils of duplication and inconsiderate buying, and the need of concerted action in the building up of libraries for purposes of scholarship, were well set forth. Of the luncheon parties, one devoted itself to papers and remarks, reported with some fullness in an allied journal,¹ on the General College Course in American History. Another had its luncheon in combination with the Association of University Professors, which this year held its annual meeting in New Haven. Especially notable was the luncheon concerted by the hereditary patriotic societies, at which their work and plans, especially those of their branches in Connecticut, might be explained and discussed. This was done, and in most cases in a quite interesting manner, by Connecticut representatives of the societies of Colonial Dames, Colonial Wars, Founders and Patriots of America, Daughters of Founders and Patriots, Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Military Order of Foreign Wars.

Two important societies of purposes closely related, besides those already named, were also holding their annual meetings at Yale University during these same days, the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association. One joint session was held with the former, and another with both of these two societies.

¹ *Historical Outlook*, March.

In the former, Mr. William H. Buckler, who was formerly of the staff of the American expedition to Sardis and has had an important part in the shaping of regulations for the conduct of archaeological work in lands formerly Turkish, presented impressively the Situation in the Near East from an Historical and Archaeological Point of View, with special recommendations as to work in Anatolia.² The second of these sessions was devoted to papyri, with papers largely of historical interest.

The Programme Committee made a laudable effort to simplify the programme. In view of a sort of necessity for the joint sessions which have been mentioned, and for meeting the desires of certain relatively permanent groups who are accustomed to claim special sessions, this resulted in the regrettable omission of any provision for some very important interests, and in particular the almost entire absence of contributions to the medieval and modern history of Europe. But everyone commended that feature of the simplifying process which consisted in confining the programme of each of the three evenings to one notable address, such as might be of interest to a large audience of the general public as well as to members, and in leaving the rest of the evening for social enjoyment.

On the first evening Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard University, president of the Association, gave the presidential address on European History and American Scholarship which members have read in our preceding number, and in which they have seen so much that is gratifying to reasonable American pride and inspiring toward further achievement.

The second of the addresses alluded to was that of Sir Robert Borden, former prime minister of Canada, on the British Commonwealth of Nations: Features of External Relations.³ He traced the development of the dominions from the time of central control and colonial subordination to their present status as co-equal members of this Britannic league, dwelling upon the successive steps, in law or customary practice, which marked that development—the understanding reached in 1848 as to dependence of the Canadian governor-general's advisers on the confidence of the elective assembly; the confederation of 1867; in the next forty years, the establishment of autonomy of the dominions in internal affairs and their progress in respect to consultation and co-operation in affairs external; after 1907 the Imperial Conferences between the British government and the governments of the dominions; in 1917 and thereafter the Imperial War Cabinet; the form of participation in the Peace Confer-

² The paper has been printed as a pamphlet.

³ To be printed in the *Yale Review*.

ence, the Versailles Conference, and the Washington Conference; the provision for diplomatic representation of Canada at Washington, and the constitution of the Irish Free State. Sir Robert's speech was extensively reported in the newspapers of the day.

Without doubt the most striking event of the whole meeting was the remarkable address which the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, delivered before the Association and a large general audience on the third evening, on *Some Aspects of Our Foreign Relations*. Never before, it is safe to say, has it happened that large portions of any paper read before this scholastic body were cabled the same night to London and Paris and Berlin.⁴ The major portion of the address was a survey, admirable in form and impressively delivered, of the history and results of the Washington Conference of 1921 on the Limitation of Armament, in which the Secretary, who had been so clearly the central figure of the Conference, described its proceedings, its spirit, the factors which made for its success, the treaties which resulted from it, and the progress thus far made in ratifying those treaties and executing their provisions—treaties in regard to naval armament, fortifications in the Pacific, China in general, Shantung, and Yap. The Secretary also made this address the occasion for a pronouncement on the policy of the Administration in respect to economic conditions in Europe. He declared the desire of the United States to be helpful; he stated the crux of the European situation to lie in the settlement of reparations by Germany; he urged the attempt to solve that problem as a distinct question, separate from all consideration of debts due to the United States; and he suggested that, if statesmen could not agree upon amount and method of payment, and exigencies of public opinion made their course difficult, they might summon for the purpose men of the highest authority in finance in their respective countries, who, acting as a purely economic commission, in which he "had no doubt that distinguished Americans would be willing to serve", should clarify the whole situation by effecting an authoritative determination of this primary question. It was these remarks and suggestions that caused the chief reverberations of the address in Europe, but events have since taken another course.

In the organizing of sessions, a very praiseworthy novelty was the arranging for a session devoted to legal history. This should have been done before. The common interests of historical students and lawyers, especially those lawyers who are interested in legal history, have deserved recognition by the society, and greater attention to

⁴ The full text is in *Current History* for February.

them might draw many lawyers into its membership, to mutual advantage. In what we may hope was but the first of a series of such sessions, the two papers read were, appropriately, of an introductory character. Mr. Edwin G. Buckland, vice-president and general counsel of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company, read the first, on What Legal History means to the Lawyer, dwelling on many chapters of the law which lack explanation unless the aid of legal history is invoked, such as the differences between legal and equitable remedies, the methods of transferring titles to land, the liabilities of innkeepers and common carriers, the law respecting competition, and the progressive developments in the opinions of Chief Justice Marshall.

Professor Charles H. McIlwain, of Harvard University, followed with a paper on What Legal History means to the Historian. He took pains first to guard against identification of legal history with the methods and conclusions of the historical school that began with Hugo, Eichhorn, and Savigny, and included Sir Henry Maine. Great as were their contributions to juristic thought, they idealized too much the results of unconscious legal development. They were in danger of belittling the results of conscious efforts to improve the law, of confounding the history of legal institutions and ideas with their justification in a practical world, of substituting the former for the latter. Yet for all constructive criticism of legal theories legal history must furnish much of the indispensable material. It is an indispensable instrument of historical education. The speaker drew illustrations of its value from the history of the public law of England and the private law of Rome. He also set forth the worth and importance of legal records in reconstructing the social, economic, intellectual, political, and constitutional life of the past. This evidence is abundant, specific, and unbiased, but its proper use requires a more developed historical sense among lawyers and a fuller knowledge of legal history among historians. In the discussion which followed, Professor George B. Adams, of Yale University, defended the legal historians and historians of institutions against the charge of being too exact and definite in their claims; Professor Edward J. Woodhouse, of Smith College, emphasized the value of legal history in a democracy, where the rule of law (and of lawyers) requires that law be well understood; while Professor George L. Burr, of Cornell University, after drawing illustrations from the legal history of witchcraft, maintained that unless legal history is thoroughly studied, the experience of mankind will be forfeited.

The annual Conference of Archivists devoted its attention to one sole paper, on Some Problems in the Classification of Departmental

Archives, by Mr. David W. Parker, who has official charge of the manuscripts department in the Public Archives of Canada, at Ottawa. After sketching the history of that establishment and of the chief deposits which it now contains, Mr. Parker showed how their fusion and transfer, and the neglect with which they had often been treated before the present period of concentration, had produced intricate and difficult problems of classification. Holding tenaciously always to the *principe de la provenance*, he made it his first procedure, on assuming his duties as keeper of manuscripts, to separate the material into its constituent *fonds*, and to study with the utmost care, chiefly from the correspondence, and from the evidences of actual practice rather than from regulations not always observed, the constitution and procedure of each governmental office from which papers in the archives had come down. Then the attempt was made to reconstitute the various series of each department along its original lines. The problems and difficulties discussed as typical illustrations were those connected with the reconstitution of the series relating to commissions, with the reclassification of the records of the department of Indian affairs, in which there had been an intricate mixture of civil and military control, and with the case of the military records (series C), where an artificial classification regardless of *provenance* had been made immobile by binding in a thousand volumes, augmented by miscellaneous additions, and then stereotyped by the printing of an inventory which has been extensively referred to by historians. The paper enforced, impressively and with humor, the importance of the *respect des fonds*.

The semi-autonomous Conference of Historical Societies held its usual annual meeting. Three papers, from three widely separated and widely different states, set forth with great intelligence the salient features of organized work relative to their history, the writers representing institutions of three different types.

Florida as a Field for Historical Research was discussed by Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., the principal founder of the Florida State Historical Society, a new organization, which, beginning under bright auspices, confines itself to work of publication. Mr. Stetson reviewed the work done thus far in the very interesting field of Florida history, and, taking up in turn the successive periods into which it is naturally divided—Spanish, British, Spanish, territorial, state—surveyed the various deficiencies in their documentation, especially great in that portion of the first Spanish period which lies between 1574 and 1763; for this indeed original materials in print are almost entirely lacking,

though many hundreds of interesting documents relating to it are to be found in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. The new society has excellent plans, which Mr. Stetson described, for filling some of these gaps by publication of original material, and for other publications relative to Florida history.

Mr. Otis G. Hammond, superintendent of the New Hampshire Historical Society, one of the older (1823), privately endowed organizations, began his treatment of Historical Interests in New Hampshire in similar fashion, by a survey of the history of historical activities in the state, from the publication of the first volume of Jeremy Belknap's *History* in 1784 and the remarkable movement for the foundation of town libraries which began in 1792, down to the present time. His picture of present conditions was not a cheering one, but there is no reason to doubt its accuracy; it could be paralleled in many of the older states, and their historical societies (slenderly represented, by the way, on this present occasion) should study intently the causes. The old-time private collector of New Hampshire material, he said, is gone. The nineteenth-century enthusiasm for local historical work has subsided. The younger generation cares little for it, perhaps for history in general. Genealogical interest is still strong (indeed, who has not observed that three-quarters of the readers who enter the library of an Eastern historical library go there to discover their personal genealogies?), but the high cost of printing has sadly diminished the output of even genealogical as well as of historical books.

A special, but novel and interesting, department of state historical work was described in a paper on Indiana's Archaeological and Historical Survey, by Mr. John W. Oliver, director of the Indiana Historical Commission. The survey, lately undertaken at the suggestion of the National Research Council, is being carried out by county historical societies, under the joint direction of the commission named and of the geological division of the state Department of Conservation; only when some organization capable of attending to the matter has been created in any given county is the attempt made to extend the survey into its area. A map of the county is furnished, showing boundaries of townships and sections, location of towns and cities, roads and railroads, rivers and streams, and is accompanied by an elaborate printed questionnaire setting forth the data to be sought for and the objects to be located. The archaeological questions seek information respecting mounds, earthworks, and enclosures, their contents, and the other results of excavations. The historical inquiries relate to the name and location of early settlements, historic buildings,

old churches, old cemeteries, old millsites, boundary lines, battlefields, historic monuments or markers, old trails, trade routes, Underground Railroad stations, and the like. At the same time an effort is made to note the existence of old diaries, ledgers, newspapers and other old printed material, antiques, and implements of former periods. The whole enterprise will be a matter of several years, but, apart from the data accumulated by the commission, is expected to have large results in stimulating local interest in local history. The conference concluded with a paper by Professor Arthur Adams, of Trinity College, Hartford, on the mutual relations of the Historical Society and Genealogical Research, in which he said what can be said for that pursuit.

It remains to speak, regardless of session, of a score or more of papers which may be more conveniently described individually, in something approaching chronological order, than in the order represented in the programme. Nearly two-thirds of them lay in the field of American history, most of the others in that of ancient history. Notable among the latter was the paper of Professor William L. Westermann, of Cornell University, entitled *An Evaluation of the Greek Papyri as Historical Material*. Their literary value, their usefulness in establishing sound texts of writings already known, the additions they make of pieces heretofore unknown, were touched upon lightly. The main emphasis was laid on their contribution of details respecting daily life, economics (especially banking), and administrative rule in Egypt, as a kingdom under the Macedonian Ptolemies and as a province under the rule of Rome and of Constantinople. The force of tradition in Egypt, the cardinal position it occupied in the Mediterranean world by virtue of its wheat production and its control of the Red Sea route to the Orient, the opportunity to observe the effects of foreign rule and foreign ideas in a land where the foreigner was ultimately to be absorbed, and of making inferences, with cautious restraint, from conditions of administration and social life in Egypt to those of other Hellenistic kingdoms and other provinces of the Roman and Byzantine empires, are the elements which give historical importance to the study of the Greek papyri found in Egypt.

Illustrations of these thoughts were brought forward on the present occasion by several scholars, as, by Professor Arthur G. Laird, of the University of Wisconsin, from an economic papyrus possessed by that institution; and by Professor A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, from a large roll in its possession which registers 247 contracts of the year 42 B. C. and shows the system followed in the

local record office of Tebtunis and Kerkesouchon Oros, and presumably in others. Professor John R. Knipfing, of Ohio State University, on the basis of an examination of some forty-one *libelli* of the Decian Persecution, printed and manuscript, concluded that those documents (petitions and certificates of pagan sacrifice) were not, as is commonly held, issued solely in the name of Roman citizens, but were valid for all inhabitants of Egypt, inclusive of the *dediticii*, to whom alike the terms of Decius's lost edict of persecution must therefore have applied. Professor H. B. Dewing, of Princeton University, described a fine large papyrus lately acquired by that institution, containing a *dialysis*, or settlement out of court, in 481 A. D., by arbitrators (one of them perhaps an official arbitrator), of claims brought by a certain deacon against Cyrus, bishop of Lycopolis, and his brothers. Another paper in ancient history was that of Professor R. V. D. Magoffin, of the Johns Hopkins University, on the Three Flavian Caesars, a foretaste of his forthcoming book with that title.

There were no papers in medieval history. In the modern history of Europe there was only one, though we may count two if we may stretch the term to include the modern history of South Africa.

In a paper on Early British Radicalism and the Britannic Question Professor Schuyler analyzed the opinions respecting the nature and proper organization of the British Empire expressed by leading British radicals at the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution. He showed that such men as John Cartwright, Granville Sharp, and Richard Price, reasoning from the assumptions of the natural-rights school concerning the nature and purposes of government, took the same view of the Empire that had already been advanced by the American Whigs. They regarded it, that is to say, as an association of mutually independent states, equal in political status and with co-ordinate legislatures, but united by having a common executive head. Though the transformation of the Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations has not been affected by the imperial theories of the early British radicals, their ideals have come to be realized in the present relations between Great Britain and the Dominions.

Professor Basil Williams, the new head of the historical department in McGill University, Montreal, formerly secretary of the Transvaal Education Department, narrated one chapter of the long historic process which was the theme of Sir Robert Borden's address, in a paper entitled How the Difficulties of South African Union were Overcome. Of the four English-speaking federations, the South African exhibits the closest union of the constituent parts, yet it was

brought about rapidly and with surprising ease, in spite of obstacles which had long seemed formidable. Of the difficulties which existed before the South African war, some were lessened by the outcome of that conflict. Lord Selborne's despatch of January, 1907, drew attention forcibly to the evils of disunion. The chief difficulties that lay before the convention of 1908-1909 lay in the language question, that respecting the degree of closeness in federal union, the native question, that of the state railways, and that of the location of the federal capital. The racial difference, of English and Dutch, proved, strange to say, a bond of union, for the English and Dutch populations, instead of being separated into large geographical groups, were so utterly intermingled that disunion meant ruin for all. The achievement of union in South Africa shows what the world could do if the nations could be made to see with equal clearness the common good and would choose the path to its attainment.

The broad field of Chinese history was illustrated by Mr. K. L. Lo, of Columbia University, in a paper on the Present Outlook for Chinese Historical Studies, in which he dwelt upon the tendency of modern Chinese historians to emphasize the continuity of history, the general characters of its successive stages, the interaction between man and his environment, and the history of ideas. Examples were cited. Especial attention was drawn to the first volume of Professor Chi-Chao Liang's *History of Chinese Culture*, an introduction to historical methodology, as applied to Chinese history, which by its careful discussion of the sources is likely to be useful to Western scholars, while, conversely, a group of Chinese scholars are engaged in restudying and rewriting the history of the Yuan dynasty by utilizing the materials in Western languages. He also referred to important recent archaeological discoveries, such as those made by Sir Aurel Stein, casting a flood of light on the period of wars with the Huns, and on the relations of China with the lands lying to the westward.

In Japanese history, Professor K. Asakawa, of Yale University, presented a study of the Evolution of the Fief in Japan, from the emergence of the warrior in the tenth and eleventh centuries to the end of the sixteenth. When the period began, legal usages concerning lands were already well established, and relations of vassalage had to be built upon the existing system of domains and tenures, under the control of civil officials and non-military landlords. To them the warriors rendered various charges for their holdings, which at the same time received a sort of mediate investiture at the hands of military lords, to whom homage and service were done. True

military fiefs were rare; but during the period of civil war after the fourteenth century, the military chieftains became the normal lords of domains and grantors of fiefs. During the next two centuries the seigniories became distinct and largely contiguous territories, comprising fiefs and centrally administered spheres, both ruled over by the warrior class, and superposed upon a mass of more or less self-governing towns and peasant communities. This system the suzerain consolidated into an empire half feudal and half non-feudal.

In one of the sessions held jointly with the Archaeological Institute, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, gave an illustrated lecture of remarkable interest on History and Chronology in Ancient Middle America. The speaker, noted for explorations and discoveries in the field of Maya civilization, described the five main sources for the reconstruction of Maya history: the general archaeological background; the hieroglyphic inscriptions upon monuments and buildings, which indicate with remarkable accuracy the dates of these structures, according to a system of chronology which we are now able to interpret; the hieroglyphic manuscripts or codices, of a more cursive script than the preceding—but the three extant Maya codices are unfortunately not historical, as are some of the Aztec; the native Maya chronicles in the Books of Chilán Balam, of which we have transcripts in Spanish lettering; and the writings of Spanish and native chroniclers subsequent to the conquest. From the earliest dated object, 96 B. C., the evidences of Maya civilization extend in a long series, marked by writings, temples, palaces, carvings, gold-work and other jewelry, and fabrics. The lecturer displayed the high artistic quality of the remains, and compared them with those which have come down to us from Egypt, Chaldaea, Babylonia, and Assyria.

In a comprehensive and suggestive essay on the Frontier in Hispanic American History, Professor Victor A. Belaunde, of the University of San Marcos, Lima, took as his basis of comparison the exposition given in Professor Turner's famous paper on the Significance of the Frontier in (North) American History,⁵ and set himself to show why Latin American history had not exhibited similar results—progressive advance of settlement, marked by individualism, solid economic development, and democratic equality. Throughout most parts of Mexico and South America the physical geography was such as to tempt to a pioneering advance and sudden individual acquisition of large possessions rather than to the gradual, agricultural occupation of large contiguous areas by masses of settlers. Even in

⁵ *Annual Report of the Association for 1893.*

the pampas of Argentina and the other lands of the La Plata, where physical conditions are more like those of the United States, historic conditions have led to the system of great estates and not to institutions of democracy. The lack of progressively advancing frontiers has joined with factors of race, religion, and governmental system to prevent such a process of assimilation of adjoining areas as has marked the history of Teutonic America.

One of the most interesting of the institutions of Spanish colonial expansion was treated by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson, of the Hispanic Society of America, in a paper on the Geographical Activities of the Casa de Contratacion, which he traced from the founding of that institution in 1503 and that of its geographical department in 1508. Its functions embraced especially the drafting of maps of the newly discovered regions and the examination and supervision of pilots. Dr. Stevenson dwelt especially upon the first of these functions, and especially upon the Padron Real, or official general map, to which pilots were to contribute their successive discoveries or amendments, and which the pilot major, the cosmographer major, and other officials of the Casa, were from time to time ordered to revise. He showed how its characteristics can be deduced from extant maps.

In the history of the English colonies in America, there were two papers to note, that of Professor Rayner W. Kelsey, of Haverford College, on Description and Travel as Source Material for the History of Early Agriculture in Pennsylvania, and that of Mr. James T. Adams on Opportunities for Research in the Eighteenth Century. The former, though it drew its illustrations chiefly from the narratives of travellers in Pennsylvania, discussed on general grounds the manner in which such data can be used, in conjunction with other materials, for the history of American agriculture. Examples were first chosen from the references to soil improvement, which are scanty before 1775, but abundant and instructive after that date. Another variety of observations touched upon consisted of those relating to prices and wages. Thus, the cost of farm labor measured in terms of wheat seems to have remained fairly constant from 1682 to 1794, a day's labor buying from a third to a half of a bushel of wheat (in these latest years, it has bought from a bushel to a bushel and a quarter). The paper also contained observations on the testimony of individual travellers, especially that of Cazenove, 1794. There was also read in one of the agricultural sessions an account of the Development of Agricultural Societies in America by Dr. Rodney H. True, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Adams's paper, which we shall have the pleasure of printing in a subsequent number, directed especial attention to the need of

studying more fully the process by which, between 1713 and 1763, the soil of America was prepared for the growth of revolutionary radicalism in the ensuing period. So far as concerns New England, he indicated the importance of tracing certain economic processes, especially the increasing pressure on the land and the decrease of opportunity for men without capital; also, the importance of studying, in due proportion, other parts of New England than merely eastern Massachusetts.

For the Revolutionary period, Professor Edward E. Curtis, of Wellesley College, contributed a paper having value for both British and American history, on the Recruiting of the British Army in the time of the American Revolution, studying both the processes by which men were raised in Britain in sufficient numbers to increase the army from 48,000 men in 1775 to a paper strength in 1781 of 110,000 men, exclusive of provincial corps and German mercenaries, and the processes by which the framework of the army was expanded to receive the additions. The former included the processes of voluntary enlistment, with payment of bounties, and that of pardoning malefactors on condition of enlistment. Later it became necessary to resort to impressment and the aid of justices of the peace in delivering idle men or those having no visible means of support; but such enactments had their chief effect in the stimulating of voluntary enlistment. The additional men were partly incorporated in existing regiments, partly made up into new; thus, between 1778 and 1781 thirty-one additional regiments of foot were created. The special efforts of noblemen, cities, and towns in raising regiments were also described.

A career belonging to both the Revolutionary and the post-Revolutionary periods was described by Dr. Charles L. Nichols, of Worcester, in a paper on Isaiah Thomas, Printer and Publisher. Besides setting forth the events of Thomas's life, and the methods of conducting his business, with its central establishment at Worcester and branch offices and bookstores at Walpole, New Hampshire, at Boston, and elsewhere, Dr. Nichols described the product of Thomas's presses and the good effect produced throughout the country by his standard publications for the various professions and especially by the educational books he issued.

Dr. Gaillard Hunt, of the Department of State, traced the Genesis of the Office of Secretary of State as head of the department of foreign affairs and as chancellor of the American government. The beginning of the former office was the institution by the Continental

Congress of a Committee of Secret Correspondence, which later became the Committee for Foreign Affairs. In January, 1781, Congress created the Department of Foreign Affairs, under a Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Of the duties which the present Secretary of State has outside the field of foreign affairs, the original elements came to him by devolution from the office of the secretary of the Continental Congress.

Some Salient Characteristics of Frontier Religion were treated in a paper by Professor William W. Sweet, of De Pauw University, who dwelt upon revivals and camp-meetings, the various developments of the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, the origins of the Cumberland Presbyterians and the Disciples, the nature of the religious debates and controversies which had so large a part in the life of the new regions, and the characteristics of the frontier type of preaching.

The paper of Professor St. George L. Sioussat, of the University of Pennsylvania, on Southern Projects for a Railroad to the Pacific, 1845-1857, was limited to a discussion of the development of Southern interest in the route by way of the valley of the Gila River and to an account of the scheme promoted by Robert J. Walker and his associates in 1852 and the years immediately following. Walker planned to build a railroad to California along the Gila route through the agency of a corporation which was chartered by the state of New York and which was to exploit the land-grants so lavishly offered by the state of Texas. The paper traced the relation to this scheme of the bills that were before Congress in 1853, the attitude of the Pierce administration, the significance in this connection of the Gadsden mission, and the division of Southern sentiment revealed at the session of the Southern Commercial Convention held at Charleston in the spring of 1854.

The only paper relating to the diplomatic history of the United States was that of Mr. Tyler Dennett, of Washington, on Early American Policy in Korea, an intensive study of the period from the beginning of American diplomatic relations with the peninsula in 1883 to the recall of Lieutenant George C. Foulk, our representative, in 1887. The Shufeldt treaty of 1882 was negotiated in the hope that Korea might be assisted to a renovation similar to that which Japan experienced after the Perry Expedition. But while the Japanese could carry that process through without losing their evidences of sovereignty, the Koreans immediately became the centre of a contest of China, Great Britain, Russia, and Japan, in respect to which the United States quickly adopted a policy of strict neutrality. The

story was carried through three attempts, by Japan, Russia, and China respectively, to subvert the Korean government. The recall of Foulk at the request of China showed the desire of the United States government to remain outside the contest, recognizing the ascendancy of any successful power, as in 1905 it recognized that of Japan.

The rural political movements of the 'eighties and 'nineties in one state and another have been the theme of several interesting studies presented at recent meetings of the Association. This year this type of study was represented by a paper on the Farmer's Alliance in North Carolina, by Professor John D. Hicks, of the North Carolina College for Women, who traced the history of that organization down to the time when it completed its control of the Democratic party in the state, in 1890, described its state legislation, and showed how its need of federal legislation led many of its members to gravitate to the People's Party, disrupting the Democratic party and for a time admitting the Republicans to power. Though the Alliance ended unfortunately, yet within the state it contributed immeasurably to the social and fraternal life of the rural classes, promoted scientific agriculture, established a business agency which saved the farmers thousands of dollars, forced the creation of a serviceable railway commission and the enactment of a six per cent. interest law, and drove from power the ruling caste of elderly politicians whose conservatism had for years thwarted progress. In the national field the North Carolina Alliancemen bore their part in the struggle for regulation of trusts and railways, and in financial movements that entered usefully into the final results of the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Farm Land Bank.

To the same period belonged the study of the Abandoned Farms of New England, by Mr. Avery O. Craven, of the University of Chicago, who explained however that the abandoned farms, whose number excited so much disquietude about 1890, were but a symptom of agricultural difficulties under which New England had long been suffering, but which at that time were already beginning to yield somewhat to the ameliorating effects of increased co-operation and more scientific farming.

To the latest period of all belonged the paper of Professor Holland Thompson, of the College of the City of New York, on Some Newer Aspects of the Negro Problem. Its essence was, that in recent years a new spirit of race consciousness had been taking possession of the negro, caused by the efforts of certain negro organizations, by the great volume of migration from the South to the North, by the large influx of West Indian negroes, not accustomed to racial

discrimination, by various reactions from the World War, such as those arising from segregation and discrimination in army camps and elsewhere and from the absence of race-prejudice in France, and by the great increase in the circulation of negro publications. The influence of Marcus Garvey and his projects was also touched upon, and the increasing influence of racial interests upon negro voting.

Finally, two papers dealt with episodes of recent Spanish American history, that of Professor Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas, on the Recognition of the Díaz Government by the United States, and that of Professor Clarence H. Haring, of Yale University, on German Colonization of Chile. While General Díaz, after displacing President Lerdo de Tejada, was ruling Mexico through a provisional government, President Grant's administration took into consideration the question of recognition because it apprehended that without such recognition it might not receive payment in January, 1877, of the first installment due from awards of the Mixed Claims Commission. Díaz however paid this, regardless of recognition, and the question was left to the Hayes administration, Díaz having meantime, in February, been elected constitutional president. In September the Hayes government demanded, as a prerequisite to recognition, the settlement in a formal treaty of all questions, economic as well as administrative, then in dispute between the two countries. Finally, however, Mr. John W. Foster, minister to Mexico, persuaded the administration that a better treaty could be obtained after recognition, and recognition was effected, April 9, 1878.

Mr. Haring's story began with the arrival of a small number of German colonists in 1846, followed by a larger amount of immigration resulting from the revolutionary movements of 1848 in Germany. The influx, mainly into the provinces of Valdivia and Llanquihue, continued in increasing numbers till 1860, after which it rapidly declined, but it furnished southern Chile with an element of population that has made important contributions to the industrial, scientific, and educational development of the republic. During the World War this element showed itself plainly loyal to Chile.

Reviewing the papers as a whole, it must be said that few made highly important contributions to the knowledge of history. Some presented little that is not already well made known in print. But the general level was good, without being extraordinarily high.

Next, it remains to report the proceedings of the business meeting, which was held on the second afternoon, the president, Professor Haskins, presiding. The record cannot be a long one, for the meeting was badly hurried and ill attended, as was natural when the pro-

gramme set one of the conferences to begin at two o'clock and two of the others at three o'clock, while the business meeting was scheduled to take place at 4:00, a reception at 4:30, and one of the dinners at 5:30. Naturally, there was little discussion of reports, and the recommendations of the council were adopted rapidly. Fortunately they contained nothing startling or dangerous.

The secretary reported that during the year there had been a loss of 41 members, the present membership being 2591, as compared with 2632 in the preceding year. It will be seen that the increase in membership dues from three dollars to five, effective September 1, 1922, has resulted in no material loss of membership. On the other hand, the treasurer's report showed that during the year the net receipts amounted to \$14,043, as against the net receipts of \$12,523 in the preceding year. The net expenditures during the year were \$12,511 as against \$12,687 in the year preceding. These figures are arrived at by ignoring for the sake of simplicity the sums reported as cash balances and those transferred from fund to fund by reason of investments. A more formal presentation of the matter may be found in the summary of the treasurer's accounts which is appended to this article, together with the budget for 1923 as framed by the council.

It is plain that the increase of the annual dues, while it has had no serious effect upon the increase of membership, has considerably increased the revenues of the society. It is however hoped that the receipts may be still further increased during the coming year in order that the various activities of the Association may be carried forward. The secretary called especial attention to the considerable number of withdrawals each year and hoped that some means might be devised for reducing the number, mentioning that the committee on membership, which had the matter under consideration, would welcome any suggestions that might be offered. An active effort to increase the endowment is also planned for the coming year.

Reports from various committees were submitted, as also one of the Pacific Coast Branch, which was represented at the meeting by Professor Ephraim D. Adams. The newly organized Canadian Historical Association had also been invited to send a delegate, and Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, its president, attending in that capacity, addressed the meeting briefly, by request, on behalf of that society. A resolution was passed authorizing the Committee on Publications to bring together all materials for reports for the years 1920, 1921, and 1922, and to publish them in one volume, as *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1920-1922*, vol. I. The committee on the Justin Winsor Prize reported that the prize had been awarded

to Mr. Lawrence H. Gipson, for an essay on *Jared Ingersoll: a Study of American Loyatism in relation to British Colonial Government*, published in 1920.

The committee on the George Louis Beer Prize recommended no award, the competition having been insufficient. No doubt this was because of the short time elapsing between the announcement of terms of award, a year ago, and the date prescribed for submission of essays. It seems certain that a valuable prize, offered for the "best work upon any phase of European international history since the year 1895", will elicit abundant competition.

The number of essays and manuscripts offered in competition for the other prizes has of late been so large that the period from July 1 to Christmas is not sufficient for their examination by all the members of the committees. The terms governing the competition were therefore so modified that, beginning in 1924, essays must be sent to the chairmen before April 1 instead of July 1. This rule will apply to all three of the prizes, Adams, Winsor, and Beer. In the case of essays already in print, it is required that they shall have been printed within the two years and a quarter preceding the date of submission; that is to say, they may have been published either in the first months of the calendar year in which the award is made or in either of the two calendar years preceding.

In the annual election Professor Edward P. Cheyney was elected president, Honorable Woodrow Wilson first vice-president, and Professor Charles M. Andrews second vice-president. Professor Bassett and Mr. Moore were re-elected secretary and treasurer respectively. Two new members were elected as members of the Executive Council, Dr. H. P. Biggar and Miss Mary W. Williams. The membership of the Committee on Nominations for the ensuing year consists of Professors E. D. Adams, J. G. deR. Hamilton, W. E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, and W. L. Westermann; the committee has not yet been able to effect by correspondence the choice of its chairman.

The Executive Council elected Professor D. C. Munro to fill the vacancy on the Board of Editors of this journal caused by the death of Professor Williston Walker, and Professor Evarts B. Greene was elected in place of Professor Becker, whose term had expired. A full list of committee assignments for 1923 follows this article.

J. F. J.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 1, 1921..... \$ 2,597.43

Receipts to date:

Annual dues.....	\$10,763.94	
Contributions from members.....	648.00	
Registration fees.....	162.50	
Publications	304.58	
Royalties	83.18	
Interest, Endowment Fund.....	1,477.80	
Interest, bank account.....	75.23	
Special contribution from American Historical Review Fund.....	500.00	
Miscellaneous	27.80	
Repayment from Endowment Fund.....	1,119.12	
		<u>15,162.15</u>

Total receipts..... \$17,759.58

EXPENDITURES

Office of secretary and treasurer.....	\$3,017.68	
Pacific Coast Branch.....	39.46	
Committee on Nominations.....	54.00	
Committee on Membership.....	22.25	
Committee on Programme.....	308.74	
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	112.28	
Committee on Agenda.....	286.45	
Committee on Bibliography.....	238.17	
Committee on Publications.....	426.01	
Conference of Historical Societies.....	24.95	
Writings on American History.....	200.00	
American Council of Learned Societies.....	153.54	
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize.....	200.00	
Justin Winsor Prize.....	200.00	
American Historical Review.....	7,227.90	
		<u>12,511.43</u>

Cash balance November 30, 1922..... \$ 5,248.15

ENDOWMENT FUNDS

	Cost	Par value
Principal account.....	\$32,011.60*	\$33,500.00*
American Historical Review Fund.....	1,134.64	1,200.00
George L. Beer Prize Fund.....	4,930.35	5,000.00
Andrew D. White Fund.....	1,037.48	1,200.00
Life Membership Fund, balance, \$330.88.		

* Of these sums, \$1119.12 in cost and \$1200.00 in par value represent investments on account of the Life Membership Fund.

BUDGET, 1923

Receipts:

Annual dues.....	\$11,500.00
Registration fees.....	150.00
Publications	100.00
Royalties	150.00
Interest	1,800.00
Miscellaneous	50.00
	————— \$13,750.00

Expenditures:

Secretary and Treasurer.....	\$ 3,000.00
Pacific Coast Branch.....	50.00
Committee on Nominations.....	100.00
Committee on Membership.....	100.00
Committee on Programme.....	350.00
Committee on Local Arrangements.....	150.00
Committee on Publications.....	500.00
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00
Executive Council meeting.....	500.00
American Historical Review.....	7,500.00
Justin Winsor Prize.....	200.00
Writings on American History.....	200.00
American Council of Learned Societies.....	160.00
Committee on Bibliography.....	500.00
Committee on Research in Colleges.....	50.00
Committee on History Teaching in Schools....	50.00
	————— \$13,435.00

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

First Vice-President, Woodrow Wilson, Washington.

Second Vice-President, Charles M. Andrews, Yale University, New Haven.

Secretary, John S. Bassett, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

Treasurer, Charles Moore, Library of Congress, Washington.⁷

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Patty W. Washington, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Editor, Allen R. Boyd, Library of Congress, Washington.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

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John B. McMaster	George L. Burr
Simeon E. Baldwin	Worthington C. Ford
J. Franklin Jameson	William R. Thayer
George B. Adams	Edward Channing
Albert Bushnell Hart	Jean J. Jusserand
Frederick J. Turner	Charles H. Haskins ⁸
William M. Sloane	Henry P. Biggar

⁷ For the purposes of routine business the treasurer may be addressed at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

⁸ The names from that of Mr. Rhodes to that of Mr. Haskins are those of ex-presidents.

Arthur L. Cross
 Sidney B. Fay
 Carl Russell Fish
 Carlton J. H. Hayes

Frederic L. Paxson
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COMMITTEES:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting:

Elbert J. Benton, 1938 E. 116th Street, Cleveland, Ohio, chairman;
 Arthur C. Cole, Eloise Ellery, David S. Muzzey, Nathaniel W.
 Stephenson; and (*ex officio*) Nils A. Olsen and Joseph Schafer.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Wilbur H. Siebert, Ohio State University, Columbus, chairman.

Committee on Nominations: Ephraim D. Adams, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, William E. Lingelbach, Nellie Neilson, William L. Westermann.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Guy S. Ford, chairman, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis; Archibald C. Coolidge, William E. Dodd, Evarts B. Greene, J. Franklin Jameson, Dana C. Munro.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Justin H. Smith, 7 West 43d Street, New York, chairman; James T. Adams, Eugene C. Barker, Robert P. Brooks, Logan Esarey, Gaillard Hunt.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Isaac J. Cox, Northwestern University, Evanston, chairman; Chauncey S. Boucher, Thomas F. Moran, Bernard C. Steiner, C. Mildred Thompson.

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GERMAN FEUDALISM

WHILE the roots of the history of feudal Germany may be traced as far back as the time of Charlemagne, and beyond, it is unnecessary for the purpose of this article to go farther back than the dissolution of the Carolingian empire in the ninth century. In the awful crucible of that age, a period of vast disintegration of political and social institutions within, combined with attack from without by formidable enemies like the Norsemen and the Magyars, central and western Europe was transformed. A new polity and a new society emerged out of the vortex.

But the process of change was not simultaneous in France and Germany; it was not accomplished in equal degree everywhere, nor did it result everywhere in establishing identical conditions. While feudalism became universal in medieval Europe, the local variations and differences between French feudalism, English feudalism, German feudalism, and Italian feudalism are often so great that the four forms may usually be studied more profitably by contrast than by analogy.

Roughly speaking, the process which began in France as early as 814 affected Germany but slightly until 887, except in the lower Rhinelands. The deposition of Charles the Fat in 887 and the accession of Arnulf was the real turning-point of German history. From that date forward the old Carolingian régime rapidly dissolved, and a new, more feudal form of government and structure of society took its place. This process of transformation may be said to fill the reigns of Arnulf and his son Ludwig the Child (d. 911), the last eastern Carolingian, the abortive reign of Conrad I. (911-919), and the reign of Henry I. (919-936), the first Saxon king, by whose time a new Germany had been formed, a new kind of government, a new social texture, which harmonized with the spirit and the condition of the new age.

The enormous disarray which characterized the history of western Europe in the ninth century was less ruinous to Germany than to France. The German kings were made of sterner stuff than those across the Rhine. The invasions of the Norsemen had only menaced the lower Rhinelands, and were not nearly so prolonged in Germany as in France. The chief danger was along the eastern border, where Slavonic and Magyar pressure, even before the notable military re-

forms made by Henry the Fowler, had their influence upon the development of predial serfdom and the growth of feudal practices.¹

Germany in the ninth century had a solidity which France did not possess. Actual anarchy such as prevailed in France almost continuously from the time of Charles the Bald (840-877) to the time of Louis VI. (1108-1137) is not found in Germany except during the minority reign of Ludwig the Child.² It is true that the reign of Conrad I., his successor, was fraught with violence; yet the power of the Church and the strength of the great dukes in some measure compensated for the weakness of the crown.³

Germany being less exposed to attack from the outside and possessed of a firmer texture within than France, German feudalism did not become as hard and set a system as was French feudalism. "Old" France crumbled away in the ninth and tenth centuries; "old" Germany, anchored to the ancient duchies which remained intact, retained its integrity. The tribal dukes recognized the office of the king, but they did not admit that they held their duchies of the crown, or that they held their lands of the king, even when such lands had the aspects of fiefs. The German nobility always included a large number of landed nobles who regarded their possessions as huge allods which they might partition as fiefs when it so pleased them; but they rhetorically called their own great fiefs "Sonnenlehen" or "sun fiefs" in order to express their complete freedom—they held only of the sun.⁴

The power of the great German dukes had been formed during the troubled times of Arnulf and his son. The separate German "nations", Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, which had developed into dukedoms under the Merovingians (Saxon ducal development originated in Charlemagne's time), and had been suppressed but not extinguished by Charlemagne, rose again into newness of life. With the break-up of the Empire came a recrudescence of ancient tribal consciousness. The grouping of the various German "nations" was instinctive and pronounced.⁵

¹ Waitz, *Jahr.*, p. 63; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, II. 686, note 6; Sommerlad, *Die Wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit der Kirche in Deutschland*, II. 226.

² Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, second ed., V. 59 ff. Cf. the elegy upon Salomon, bishop of Constance, in *Mittheil. der Antiq. Gesellschaft in Zürich*, XII. 233, verses 117 ff.

³ Waitz, *D. V. G.*, V. 65-66.

⁴ Later these *Sonnenlehen* came to be called *Fahnlehen*, or banner-fiefs, because investiture was conferred by a *vexillum* or banner. At first only the duchies were of this rank, then margraviates, and finally any princely fiefs. Its gift conferred the right to levy military service of vassals, hence the saying: "Es erhöhet nichts des Mannes Schild denn Fahnlehen."

⁵ Arnold of Bavaria assumed the title of "duke by the grace of God"; *Vita*

This rise of the stem-dukes whom Charlemagne had so coerced was the result of the instinctive and spontaneous rally of the German people, owing to the stress of the time, around their natural and historical tribal representatives.⁶ In Saxony especially the ducal movement was strong, for there the ancient Germanic tradition was less impaired than elsewhere.⁷ The stem-dukes were only able to reappear after the collapse of the Carolingian system. The same thing is true of the German nobility, which had disappeared during the sixth and seventh centuries and been supplanted by Frankish officials. When the latter vanished, the old nobility came up again.

At this moment when the old German duchies arose once more the territory of Germany was not divided into a swarm of petty sovereignties as in France. The power of the great dukes still rested upon a considerable body of freemen who cultivated the soil in person, upon some vassals without fiefs, upon certain local officials such as counts and *centenarii*. In a word, in Germany until the end of the ninth century much of the Charlemagnic régime persisted. In France, on the other hand, all the ancient political and social bonds were loosed and new ones had to be formed in order to save the country from utter dissolution.⁸

Oudalrici, ch. 3 (*M. G. H.*, SS., IV. 389). Under Henry I. the dukes coined their own money, convoked assemblies, administered justice, and controlled the Church within their territories; Waitz, V. 72; Hauck, *op. cit.*, III. 8-9; Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, third ed., II. 127. When Conrad I. put Adalbert of Babenberg to death in 906 his people were furious; Regino, *Chronicon*, anno 906. The position of the great dukes in the tenth century really represented a reversion to the type of duchy which prevailed in Merovingian times. The dukes had then exercised all the rights of sovereignty as dukes, and not as Frankish officials, although they depended upon the Merovingian crown. Royal confirmation was mingled with popular choice and quasi-hereditary right. In Swabia and Thuringia the dukes had to pay tribute and to follow the king in war. The fall of Tassilo in 788 ended this ancient status, and during the reign of Charlemagne the duchies were practically administrative provinces of the Frank empire. When the Empire went to pieces the duchies emerged and resumed their old condition once more. See Bornhak, in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, vol. XXIII., no. 3.

⁶ Henry II. in 1002 recognized this local feeling in the German duchies when he refused the demand of Henry, count of Schweinfurt and margrave of the Bavarian Nordgau, that he be made duke of Bavaria. The king said: "Nonne scitis . . . Bawarios ab initio ducem eligendi liberam habere potestatem; non decere tam subito eos abicere neque constitutionis antique jus absque consensu eorum frangere? Si voluisset expectare usque dum ipse ad has regiones venire, cum communi consilio principum eorundem ac voluntate sibi libenter in hoc satisfacerem." Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chron.*, V. 14.

⁷ Waitz, *Jahrb.*, p. 9; *D. V. G.*, V. 43.

⁸ For details of this history see Guilhiermoz, *L'Origine de la Noblesse en France au Moyen-Age*, p. 143 and notes; Flach, *Les Origines de l'Ancienne France*, vol. II., bk. 3, chs. 6-8; and my article on "The Commerce of France in the Ninth Century", in *Jour. Pol. Economy*, November, 1915.

When the power of the crown was reduced to impotence under Charles the Bald private enterprise or usurpation stepped in and performed the functions of government. When the cry arose for protection against invading Norsemen in the north and foraying Saracens in the south, the land of France began to bristle with feudal castles. By the year 1000 the horizon of every province of France was fretted with looming bastions profiled against the sky.⁹

Inchoate feudalism first crystallized in France into a form of government and a structure of society by the union of the benefice or fief with vassalage, and adoption of the principles of recommendation and homage.¹⁰ In Germany the benefice was long unknown. Great lay and ecclesiastical proprietorships were first developed in France, especially in old Neustria.¹¹ In Germany both forms were chronologically of later origin, and when formed were technically different from the French practices. In France feudalism was rapidly militarized as the result of chronic conditions of warfare. In Germany the old German *Heerban* survived for centuries, and when the art of war at last became feudalized, the conditions were very different from those prevailing in France. The earliest instances of the delegation or seizure of the sovereign power of the state, which is of the very essence of feudalism, by public officials or vassals, occur in France, not Germany.¹² The partibility of fiefs appeared in France long before the practice became manifest in Germany. In France the principle of the heritability of fiefs was old when it was yet new in Germany.¹³ The ancient French maxim *nulle terre sans seigneur* never became universal or anything like it in medieval Germany, and allodial ownership was far more widespread in feudal Germany than in feudal France.¹⁴

The military reforms made by Henry the Fowler, remarkable as they were, did not make that radical and immediate change in institutions or social texture usually attributed to them. Military feudalism was of relatively late appearance in Germany when compared

⁹ See the striking descriptive paragraph in Ferdinand Lot, *Hugues Capet*, pp. 236-237.

¹⁰ Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, II. 262; Guilhaume, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 127.

¹¹ Brunner, *op. cit.*, II. 226; Guilhaume, p. 77.

¹² Brunner, II. 253-255; Waitz, VII. 10; R. Schröder, *Lehrbuch der Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, III. 128.

¹³ Heritability of fiefs began to prevail in Italy in the eleventh century, and in Germany in the twelfth; Guilhaume, p. 241. The Italian word *capitaneus* = vassal penetrated into Swabia, but not elsewhere in Germany; Waitz, V. 464.

¹⁴ Lamprecht, *op. cit.*, II. 87-88, 109-111; Brunner, *Forsch.*, I. 39, and his *Rechtsgeschichte*, II. 246-247, 250, 255 ff., 265 ff., 273 ff.; Maurer, *Einleitung zur Geschichte der Mark-, Hof-, Dorf- und Stadtverfassung*, p. 214.

with France. Indeed, until the twelfth century, anything approaching the régime which prevailed in France was foreign to Germany, except along the French border.

As a whole, both administratively and socially, medieval Germany until the end of the Salian period was predominantly Carolingian. What the ninth century did for France in transforming her into a feudal country was not done in Germany until the civil wars of the reign of Henry IV., and even then the process was less complete and very different in result. Feudalism, at least in the French sense of that term, neither deeply permeated the German military or administrative system, nor saturated the land and society so fully as in France. When feudalism at last became "formed" in medieval Germany the contrasts between its institutions and those of France are more striking than the analogies. As for feudal identities they hardly may be said to have existed.

The benefice system in Germany, except in the case of church lands, was not widely spread. Vassalage in France was primarily a military relation. In Germany it was chiefly an economic one until the time of the Hohenstaufen.¹⁵ In France, outside of Auvergne, where freemen were still in preponderance as late as the eleventh century, to cultivate the soil in person implied loss of status and often loss of liberty. In Germany, and above all in Saxony, agriculture did not condition status until the twelfth century.¹⁶ By that time the general rebellion of the German feudality in the west and south, combined with the revolt of the peasantry in Saxony, had so nearly ruined the land that freemen everywhere were depressed, great nobles, lay and clerical, had become greater, and a swarm of parvenu nobles come into being, all of whom rose upon the debris of the Salian system.

In France warriors without fief, living in the château of the lord and doing his service, were yet noble. In Germany castle-guard and similar services were performed by ex-serfs, *i.e.*, *ministeriales*.¹⁷ In France, at least in theory and in principle, every noble had a château and a fief. In Germany the lord rewarded his vassals with gifts, as horses, arms, etc.; suzerainty and vassalage were largely an economic and social relation.¹⁸ In the *Ruodlieb*, one of the earliest of medieval

¹⁵ Brunner, II. 248, 262 ff.; Roth von Schreckenstein, *Ritterwürde*, p. 59; Guilhiermoz, pp. 197 (note 5), 265, 298.

¹⁶ Guilhiermoz, p. 115 and notes; Lamprecht, *Études sur l'État Économique de la France pendant la Première Partie du Moyen-Âge*, trans. Marignan, p. 199; Levasseur, *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières*, I. 162.

¹⁷ Guilhiermoz, p. 114, note 28.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 143 (note 20), 165 (note 77), 242-243. In Ottonian times the real nobility of Germany was composed of counts who were paid out of the public domain; Gerdes, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, I. 404.

German poems, being of the eleventh century, there is no mention made of fiefs in the enumeration made to the hero of the advantages which will arise from his entering the king's service.¹⁹ Not until the twelfth century does the reward of a German vassal regularly take the form of a gift of fief.²⁰ In the eleventh century almost all the instances of benefices conferred upon condition of military service occur in the border lands adjacent to France, as Lorraine and Burgundy.²¹

Even then these German feudatories but slightly resembled their French congeners, for they were checked on every hand by the counts, the bishops, and the counts palatine, who were strictly royal functionaries; they could not indulge the right of war as in France without peril, nor coin money nor administer anything save simple justice. They had few political attributes, and no sovereignty.²² In brief, German vassalage was simple and curtailed when compared with the institution as it prevailed in France.²³ The strong hand of the German kings prevented the growth both of a tyrannous higher feudality and the nuisance of a petty feudality until the War of Investiture and the rebellion of Saxony threw all Germany into confusion and anarchy, the effect of which was to relax the power of the crown and profoundly to alter the institutions of feudalism and the texture of society.

Personal vassals, *i.e.*, vassals without fief, are to be found in Germany as late as the *Sachsenspiegel*, although by that time they were an exception to the general condition.²⁴ This archaic form of vassalage especially survived in Saxony, but even in north Germany much of the old order of things passed away during the reign of Henry IV.²⁵ Then strong freemen became nobles and were bound

¹⁹ *Ruodlieb*, I., verses 97 ff.; Waitz, *D. V. G.*, VI. 44.

²⁰ Ficker, *Vom Heerschild*, p. 165; Guilhiermoz, p. 163, note 4. The conservative nature of the benefice in Germany is shown in the *Constitutio* of Lothar in 1136 (*M. G. H.*, *Leges*, n. s., IV. 176); the grant is still Carolingian in character. Cf. Guilhiermoz, p. 114, note 26 *ad fin.* Even as late as the thirteenth century German law carefully distinguished fiefs formed from allods from the older type of benefice. Guilhiermoz, *ubi supra*, and pp. 265 (note 30), 298-301.

²¹ Thietmar, *Chron.*, VI. 36 (SS., III.); *Vita Meinwerki* (SS., XI. 125); *Chron. Laurehamense* [Lorsch], anno 1066 (SS., XXI. 415, 434-435); Dronke, *Codex Diplomaticus Fuldensis*, p. 359, no. 749.

²² Gerdes, I. 396; Schröder, pp. 536-537.

²³ Brunner, II. 273-274.

²⁴ Homeyer, *Sachsenspiegel*, pt. 2, vol. I., p. 159; Guilhiermoz, p. 236, note 2 *ad fin.*

²⁵ Thus Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg. Eccles. Pontif.* (III. 35), says of Adalbert the archbishop: "cum omnes qui erant in Saxonia sive in aliis regionibus clari et magnifici viri adoptaret in milites, multis dando quod habuit,

to higher lords by ties of vassalage and homage, while weaker freemen went down to serfdom under the stress.²⁶ The Saxon and Thuringian peasantry rebelled against Henry IV. in 1075 just because they were free and determined to preserve their freedom when the peasantry almost everywhere else in Germany had already sunk, or were sinking, to serfdom.

As it was with vassalage so also was it with rear-vassalage or subinfeudation. French law never imposed a limit upon the number of successive subinfeudations. In Germany subinfeudation itself was a late practice as feudal origins go, and never reached the meticulous degree that obtained in France. Until the time of the Staufer Germany had a powerful nobility, but that nobility was not oppressive, while France as late as the reign of St. Louis exhibits many of the phenomena of feudal anarchy. In their relations with the king the German nobles had more liberty than English and Norman barons under the Angevins, but it was a liberty preserved only through allegiance to the king's law.

In Germany, as compared with France, the proportion of great nobles was small, and the number of lesser nobles not nearly so large as in France.²⁷ On the other hand there were many more freemen in Germany than in France—at least until the late twelfth century. Aside from the bishops and abbots of the "royal" monasteries, of whom military service was rigidly exacted in virtue of the vast landed possessions which the largess of the Saxon kings had conferred upon them, there were relatively few real military vassals in the strict sense of that term, *i.e.*, nobles who held fiefs subject to military service, and most of these were to be found along the French border.²⁸ In Germany field-service and castle-guard were sharply distinguished until Hohenstaufen times; in France there is close relation and often confusion between the practices.²⁹

In medieval Germany "the art of war was a necessary episcopal accomplishment" to a far greater degree than in either France or

ceteris pollicendo quod non habuit. . ." Farther on (III. 48) he writes, again of Adalbert, "*cum tyranno [Magnus Billung] fedus pepigit ut, qui hostis erat, miles efficeretur, offerens ei de bonis ecclesiae mille mansos in beneficium et amplius*". Lambert of Hersfeld abounds with details about Henry IV.'s Saxon policy and its effects, but see especially *Annales*, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 238, 260.

²⁶ Lambert of Hersfeld, pp. 141, 146-148; Bruno, *Liber de Bello Saxonico*, chs. 16, 23-25, 127.

²⁷ The children of small nobles were often pledged to the service of the larger ones. For examples see *Vita Brunonis*, ch. 13; Thietmar, IV. 15, 22, and VI. 52.

²⁸ Cf. note 21.

²⁹ Guilhiermoz, pp. 298 ff.

England. Feudal France produced few bishops like Adhemar of Puy and Philip of Beauvais. The latter accompanied Philip Augustus to the East on the Third Crusade, faced the furious charge of the Turkish horse at Arsuf, and shared in the repulse at Acre; his blood-stained hauberk was sent to the pope with the message: "This we have found. Know now whether it be thy son's coat-of-mail or no." As for English fighting bishops, who does not know Richard of Cornwall's famous letter to his brother Edward in 1257 from Cologne? "Lo," wrote Richard, "what mettlesome and warlike archbishops are in Germany. It would be a fine thing for you if you could create such archbishops in England."³⁰ The Barons' War in England in the thirteenth century might have had another issue if the crown had possessed such fighting clergy as feudal Germany possessed.

As far back as the reign of Otto the Great the Saxon policy had engrossed the bishops and "royal" abbots within the German military hierarchy. But the provisions of the Concordat of Worms in 1122 formally made the princes of the German church also princes of the German kingdom, and at this moment the great bishops and abbots officially entered into the military hierarchy with papal consent.³¹ This status once established, in proportion as the ecclesiastical princes entered into the feudal life and institutions of Germany the differences which had formerly distinguished them from the great lay nobles tended to blur together. Their office alone distinguished them from the secular feudality. In blood, in policy, in psychology they were wholly feudalized. But this observation would not justly fit the high clergy of either France or England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is this difference of historical process and condition which enabled medieval Germany to produce such fighting bishops as Rainald of Dassel and Christian of Mainz, and not possess such churchmen as Becket, Grosseteste, John of Salisbury, Ivo of Chartres, Maurice de Sully, and Jacques de Vitry.

In Germany feudalism became politically sovereign. In France the growth of the royal power gradually deprived the feudality of power and authority, and reduced it to a social caste. In England the opposition of the baronage and liberal bishops became a consti-

³⁰ *Annals of Burton* (SS., XXVII. 480). The author of the tract entitled *De Unitate Ecclesiae Conservanda*, ch. 18, written during or soon after the War of Investiture, says of the bishops of that time: "quales scilicet episcopi non essent pastores ecclesiarum, sed ductores bellorum, non custodes dominicarum ovium, sed ut graves lupi persecutores earum, interfectores animarum pariter et corporum."

³¹ See Heinrich Schaefer, *Pfarrkirche und Stift im Deutschen Mittelalter* (1903).

tutional opposition and developed one of the most remarkable and beneficial institutional and political processes in history. In Germany bishops, abbots, and barons were bitterly divided against one another after 1197, when the strong hand of the Hohenstaufen was removed, and in the end they wrought the ruin of the German kingdom. In France clergy and nobles alike were made to bend to the king's will. Yet what happened in England might have been achieved in Germany, too, in the twelfth century (a full hundred years before Edward I. and Simon de Montfort) if the Guelph programme could have triumphed. The Hohenstaufen emperors were as self-willed and absolutistic as the Capetian kings, but they could not make their will prevail over Germany as the French kings did in France. The dream of the Guelph house was to establish a federal feudal monarchy in Germany composed of a union of the separate duchies, each of which was to preserve its local "states' rights"—to establish a form of government which would have given simultaneous and due expression to the rights of the crown and the rights of the duchies. But this great and constructive programme was ruined by the despotic policy of Frederick Barbarossa, and the fall of Henry the Lion in 1181 dragged ducal Germany down with Saxony. Never again in German history did the great old duchies play an important part. Upon the debris of the great duchies a swarm of petty, particularistic feudal states arose and Germany, which in the twelfth century hovered upon the verge of creating a wholly new kind of state in Europe, a federated feudal and limited monarchy, drifted in the thirteenth century into the anarchy of the Interregnum. By destroying the Guelphs the Staufer ruined the only element in feudal Germany capable of accomplishing something like what the barons accomplished for English liberty at Runnymede. The germ of constitutional limited monarchy was implicit as much in the Guelph programme as in the demands of the English barons in 1215.

If now we turn from things feudal to a consideration of things servile and manorial in medieval Germany, again we find marked variations and differences from similar conditions west of the Rhine or in England.

The distance which separated the lord of the manor from his servile dependents in Germany was wider than the same kind of separation in France. In the latter country the necessity of protection threw nobles and peasantry more closely together than in Germany. In France the villages were often, even usually, in close proximity to the castle, crowded against the cliff on which the château stood, or huddled at the foot of the hill within the shadow of the keep. In

Germany, on the other hand, we find few castles until late in the eleventh century. The nobles lived as country gentlemen upon their estates, moving as necessity bade from one to another. The villages of the peasantry were rambling hamlets, often widely scattered. In consequence of these different conditions the German noble lived more aloof from the lower classes than the French noble; he knew less of them and their life; he was less familiar with them. But on the other hand, owing first to the fact that thousands of freemen survived in Germany until as late as the twelfth century, whereas this class in France had long before this date diminished almost to invisibility, and, secondly, owing to the further fact that predial serfdom was late in development in Germany and slow in its spread, the German noble did not have that contempt for the lower classes which is found in medieval France, nor did the German peasantry as a class exhibit that servility which characterized the French peasantry in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The growth of proprietorship—or, to use the convenient German term, *Grundherrschaft*—and of serfdom was both slower and later in Germany than in France. Moreover, the manorial régime which resulted in Germany never had that systematic character which is attached to French manorialism, nor was it ever so universal. *Systemsucht* has been too much a disposition of recent German historical writers in this particular. On the other hand the contention of Gerhard Seeliger³² that too much economic determinism has been introduced into the interpretation of medieval German serfdom, it seems to me, errs in the other direction.

Until relatively late in medieval Germany, as compared with medieval France, a German baron's³³ daily life was not unlike that of an English squire. He was more a proprietor farming his ancestral acres with the labor of a free peasant population than a feudal chieftain with a rout of men-at-arms and retainers always around him, and all living on the forced toil of a servile peasantry. This was especially true in north Germany. His possessions were likely to be surrounded by the outlying farms of free peasants who were his neighbors. His life was "rustic". In the *Ruodlieb* the chief occupation of the baron is to work his fields.³⁴ He is more concerned

³² G. Seeliger, *Die Soziale und Politische Bedeutung der Grundherrschaft im Früheren Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1903).

³³ The word *baro* was rarely used in the eleventh century, and not common even in the twelfth. I have not found it in Lambert of Hersfeld. It occurs six times in Otto of Freising, *Chronica*. Frequently a qualifying adjective is employed with the word, as *liber baro*, the Latin equivalent of *Freiherr*. Cf. Guiliemoz, p. 158, note 54.

³⁴ Fragment IV., verses 15 ff. Zoepfl, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 351.

about the state of the weather and the condition of his crops than about politics and war; he has few vassals, or none at all, and they are personal vassals without fiefs; a handful of *ministeriales* is enough for house-guard.³⁵

A few castles began to creep into the country in the tenth century, but they were simpler and ruder erections than those of France, and most of them were in the west near the French border.³⁶ Until the War of Investiture and the rebellion of Saxony, with the ensuing anarchy, all castles in Germany were regarded as "adulterine" save the citadels pertaining to the crown, most of which were in the towns, as Frankfort and Regensburg.³⁷ But as German life partook more and more of feudal ways of living, as institutions tended to crystallize and the structure of society to harden, individual castrametation gradually developed and the German nobles began to build castles of their

³⁵ Seifrid Helbling, I., verses 826-829; Ottokar, *Reimchronik*, verses 30727-30755. Cf. Haupte, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, IV. 164.

³⁶ Castle-building was a typical phenomenon of the ninth century, and a concrete evidence of the breakdown of the central authority. Castles were first built as places of protection against the inroads of the Northmen in France. As such they were mere blockhouses erected on some natural escarpment or artificial *agger*, and surrounded by a palisade and a ditch. In Parmentier's *Album Historique*, I. 100, may be seen a picture of the château of Ste. Eulalie-d'Ambarès (Gironde), of the late ninth or early tenth century. An earlier and still simpler one is in Grégoire and Gaillard's *Histoire du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1895), p. 312. Taine, *Ancient Régime*, p. 7, has a striking description of this age of castle-building. They first appear, as has been said, in the north of France. Cf. *Vita S. Romani*, ch. 13 (*AASS. Boll.*, May, V., p. 158); *Cart. de St. Père*, I. 6; Hincmar, *Annales*, 862, 866, 869; *Annal. St. Vaast*, 885. In 862 Charles the Bald enjoined the erection of private castles as a means to defend the country, but rescinded—or attempted to rescind—the edict in 864 owing to the fact that these strongholds became rendezvous of robbers; *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.), II. 86. Thenceforth castle-building increased rapidly; every castle-owner defied the crown. See Regino, *Chron.*, 879; *De Gestis Abbat. Laub.*, ch. 16; *Hincmarus ad Carolum Calvum*, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, CXXV. 954; Flach, *Les Origines de l'Anc. France*, II. 82-86, 301 ff.; Richer, *Historiarum Libri IV*, is full of vivid details in regard to early castles, e.g., I. 19, 27, II. 7, 8, 9, III. 20 (the first mention in 964 of the famous château of Coucy), 103 (Verdun), IV. 17 (Laon), 76 (Melun). Until the eleventh century the castles were chiefly, even entirely, made of timber, and part wooden, part stone castles are even met with in the twelfth century, as Suger's *Vita Ludovici Grossi* shows. But Richer, IV. 27, indicates that stone towers and battlements were in use by the middle of the tenth century. Besides the word *castellum*, the words *oppidum*, *municipium*, *castrum*, and *arx* are employed in the same sense. The art of castrametation was much more advanced in France than elsewhere, and the ability of the French in building castles astonished both the Germans and the Italians. *Mon. S. Gall.*, II. 17; Richer, II. 10, III. 106; Flodoard, *Annales*, 938; *Mirac. S. Bened.*, ed. Soc. de l'Hist. de France, p. 245. The counts of Anjou excelled in this kind of engineering; Halphen, *Le Comté d'Anjou au XI^e Siècle*, pt. 2, ch. 2.

³⁷ *E.g.*, *M. G. H., Dipl.* (n. s.), I. 169, l. 14; 232, l. 8; 242, l. 35; 499, l. 27.

own.³⁸ First they converted a favorite *Pfalz* into a walled or moated grange (*curtis*); from this the transition was made to a more formidable edifice.³⁹ But until the last quarter of the eleventh century there were comparatively few independent châteaux in Germany. Such structures were "adulterine" in the eyes of the Saxon and Salian kings and were usually destroyed or else forfeited to the crown.⁴⁰ Only royal officers might legally have castles, and then they were emanations of the king's authority and often citadels garrisoned and munitioned by government.⁴¹ Before the twelfth century most of the so-called "castles" of the German dukes with whom the kings were continually struggling were not actual castles but merely fortified manor-houses.⁴²

Even the German kings before Henry IV. were without real castles, except for their citadels, which, as said, were provincial police headquarters. All the Saxon monarchs and the first two Salians, Conrad II. and Henry III., lived much as Charlemagne had lived, as described in the capitulary *De villis*, that is to say, in a great low-roofed, rambling manor-house, or *palatium*, leaving what castles they possessed to garrisons who were usually armed *ministeriales*.⁴³

Wood was the universal fabric of castle construction for years in Germany, until French building technique and engineering introduced stone construction. Even the Wartburg in 1080 had two wooden towers.⁴⁴ The genuine feudal castle crept gradually into Germany from Lorraine.⁴⁵ Already by the eleventh century in France military engineering had become a profession and the names of some of these

³⁸ "Nobiles in villis turres parvulas habuerunt quas a suis similibus vix defendere potuerunt", quoted by Schulte, *Hofleben*, I. 124. Waitz, VIII. 203-204, has a striking paragraph on this evolution.

³⁹ Waitz, VIII. 200; Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhöfe*, I. 126, 136.

⁴⁰ Waitz, VIII. 201.

⁴¹ For examples see *Annal. Hild.*, 971 (SS., III. 62); Thietmar, *Chron.*, V. 9, VI. 36; M. G. H., *Dipl.* (n. s.), I. 169, 232, 242, 499. Cf. Otte, *Baukunst*, pp. 134-135; Nährer, *Kunst und Alterth. in Württemb.*, III. 150.

⁴² See Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, 22; *Vita Oudalrici*, 10; *Vita Balderici*, 7; *Vita Deoderici Mett.*, 12.

⁴³ Waitz, VIII. 205-207; Heyne, *Wohnungswesen*, p. 139; Lamprecht, *Deutsches Wirtschaftsleben*, vol. I., pt. 1, p. 544; Schulte, *Hofleben*, I. 42. For Belgium see Kurth, *Notger de Liège*, p. 301, note 5; Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I. 128.

⁴⁴ Otte, *Baukunst*, p. 269. For description of such a wooden castle see *Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium* (SS., X. 243).

⁴⁵ Kurth, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27. For instances see Regino, annis 903, 906; Flodoard, *Annales*, 951, 960, etc.; Herimann of Augsburg, *Chron.*, 1044 (castle Böckelheim). Yet even in Henry IV.'s time the castle of Zabern was still of wood, *arca ex tabulis ligneis confecta*, SS., XI. 669, line 25.

architects are known.⁴⁶ But the first German castles were cruder constructions than those found in France at the same time, although they were sometimes capable of making a long resistance against siege. Henry III. lay for three months before Hammerstein before he was able to take it.

The backwardness of German siegecraft before Frederick I.'s experiences in Lombard Italy, when improved siege engines began to be introduced into Germany, made even simple fortresses formidable. Fire was commonly the most effective means to reduce a castle, since most of them were really little more than timbered blockhouses. Early German castles were without bastions, portcullis, pontlevis, all of which devices were imported from France. Even the donjon was not a "keep", but the Gross Turm in which the lord dwelt.⁴⁷

The real castle age in Germany began during the reign of Henry IV., when castles arose, first in Thuringia and Saxony, but soon are to be found all over the land as if raised by an enchanter's wand.⁴⁸ Then appeared the Wartburg, *nomen omen* among such frowning citadels, Trifels, Kyffhausen, Drachenfels, Wolkenburg, the last two having been erected by Frederick of Cologne.⁴⁹ Ambitious *ministeriales* soon followed the example set by rebellious barons, and on all sides the châteaux of these upstarts began to rival the towers of the barons. Henry V., in spite of his power, never was able to suppress them.⁵⁰ Frederick of Swabia, the Emperor Lothar's arch-enemy, sowed castles from Basel to Mainz. It was said of him that he dragged a castle at his horse's tail.⁵¹ In the reign of Frederick I.

⁴⁶ Ordericus Vitalis, VIII. 24, X. 5; Bouquet, XII. 528; V. Mortet, *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Hist. de l'Architecture*, introd., sec. 22. Lambert of Ardes, *Hist. Comitum . . . Ardensium*, ch. 67, has preserved a vivid description of the erection of a castle early in the twelfth century.

⁴⁷ G. Köhler, *Entwicklung des Kriegswesens*, vol. III., pt. 1, pp. 351-352; Piper, *Burgenkunde*, pp. 168, 218, 228 ff., 279, 284; Heyne, *op. cit.*, p. 134. According to Köhler (vol. III., pt. 1, p. 402) the donjon first appeared in Swiss Burgundy. There is an interesting article by Leo in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, VIII.

⁴⁸ "Montes omnes colliculosque Saxoniae et Thuringiae castellis munitissimis", Lambert of Hersfeld, *Annales*, anno 1073, ed. Holder-Egger, pp. 140-141. Giesebrecht, *Kaiserzeit*, vol. III., pt. 2, pp. 1221 ff.; Henne am Rhyn, *Kulturgeschichte des Deutschen Volkes*, I. 20 ff. The Wartburg is first mentioned by Bruno, *Liber de Bello Saxonico*, ch. 117, in 1080; Trifels is first mentioned in *Annal. Paderb.*, 1113.

⁴⁹ Stein, *De Fred. Archiep. Colon.*, p. 27.

⁵⁰ See the vivid description of the anarchy in Germany in 1116 by Ekkehard of Aura (*SS.*, VI. 252) and compare Recens. de *Annal. Paderb.*, 1107; *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 1107; *Vita Heinrici IV.*, 8, 9, 13; Herbordus, I. 25.

⁵¹ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I.*, I. 12; Heyne, *Wohnungswesen*, p. 333; Gebhardt, *Handbuch der Deutschen Geschichte*, first ed., I. 226.

Swabia bristled with castles of the Zähringen.⁵² By the next century Germany was as thickly studded with castles as France, and their occupants were far bolder in depredation, for the royal authority in Germany then was rapidly collapsing.⁵³

The burgher population in the German towns, especially in the Rhinelands, where town life first appeared and was most developed, because it was numerically strong enough within the towns to overpower the bishops and was protected from the baronage without by the town walls, weathered the storm of the civil war in Henry IV.'s reign. But the rural population of feudal Germany had no such defenses, nor did they possess that compact organization which the burghers had, to enable them to resist the pressure of the time and the violence of the age.⁵⁴ Thus insecurity, tyranny, poverty, famine, reduced the free class, even in Saxony, to serfdom, and thrust those already unfree down to lower social depths.⁵⁵

In social texture feudal Germany before the reign of Henry IV. was quite different from France. Except the clergy and some of the official count class, at the beginning of the Saxon epoch there were few who were very rich. Great lay properties were slow to accumulate in Germany. The *Grossgrundherrschaften* surrounded by a nimbus of vassals and retainers were not widely known until the last half of the twelfth century.⁵⁶ In Saxony the old blood nobility of the German tribes, like the free peasantry, persisted long after it had disappeared everywhere else.⁵⁷

The feudal tendency toward heritability of fiefs affords an interesting contrast in the cases of France and Germany. While the old idea is now exploded that the famous capitulary of Kiersy in 877 established the general heritability of fiefs in France, it yet remains true that in practice the inheritance of fiefs obtained in France from the end of the ninth century; that deviation from this tendency was the exception, not the rule.

On the other hand, in Germany this form of transmission long remained an act of grace on the part of the overlord.⁵⁸ While the

⁵² *Chron. Otto S. Blas.*, 1165 (SS., XX, 311). For the Wartburg in Barbarossa's time, see *Gesta Frid.*, I. 4.

⁵³ Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, I. 208; Piper, *Burgenkunde*, pp. 122 ff.

⁵⁴ Gerdes, *op. cit.*, II. 305-306, 577 ff.

⁵⁵ For the effect of famine see Curschmann, *Hungersnöte des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1900).

⁵⁶ Cf. Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 713, and note 6 (anno 1198).

⁵⁷ Wazo of Liège, *Gesta Episcop. Leod.*, 61 (SS., VII. 225), writing to Henry III. in 1047, strikingly shows the contrast, for he says: "Rarus apud nos miles et securus agricola."

⁵⁸ Thietmar, *Chron.*, I. 7; Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1075, *ed. cit.*, p. 232.

succession of the eldest son was probably customary,⁵⁹ it was far from invariable. The ancient Germanic law of equal inheritance of the sons survived in many quarters of Germany for centuries—indeed it never entirely became obsolete—and along with partibility of fiefs other liberal practices gradually were legalized also, as protection of the rights of widows and the right of female succession or inheritance through the female line.⁶⁰ Often, in fact, designation of the heir was made in advance by the possessor.⁶¹ If, however, the possessor was a vassal who had died without having made a will providing for the succession, or the act of infeudation had not so provided, then the suzerain had the right to dispose of the inheritance among the heirs as he chose.

It is true that from the moment of their appearance the stem duchies tended to become hereditary. But numerous examples of revocation and dispossession occur in Saxon and Salian times. Not until the Hohenstaufen epoch did heritability of the duchies become an accomplished fact.⁶² The Ottos regarded the ducal office as a function of the crown. Only from Henry IV.'s time forward does the idea of the ducal prerogative as a strictly dynastic possession of a local family become preponderant. Then the Guelphs in Bavaria, the Hohenstaufen in Swabia, and Lothar of Supplinburg in Saxony strongly manifest this inclination.⁶³

Conrad II. in 1037 recognized the principle of primogeniture for Lombardy.⁶⁴ But this act had no binding force in Germany, where the Church long resisted primogeniture in protection of younger sons and collateral heirs.⁶⁵ Even at the end of the twelfth century Henry VI. was unable to establish primogeniture after the French and Plantagenet practice.⁶⁶ The truth is that in medieval Germany no uniform

⁵⁹ The Continuator of Regino, ed. Kurze, p. 164, records it as an unusual fact that Otto I. permitted a count to divide his fiefs upon his death-bed among his sons.

⁶⁰ Waitz, VI. 88–89; Homeyer, *Sachsenspiegel*, pt. 1 (third ed.), p. 371 and pt. 2, vol. I., pp. 143–144. The most notable instance of female succession is in the case of Saxony in 1106 when the Billunger house expired and Lothar of Supplinburg forced the succession in his own favor, his mother having been a daughter of Duke Ordulf Billung; *Annal. Sax. (SS., VI. 744–745)*.

⁶¹ Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1071, p. 121.

⁶² But already in Henry II.'s reign the heritability of countships had been admitted; Giesebrecht, II. 70, 284, 594, 625.

⁶³ H. A. L. Fisher, *The Medieval Empire*, I. 321–325.

⁶⁴ M. G. H., *Const.*, I. 90. For the popularity of the act see Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, II. 6.

⁶⁵ See *Chron. of Lorsch* for the years 1066 and 1119 (*SS., XXI. 415, 534–535*); *Codex Udalrici*, Ep. 103, in Jaffé, V. 190; Homeyer, *System des Lehnrechts*, sec. 42.

⁶⁶ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, II. 19.

and invariable law of succession ever triumphed to the exclusion of any other form.⁶⁷ As to "relief" that feudal institution was unknown in Germany until late in the eleventh century, and uncommon before the twelfth.⁶⁸

In France as early as the ninth century to be a "noble" was to sit a horse and to bear arms; such a person was a *miles* or knight, and belonged to the *ordo pugnatorum*.⁶⁹ The right to wear arms and armor distinguished him from the unarmed peasantry.⁷⁰ Per contra, personal cultivation of the soil implied a servile condition. In France in the eleventh century—perhaps even in the tenth century—it was necessary to be knighted to be a chevalier, to be a noble. Nobility and knighthood were two sides of the same coin. In Germany neither knights nor knighthood were known before the twelfth century. The term *ordo militaris* (or *equestris*) first appears in France in the pages of Richer; and the context of the various passages shows that already before the year 1000 the French nobility was a closed order and had become a caste.⁷¹ In Widukind, on the other hand, although he uses a similar term, *ordo equestris*, the context shows that it applies only to the great dukes⁷² and it seems more like a rhetorical flourish than an historical description, for it is used in connection with Widukind's account of the grand banquet in Charlemagne's palace at Aachen after Otto I.'s coronation in 936. In France the nobles early became a hard-and-fast privileged group divided into classes by somewhat inflexible lines of partition, while in Germany the nobility remained for two centuries after the beginnings of the feudal régime merely the upper stratum of German lay society, not sharply divided from ordinary freemen nor antagonistic toward them, and loosely held together more by family tradition than by pride and prejudice. In France the gulf became wide and fixed between even the lowest noble and the servile class; a mere châtelain with nothing but a single castle and a few roods of land was nevertheless a noble.⁷³ In Germany,

⁶⁷ Frederick I.'s decree at Roncaglia in 1158, which undoubtedly was meant to apply to Germany as well as Italy, while it declared duchies, counties, etc., indivisible, did not prescribe a rule of inheritance.

⁶⁸ Waitz, VI. 35 ff.; Guilhiermoz, pp. 338 ff., notes 52, 53.

⁶⁹ Guilhiermoz, pp. 388–389; e.g., in Richer, I. 5, 57, II. 3, 5, 28, 39, 54, III. 71, 88, 93, IV. 11, 28.

⁷⁰ Guilhiermoz, pp. 379–380.

⁷¹ Lamprecht, *Études sur l'État Écon. de la France*, trans. Marignan, p. 199 and notes.

⁷² Waitz, VI. 265.

⁷³ Guilhiermoz, pp. 143–144. Hence the excessive subdivision of fiefs in France. In Flanders, Picardy, Poitou, the Orléannais, and Normandy we find *demi-pairies*, *demi-fiefs*, *demi-fiefs de haubert*, and even fractional *roncins de service*, less than half; Guilhiermoz, pp. 190–192.

on the other hand, the social distinction was less a cleavage than a gradual shading off of the nobility, through the intermediate grade of the *ministeriales*, into the serf class. German feudal society hardly even approximates the condition of French feudal society before the twelfth century. For two hundred years the meticulous differences and the social prejudices which had characterized the French noblesse since the ninth century were almost unknown in Germany.

In France, when compared with Germany, chivalry developed early and rapidly. In Germany knighthood and chivalry did not blossom until the middle of the twelfth century. One of the earliest examples, possibly the very first, is the knighting of the Hungarian king by Conrad III. in 1146 in imitation of the French practice with which he became familiar while on the Second Crusade.

Freehold and allodial tenure persisted longer and were much more general in Germany than in France, and freemen were much more numerous, particularly in the north.⁷⁴ Even as late as the battle of Bouvines (1214) many Saxon freemen fighting on foot were still to be found in the German army of Otto IV., and probably had taken an oath of loyalty to him as in Charlemagne's day.⁷⁵ But what was true of Saxony was not true of the rest of Germany then or earlier. For, as has been pointed out, by the time of Henry IV. most of Germany had become feudalized, though not after the French form. For during the civil war the Lorrainer and Swabian horsemen of Henry IV. were astonished to find in Saxony freemen still cultivating their own fields and fighting as their ancestors had fought, on foot.⁷⁶ When their free position became difficult to maintain, many of these freemen became *ministeriales*, and thus escaped the rigors of serf-

⁷⁴ Lamprecht, *Deutsche Geschichte*, III. 93-96; Schröder, *op. cit.*, pp. 407, 458-459; Waitz, V. 185, 325, 393 (note 1), 386, 430; Below, *Entstehung der Deutschen Stadtgemeinde*, p. 13; Walter, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, sec. 451. These freemen were the "liberi viri", the "friman", the "frigebur", or the "schoppenbarfreye" of the *Sachsenspiegel*, who acted as jurors and made up the *Heerban* when it was called out. This class was especially abundant in the north of Germany; Lamprecht, III. 93. It is significant that in the west, particularly in Lorraine, where French conditions more prevailed, donations to the monasteries are chiefly made by nobles, whereas in Bavaria until late, and in Swabia and Franconia until relatively late in the feudal age they are made by freemen and *ministeriales*; Waitz, V. 431. These freemen had the same wergeld and the same "fredum" as the *Ritter* class. The *Sachsenspiegel* (III., sec. 1) puts them on the same plane as the *ministeriales*, who at the time the Mirror of Saxony was written had become a petty nobility. Schröder, pp. 458, 591; Walter, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ Waitz, VIII. 122-123; Schröder, p. 525; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 96. Cf. Rigord, X. 686.

⁷⁶ *Carmen de Bello Saxonico*, II., verses 118 ff., and III., verses 94 ff.; Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1075; Bruno, *De Bello Sax.*, ch. 31.

dom.⁷⁷ The real noble class in Germany, in the legal sense, under the Saxon and first Franconian kings, was composed of the counts and dukes. But their prestige from Henry IV.'s reign onward was more and more compromised by the elevation of men of servile origin to church and lay offices—men who had everything to gain by the cultivation of parvenu practices and parvenu virtues.⁷⁸

In France the early Capetians were compelled by the feudal drift of the times to enfeoff public offices like lands. In Germany enfeoffment of public offices does not occur until after 1100, when its appearance is a manifestation of the rapid growth of feudalism as a result of the upheaval and collapse of things during the War of Investiture and the Saxon rebellion. Thenceforward the swift extension of the practice of enfeoffment of offices, in the words of Huebner, "made futile in Germany the hope of such growth of royal power as resulted in France and in England".⁷⁹

In France the ownership of land early became an index of social position. Yet in Carolingian times poverty did not entail loss of liberty or degradation of class,⁸⁰ and it is not until late in the eleventh century that we begin to detect in Germany a sentiment of contempt for the poor who are well-born, who have the misfortune either not to own land or to have lost the land which they once possessed.⁸¹

In France the lapse of royal authority and the upgrowth of a violent baronage resulted in the universal prevalence of private war. In Germany private warfare was unusual and soon crushed. The commonest kind of local violence was the persistence of the old German *faida* among the peasantry.⁸² When private war is found in

⁷⁷ Waitz, VI. 41; Dümmler, *Geschichte des Ostfränkischen Reichs*, second ed., III. 635.

⁷⁸ Gerdes, I. 404; Schröder, pp. 441 ff.; Zallinger, *Ministeriales und Milites* (1878), pp. 58 ff.; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, fourth ed., III. 103. Ekkehard of St. Gall's comment on the rise of the ministerialis class is very illuminating: "Majores locorum de quibus scriptum est 'quia servi si non timent, tument', scuta et arma polita gestare incoeperant; tubas alioquam caeteri villani clanculo inflare didicerant." *Casus S. Galli* (SS., II. 103).

⁷⁹ Huebner, *German Private Law* (English trans.), p. 340.

⁸⁰ "Quamvis pauper sit, tamen libertatem suam non perdat nec hereditatem suam", *Lex Baiuvariorum*, in *M. G. H., Leges*, III. 298. Cf. *Transl. S. Magni* [circa 850], ch. 15 (SS., IV. 426): "quamvis pauperculus tamen ex bonis parentibus natus".

⁸¹ "Erant duo cujusdam Geronis comitis filii, satis quidem edito loco nati, sed propter inopiam rei famularis inter principes Saxoniae nullius nominis vel momenti"; Lambert of Hersfeld, anno 1076, ed. Holder-Egger, p. 260. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 233, 256; Bruno, chs. 99, 117. Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1162, cites other examples.

⁸² For the curious complaint and regulations in the legislation of the bishop of Worms governing his "familia" in the year 1023, see *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.),

feudal Germany it usually occurs along the French border in Flanders, Lorraine, and Burgundy.⁸³ Germans looked with mingled horror and contempt upon the "French" anarchy. To maintain the king's peace was the first duty of a German sovereign.⁸⁴ In theory a "faidosus" was subject to the death penalty; in practice, however, the offender was commonly banned and his property confiscated and devoted to church endowment.⁸⁵ Ludwig the German asserted the best tradition of Carolingian times with reference to enforcing law and order in the realm.⁸⁶ The principle lapsed temporarily during the minority of Ludwig the Child and the weak reign of Conrad I. Yet even then Adalbert of Babenberg was cited before the diet of Tribur, and when he failed to come was besieged in his castle, taken, and sent to the scaffold.⁸⁷

In the eleventh century, an age of intense religious emotionalism, the idea of the Truce of God began to spread from France into Lorraine and Burgundy. It mattered little to its enthusiastic advocates that what might be good, even necessary, in France, was unnecessary in Germany. Henry III., too sensitive of the royal prerogative and too proud openly to approve of a movement which in its very nature implied the inability of the crown to maintain law and order, endeavored to compromise by instituting the *Landfrieden* instead, which attempted to effect the purposes of the *treuga* but saved the honor of the crown.⁸⁸ For the extension of the Peace of God in Germany was due to psychological and religious contagion, not to necessity as in France.⁸⁹

Legally the *Landfrieden* was a revival of the old Carolingian ban reinforced by ecclesiastical penalties.⁹⁰ No more formidable police

I. 640, art. 3. Cf. Nitzsch, *Ministerialität und Bürgertum*, I. 366-376. The time-honored judicial duel lingered in Franconia until the sixteenth century; Zimmermann, in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1879.

⁸³ See the interesting work by Dubois, *Les Assurements au XIII^e Siècle dans nos Villes du Nord; Recherches sur le Droit de Vengeance* (Paris, 1900). Charlemagne's efforts to stamp out the ancient German feud were successfully continued by the German kings. Schröder, pp. 353 ff.; Lamprecht, in *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, VII. 8-9.

⁸⁴ Waitz, VI. 522-523.

⁸⁵ *Dipl.* (n. s.), I. 303, 434, 447; Continuator of Regino, anno 958.

⁸⁶ Dümmler, II. 416; Gerdes, I. 525.

⁸⁷ Regino, *Chron.*, 902, 906.

⁸⁸ Cf. Giesebrecht, II. 366 ff.; Stenzel, *Geschichte Deutschlands*, I. 89; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, III. 581; Schröder, I. 669; Nitzsch, II. 39.

⁸⁹ See Rosenstock, *Herzogsgewalt und Friedensschutz* (Breslau, 1910).

⁹⁰ Richter and Kohl, *Annalen der Deutschen Geschichte im Mittelalter*, vol. III., pt. 2, pp. 341, note a, and 351, note g, have collected quotations from the sources pertinent to the history of the *Landfrieden* at this time. For the spread

power can well be imagined than the exercise of this double-shotted authority by a sovereign like Henry III. Almost any infraction of law under its provisions was capable of being construed as a violation of the "peace", and the culprit could be condignly dealt with. As subsequent history was to show, in the hands of the German kings the Landfrieden became a means of coercion powerful enough to break the greatest of foes, as Frederick Barbarossa's employment of it against Henry the Lion illustrates. Herimann of Augsburg was not far wrong when he declared the "new peace" a *pacem multis saeculis inauditam*.⁹¹ The chief defect of the law was that its enforcement was so dependent upon the personal presence of the king.⁹²

The Archbishop of Cambrai introduced the Landfrieden into his dominions in 1032; the Bishop of Worms soon followed.⁹³ In 1041 Henry III. confirmed it in Burgundy in spite of his suspicion of the bishops.⁹⁴ But the Peace of God did not acquire a firm foothold in Germany until 1081, when the anarchy of intestine war promoted it. Henry of Liège was one of its earliest exponents. Sigwin of Cologne soon imitated his example in 1083.⁹⁵ But Gerard of Cambrai was violently opposed to the movement.⁹⁶ In 1084 the counter-king Hermann ordained the peace in Saxony.⁹⁷ In the same year the synod of Bamberg took a similar measure.⁹⁸ At the diet of Mainz in 1085 Henry IV. extended the provisions of the Peace of God to the whole kingdom. Warfare was forbidden on four days in each week and certain classes of persons, as clerks, merchants, the peasantry, women, and children, declared inviolable at all times.⁹⁹ Thenceforth peace legislation is the capital element in German legislation.¹⁰⁰

This brings us to a brief consideration of the legislation of the of the Truce of God in France, see C. Pfister, *Études sur le Règne de Robert le Pieux*, ch. IV.; Luchaire, *Manuel des Institutions Françaises*, pp. 231-233, with bibl.

⁹¹ Herimannus Aug., *Chron.*, anno 1043 (SS., V. 274).

⁹² "Nam [rege] recedente justitia terras reliquit, pax abiit", bitterly wrote the unknown author of the *Vita Heinrici IV.* (ed. Wattenbach, in *usum scholarum*, 1876), ch. 1.

⁹³ Nitzsch, II. 36-38.

⁹⁴ Richter and Kohl, *Annalen*, vol. III., pt. 1, pp. 337, 351.

⁹⁵ Aegidius Aureavallensis, *Gesta Episcoporum Leodiensium*, III. 13 (SS., XXV. 89); Ekkehard, *Chron.* (SS., VI. 206); *M. G. H., Const.*, I. 602; Hauck, III. 843; *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII. 134 ff.

⁹⁶ *Gesta Pontificum Cameracensium*, III. 27, 52.

⁹⁷ *Annales Bernenses*, 1084; Hauck, III. 843.

⁹⁸ *M. G. H., Const.*, I. 605.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; Ekkehard, *Chron.* (SS., VI. 205); *Annal. Bern.*, 1085; *Annal. Augustani* (SS., III. 131). Text in Doeberl, *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, vol. III., no. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Schröder, p. 669.

German kings in the Middle Ages. The contrast between their legislative energy and the lassitude of the Capetian kings of France before Philip Augustus and Louis IX. is very striking. While there are only twelve diplomas of Hugh Capet for the nine years of his reign we have 425 for that of Otto III. And if we go back into the earlier history of the Saxon house we find the same display of energy. There are 43 diplomas of Henry I., 434 of Otto the Great, 317 of Otto II. Yet much of the energetic legislation of the Saxons got nowhere, for it was all of a special, particular nature. It lacked co-ordination and the organic quality of real law.

With the accession of the Salian emperors this defect began to be remedied. Conrad II.'s legislation, though not large in volume, is singularly constructive in quality, and Henry III.'s legislation has a unity and directness which is in harmony with the absolutistic purposes of that monarch.

But all the intelligent designs of the Salian house were frustrated when the rebellion of Saxony and the War of Investiture broke out. Then, with the enormous progress of feudalism, sectionalism gained the upper hand, the courts lost their connection with the crown, the German baronage and the princely bishops and abbots established their power, freemen lost their freedom, and serfdom became the general condition of the lower classes. The one redeeming feature in the transformation of German society is the rise of the burgher class. Except for them the triumph of the *Landeshoheit* was nearly complete.

Nothing is more melancholy and more futile than the legislative activity of Frederick Barbarossa. In spite of the "new legalism" introduced by the revived study of the Roman law during his reign, in spite of Frederick I.'s own organizing ability and tremendous energy, the evidence of Frederick's futility is spread over all his works. Otto of Freising, fond as he was of his brilliant nephew, was too honest an historian to gloss the truth.¹⁰¹ By Hohenstaufen times feudalism was in the saddle and the great feudality, lay and clerical, not Frederick, really ruled Germany.

So far as the reign of law is concerned, in Germany the triumph of feudalism prevented the spread of any single, uniform system of law. This is exactly opposite to the tendency in France, where the growth of the crown gradually reduced, and even effaced the law of the provincial dynasts, and the *établissements* and *ordonnances* of the French kings became the law of the realm.

¹⁰¹ Otto of Freising, *Gesta Frid.*, II. 28, and the remarkable evidence in Weiland, *Constitutiones et Acta Publica*, vol. I., no. 198. For the anarchy in north Germany after Henry the Lion's death, see Weiland, vol. II., no. 10.

Not only the ancient Germanic codes, but the Carolingian capitularies also became obsolete in Germany by the tenth century. Few traces of them are manifest in legislation or other sources.¹⁰² When we meet with such terminology as *jus* or *lex Francorum*, *Alamanorum*, *Bajuwariorum*, *Saxonum*, the allusion is not to the old codes, but to a body of local, customary practices.¹⁰³ The German kings, whether of Saxon, Salian, or Swabian birth, always "lived" Frankish law.¹⁰⁴ But the tendency of legal development in medieval Germany was toward heterogeneity and away from homogeneity,¹⁰⁵ exactly opposite to the drift of law in France, where the growth of the monarchy made toward unity. This particularistic tendency in feudal Germany finally obliterated all conception of general law. The more feudalism won, the more the law became local, particularistic, sectional. By the thirteenth century the law of Germany had become the will of petty dynasts commingled with the debris of the past. There was greater drift toward uniformity of law under the Saxon and Salian kings than under the Hohenstaufen. The appeal made to and the use made of the petty feudality by the Swabian rulers during the conflict with the Guelphs cancelled the progress legal development had made under their predecessors, cheapened their own legislation, and consecrated at last the vicious principle of the supremacy of local lordship law.

While Frederick I. and his son Henry VI. wasted the blood and substance of Germany in bootless campaigns in Italy, Germany slipped

¹⁰² The most notable mention of the validity of former capitularies is found in *Const. Francofurtana*, 951 (*M. G. H., Leges*, II. 26). Cf. *Concilium Triburiense*, 895, ch. 1, and see Waitz, V. 149, VI. 407; Schulte, sec. 57.

¹⁰³ The *Lex Salica* apparently was still in force in the ninth century; Hincmar, *De Divortio Lotharii et Teutbergae*, interrog. 5. But Otto of Freising's mention of it in 1158 is extremely hazy; *Chronicon*, IV. 32. Cf. Schulte, sec. 23. Henry II. took an oath "not in any point to corrupt Saxon law"; Thietmar, V. 16-17; Giesebrecht, II. 24, 593. A vestige of the ancient Allemannic code comes out in 1077, when Welf of Bavaria and Berthold of Carinthia were condemned by the papal partisans for espousing the cause of Henry IV.; *Annal. Augustani* (SS., III. 129). Cf. Heyck, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I. 361. Schröder (*Forschungen z. Deutschen Geschichte*, XIX.) has a monograph on the diffusion of the Salian Franks and shows the persistence of Salic law in Hesse. Schultz, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, n. s., I. (1878), has studied Frankish immigration into Thuringia and the spread of the *jus Francorum*. Karl von Amira, *Die Handgebärden in den Bilderhandschriften des Sachsenspiegels*, has examined the illustrations in manuscripts of the Mirror of Saxony, for the attitudes and motions of the principals in a case at trial were of technical importance and are interesting for the light cast upon juridical processes in feudal Germany.

¹⁰⁴ Otto of St. Blasius, ch. 51.

¹⁰⁵ "Secundum legem et ritum gentis . . . secundum judicium et legem patriae", Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch*, nos. 192, 309.

more and more out of their hands into the hands of the feudality. The old bonds of government and society dissolved, and the new ones which were formed were of a wholly different nature. They had neither the genius nor the binding force of those which they supplanted.

The partition of Saxony in 1181 ruined all prospect or possibility of German political and territorial unity, for Saxony was the premier duchy and the very corner-stone of the kingdom. Its ruin, combined with the triumph of the feudality and the breakdown of the ancient German noble class, owing partly to the power of the kings,¹⁰⁶ partly to the rise of the lesser nobility and *ministeriales* to higher place,¹⁰⁷ and partly to the incurable habit of the great families to commit family suicide by permitting so many members of their families to enter the Church,¹⁰⁸ finally ruined Germany.

It is a defect of German historians that they have too exclusively studied the Italian policy of the Hohenstaufen, their attention has been too much fixed upon the conflict with the pope and the Italian cities. Accordingly they have failed to appreciate the enormous significance of the interior changes in Germany, in ideas and especially in institutions. The rising of the nobles in 1193 marked a reaction against the policy of the house of Swabia, and is the more important because it took place when Henry VI.'s eyes were fixed on the conquest of Norman Italy and Sicily, while he believed that he had established order in Saxony and the Rhinelands. With Henry VI. the centre of gravity of the Hohenstaufen house was definitively transferred from Germany to Italy, and Germany more and more drifted into the whirlpool of the Great Interregnum.

The history of Germany from the time of the Hohenstaufen onwards proves that feudalism had no ethnic ingredients, but was the product of social and economic conditions played upon by political

¹⁰⁶ This condition was reached in Saxon times: "Multi . . . nobiles in paupertatem et magnam miseriam devoluti"; *Vita Adalberonis II. Mettensis*, ch. 27, written about the year 1000. Cf. Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1163.

¹⁰⁷ See a striking paragraph in Lamprecht, *op. cit.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1063, and compare p. 1029.

¹⁰⁸ Aloys Schulte, *Der Adel und die Deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 278, has the appended statistical table to illustrate the gradual extinction of the great families of Germany between 900 and 1500. There is a review of this book in *English Hist. Rev.*, XXVI. 164-165.

Men	{ Fürsten	69 per cent. married,	31 per cent. celibate.
	{ Grafen	64 " " "	36 " " "
	{ Freiherren	50 " " "	50 " " "
Women	{ Fürsten	74 per cent. married,	26 per cent. celibate.
	{ Grafen	68 " " "	32 " " "
	{ Freiherren	65 " " "	35 " " "

purposes. Germany in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries (from 1193 to 1273) repeated the history of France of the ninth and tenth centuries. The German kings and the German feudality, dukes, margraves, counts palatine, burgraves were the victims of the same psychological phenomenon that had so weakened and reduced the last Carolingians and first Capetians in France, namely the detachment of the vassal from the overlord, and rear-vassals in their turn from their suzerains. This centrifugal tendency finally was carried so far that Germany territorially and politically, like France earlier, was reduced to a rope of sand, and the kingship became a lean and solemn phantom.

I have deferred unto the close of this article extended treatment of the *ministeriales*, for the reason that this influential class was a unique group in German feudal society, with slight counterpart in either France or England. On the continent outside of Germany proper, the class is only to be found in the provinces bordering upon France, like Flanders and Lorraine.¹⁰⁹

In theory medieval society was supposed to be divided into three classes: clergy, nobility, and the common people.¹¹⁰ "Nunc orant, alii pugnant, alique laborant", ran the proverb.

But as so often happens in history close examination of social evidences has proved that the theory and the fact were far from coinciding. We know that feudal society never was truly tripartite and that the sharp line of division between the classes upon which the legists laid so much emphasis never actually existed. Bishops and abbots were both priests and nobles; they had a dual status. The Knights Templar, the Knights Hospitaller, the Teutonic Knights were

¹⁰⁹ The *colliberti* of French cartularies are the closest French analogue to the German *ministeriales*; Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 1, pp. 820 ff., 1128 ff., 1167 ff., and his *Études sur l'État Économique de la France*, trans. Marignan, p. 214 and notes. But remnants of a rudimentary *ministerialis* condition are to be found in Normandy and Brittany as late as the twelfth century; Guilhiermoz, p. 114 and note 28. Chevaliers-serfs, or knights of servile extraction, were not uncommon in Flanders; Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre* (1846), I. 215-216, 349-350, 365. The most remarkable illustration is in the Hacket family in the time of Charles the Good (d. 1127). See Galbert de Bruges, *De Multro, Traditione, et Occisione gloriosi Karoli Comititis Flandriarum*, ed. Pirenne, espec. ch. 7, and compare van Houtte, *Essai sur la Civilisation Flamande au Commencement du XII^e Siècle* (Louvain, 1898), pp. 42-43; Hansay, *Étude sur la Formation et l'Organisation Économique du Domaine de l'Abbaye de St. Trond* (Ghent, 1899), pp. 62-63.

¹¹⁰ For larger treatment of this social attitude, see Guilhiermoz, pp. 357-358, 370-374, but to the literature there cited add Rather of Verona (Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. CXXXVI., col. 236); *Gesta Episcoporum Camerac.* (SS., VII. 485); Garreau, *L'État Social de la France au Temps des Croisades*, pp. 215-216; Luchaire, *Social France at the time of Philip Augustus* (English trans.), p. 391, quoting John of Salisbury; Mary M. Wood, *The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature* (New York, 1917), ch. 1.

no less chevaliers because they enjoyed benefit of clergy. As the condition of the two privileged orders blurred at the upper edges, so at the lower edge the noble class shaded off into the servile through obscure gradations of *minores*, *minores*, *mediocres*, upon whose status Du Cange and all the rest of the great expounders of medieval institutions have not a word.¹¹¹ Similarly the decline of serfdom and the burgher revolution split the masses into three classes, bourgeois, free villains, and serfs. Neither legally nor historically are the three groups identical.

These variant conditions and these social and economic changes were common to all Europe in the Middle Ages; but the degree of the transformations differed widely in different countries. France remained always socially the most aristocratic country, with England next, thanks largely to the operation of the law of primogeniture. In Lombard and Tuscan Italy the triumph of city states suppressed the political power of the feudality and even the blood of the nobility was largely absorbed by the bourgeoisie. The victory of the Guelph party almost everywhere in northern Italy by the end of the thirteenth century destroyed forever the domination of the nobility. Henceforward it was often true, as Salvemini has written: "Scratch a knight and you find a burgher."¹¹² In medieval Germany, on the other hand, in spite of the great number of the towns there, the burghers never suppressed the baronage. The two classes never fused together as in Italy, but lived side by side in permanent hostility.

A cardinal social fact in the history of medieval Germany is the degradation of the nobility from below by the penetration of men of servile birth and condition upward into the privileged plane. This phenomenon is the rise of the *ministeriales*. There are isolated and rare instances of the same thing in French and English history, but they occur early in the feudal age, never later when feudal society had become more crystallized. But in medieval Germany the elevation of men of servile condition to the rank of a petty nobility took place on so large a scale that the result approximated a social revolution. The formation of the *ministerialis* class is an historical development unique in German history and not found elsewhere.

In its origin and inception the rise of the *ministeriales* is to be found in the economic conditions of the manorial system. Originally the *ministeriales* were a preferred class of serfs employed for service instead of for labor, who were not bound to the glebe except theo-

¹¹¹ Cf. my article in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 500; Hessels, "Medieval Latin", in *Journal of Philology* (London), XXXI. 474, 480, 486-488, 538, 561-568.

¹¹² Salvemini, *La Dignità Cavalleresca nel Comune di Firenze* (1896). Cf. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XII. 552.

retically, but were installed in administrative and military offices of inferior responsibility, and rewarded by stipends derived from manors.¹¹³

Officials of such lowly origin are to be found in Charlemagne's *Hof* and upon the estates of the Carolingian fisc, where they acted as managers or stewards of the property.¹¹⁴ But in a day when lands and public offices both tended to become fiefs it was difficult—and in Germany impossible—to prevent these stations of humble authority from being assimilated to the condition of fiefs. For both lay and ecclesiastical lords often preferred, rather than enfeoff their lands in order to secure vassals, to recruit men-at-arms from among their dependents.¹¹⁵ The *ministeriales* thus became armed domestics. The practice was both cheaper and safer. These preferred servitors, who were usually managers of farm properties, became messengers, stood castle-guard, acted as a body-guard for the lord when he travelled, and on a pinch performed actual military service either afoot or *à cheval*.¹¹⁶ The last duty was so privileged a one that Charlemagne in 789 ruled that a *ministerialis* performing genuine military service was *ipso facto* made free.¹¹⁷ The *ministerialis*, while personally re-

¹¹³ Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 902; Wittich, *Die Grundherrschaft in Nordwestdeutschland*, p. 75; Guérard, *Polyptique de l'Abbé Irminon*, proleg., pp. 801-802, 819-820; Fürth, *Die Ministerialen*, p. 34; Hansay, *op. cit.*, p. 63, note 4. The diversion of servile tenures for support of the *ministeriales* naturally increased the economic burden upon the serfs; von der Goltz, *Geschichte der Deutschen Landwirtschaft*, I. 112. The literature pertaining to the origin of the *ministeriales* is voluminous. The chief matter of debate is whether the class first appeared upon ecclesiastical or secular lands, and whether it was primarily used for domestic or military service. The servile origin of the *ministeriales* is almost universally admitted. But Wittich, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV. 1 (1906) and Ganzenmueller, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, vol. XXV., no. 4 (1906), have recently contended that at least in Saxony the *ministeriales* developed out of free and not servile condition. Schulte, *Der Adel*, app. 1, and Bode, *Der Uradel in Ostfalen*, both argue against this theory, which cannot be more than a thesis. Cf. *Hist. Zeitschrift*, CXIV. I. One of the best and recent discussions of this intricate subject is Keutgen, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, VIII., a series of four articles.

¹¹⁴ *Capit.* 789, c. 4, ed. Krause, I. 88; *Capitulare de Villis*, cc. 10, 50; Waitz, II. 174 and notes; Nitzsch, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I. 237; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, II. 101.

¹¹⁵ They are the "milites agrarii" of Widukind, *Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum*, I. 35, and the "milites gregarii" of Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi II.*, 4, 34. The term first occurs in Alcuin's *Epistola*, 174, ed. Jaffé, VI. 623: "gregarios, id est ignobiles milites". See also Waitz, V. 439 (in his dissertation at end of this volume on the *ministeriales*), and compare II. 42 (note 4), 390 (note 3), IV. 126 (note 2), 488.

¹¹⁶ Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, pp. 713 (note 4), 880, 1313 (note 4); Schulte, *Rechtsgeschichte*, sec. 83, 4; Guilhiermoz, pp. 108-109, 462.

¹¹⁷ *M. G. H.*, *Leges*, ed. Krause, I. 67. This privilege fell into decay after Charlemagne; Guilhiermoz, p. 458.

maining a serf, thus came to enjoy the honors and emoluments of a petty noble. He had the privilege of a liegeman without the social status.

The inchoate beginnings of the *ministerialis* class are discernible in the Merovingian period,¹¹⁸ but the hardening of the occasional practices of that epoch falls within the ninth and tenth centuries. The stages of development are relatively clear and rapid. At first the position and the privilege of this class within a class was an informal one, and varied according to the liberality of the lord. Gradually, however, this position and privilege became fixed and a body of *ministerialis* "rights" was formed, not recognized in written charters, but sanctioned by practice and custom.¹¹⁹ In this evolution the *ministeriales* of the crown first developed as farm managers, bailiffs, or stewards upon the lands of the fisc; they next appear in the same capacity upon the lands of the Church;¹²⁰ and finally we find them in the courts of the great nobles.¹²¹

But the rank of *ministerialis* was not open to serfs of every condition. A distinction obtained, and only those called *dagewardi* or *fiscalini* were eligible to ministerial degree. Omitting the lowest variations of class among the lowly, the upper serfs in medieval Germany may be said to have been divided into two groups, *viz.*: the *fiscalini* (or *fiscalini*) and the *dagewardi* or *dagewehrten*, the former being the higher in social scale; they had a share in the *Wehrgeld* of their kindred, were not compelled to render services except of specified kind, or in certain departments of the lord's household, and could inherit and devise property. It has been inferred from these facts that their ancestors had once been freemen and had become bondmen for the sake of protection. This is Wittich's contention. If true at all, it is truer for north Germany than for the south and truer of northwest Saxony than of the northeast. The *fiscalini*, at least those who dwelt on lands of the bishops, seem to have been divided into two classes—

¹¹⁸ Zallinger, *Ministeriales und Milites*, pp. 3-20.

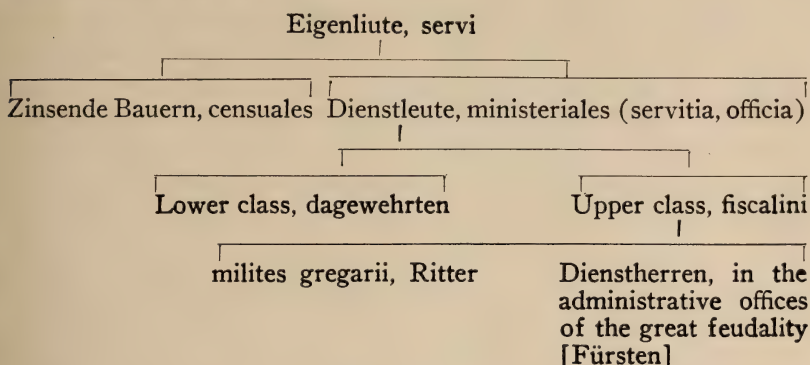
¹¹⁹ Waitz, V. 337-338, 341-342; Schröder, p. 448; *Bamberger Dienstrecht*, in Jaffé, V. 51.

¹²⁰ For the large employment of the *ministeriales* by the Church, see Nitzsch, *Ministerialität und Bürgertum*, I. 371-374, II. 24. The distinction between *ministeriales* engaged in agricultural economy and those employed in the industrial arts first appears on the manors of the Church.

¹²¹ In *Annales Fuldenses*, 880, is an account of an invasion of lower Germany by the Norsemen. In the battle two bishops, twelve counts, and eighteen "satellites regii" (*ministeriales, milites gregarii*) fell. The names are very interesting, for they clearly indicate the base origin of the bearers of them. In *Annales Altahenses Majores*, 1042, Adalbert, margrave of the Ostmark, encountered the Hungarians "cum parvissima manu militum et servitorum, quippe nec triginta habentes scutatorum".

those who lived in the town, who no doubt were artisans and craftsmen, and those living in the country, who were peasant farm laborers.¹²² If a *fiscalinus* married a *dagewarda* or a *dagewardus* married a *fiscalina* their children belonged to the status of the parent who was the lower of the pair. Usually, if not invariably, the *ministeriales* were recruited from the *fiscalinus* class of serfs.

The development of the *ministerialis* class has been graphically illustrated by the appended diagram:¹²³



The formation of the *ministerialis* class may be said to have become completed by the twelfth century, by which time the performance of military service, the supreme dignity of a noble, had become theirs, and the status in fact, though not in law, become an hereditary one.¹²⁴ Certain servile traditions, however, still clung to the position of the *ministerialis* which it was their constant effort to obliterate.¹²⁵

¹²² The classic document illustrating the condition of episcopal *ministeriales* is the law for the "familia" of Burchard of Worms (1023), *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.), I. 640 ff.; Altmann and Bernheim, *Ausgewählte Urkunden*, no. 62, especially secs. 9, 13, 16, 22, 29.

¹²³ From Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, XI. 122; also in Schaffner, *Quellenbuch zur Kulturgeschichte der Deutschen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 130.

¹²⁴ By the twelfth century a *ministerialis* is often qualified as "noble". Waitz, V. 500, *Chron. Ebersheimense*—"Familia ministerialis . . . adeo nobilis et bellicosa". The *Vita Bennonis II., Episcopi Osnabrugensis*, ch. 1 (he died in 1088), illustrates the position to which the *ministerialis* class had risen at the end of the eleventh century. Benno was born of this class, yet he reached the episcopate and became one of Henry IV.'s greatest ministers—"ejus parentes non nobiles quidem sed tamen plebeam conditionem transgressi". He was the first German bishop of *ministerialis* class. Schulte, *Der Adel und die Deutsche Kirche*, p. 72; Schulte, *Schriften für Geschichte und Naturgeschichte der Baar*, V. 142.

¹²⁵ The "rights" of the *ministeriales* were first legally recognized in the ecclesiastical principalities; Steindorff, *Jahrbücher Heinrich III.*, II. 342; Jaffé, V. 51. The earliest effort to formulate them is found in the *Hofrecht* of Burchard of Worms in Henry II.'s reign, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Worms*, I. 40, and in the *Bamberger Dienstrecht* of Bishop Gunther (1057-1064), Gerdes, II. 441. In

Tempted by the advantage of the position many freemen sought to become *ministeriales*, and, of course, to rise to the level of one was the supreme ambition of many a serf, to whom emancipation by economic change was a desperately slow one and too much for his patience, while emancipation by revolt was impossible.¹²⁶

In this wise the armed domestic and petty bureaucrat became constituent elements in the social fabric of feudal Germany. Kings, dukes, bishops, abbots were surrounded by a crowd of *Hofdiener*.¹²⁷ The clergy in particular were partial to the formation of this class. For although the heaviest landowners they were the least willing to enfeoff their lands, a course in which the crown sustained them, since the Saxon and Salian kings drew vastly more upon ecclesiastical sources for men and money than upon lay sources. Instead of sending real vassals to the army the bishops and abbots sent bodies of armed domestics.¹²⁸ Such men were far more tractable than vassals and less dangerous also to intrust with power.¹²⁹ Serfs were meant to obey, and in spite of the parvenu aspirations of the *ministeriales*, the tradition of obedience and servility was still strong among them. When the expedition was over they returned to their former occupations, contented with their "service fiefs", which did not entail homage but were servile tenures of magnified dignity.

In the reign of Henry I. and the Saxon epoch in general, the *ministeriales* seem chiefly to have formed small mounted contingents. The *Sachsenspiegel* "Dienstmann" is glossed with "puer", *M. G. H., Const.*, I. 88. In the letter of the law the rights of a freeman were denied to a *ministerialis*. He could be bought and sold with the land like a serf. Kluckheim, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, LII. 135 ff.; Waitz, V. 358; marriage with a free woman was forbidden; he could be beaten, *M. G. H., Leges* (n. s.), IV. 609. But these disqualifications by the twelfth century, and even before that, were really obsolete for many of the *ministeriales*, and their presence in the codes merely illustrates the conservatism of the law which preserved old, time-worn dicta which had long since become anomalous and out of date.

¹²⁶ Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 67.

¹²⁷ Waitz, V. 323. It is apparent from Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, ch. 4, that by the time of Conrad II. freemen were a negligible quantity around the court, and that the officials were either bishops, nobles, or *ministeriales*.

¹²⁸ The evidence is abundant and some of it very interesting. See *Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium*, IX. 12; *Vita Godehardi*, 31; *Chron. Gosec.*, 1, 2, 27. The sarcasm in Henry IV.'s speech, as related by the author of the *Vita Heinrici*, 8, ed. Eberhard, p. 29, in announcing the unpopular ordinance of 1103 to the discontented nobles is manifest when it is remembered that their following was chiefly made up of armed domestics: "Reddite agris quos ex agro deputastis armis, coequate numerum satellitum ad mensuram facultatum." Cf. Waitz, V. 325, 328.

¹²⁹ For examples of the hazard in using regular knights as body-guard see Thietmar, VIII. 14, and compare Guilhaermoz, p. 253, note 23.

gents.¹³⁰ But the great cost of the Italian expeditions¹³¹ of the medieval emperors and the reluctance of many of the German vassals to do service so far away gradually induced the emperors to make larger and larger use of *ministeriales* instead of vassals. It is evident from Wipo's *Life of Conrad II.* [1024-1039] that feudal service in Italy had much declined by the first quarter of the eleventh century.¹³² Henry V. in 1124 had great difficulty in getting vassals to serve in France "quia Teutonici non facile gentes impugnant exteras".¹³³ A large portion of the army of Conrad III. on the Second Crusade was made up of *ministeriales*.¹³⁴

It was always difficult for the Salian emperors to make Saxons serve in Italy and even Henry II., though a Saxon, had trouble.¹³⁵ Accordingly *ministeriales* were increasingly used for military service. Conrad II.'s legislation in 1028 for the Weissenburger *ministeriales* (if genuine) marks an epoch in the evolution of this class.¹³⁶ Henceforward military *ministeriales* took an oath similar to that of the feudality. One of the grievances of the Saxons against Henry III. was his large use of *ministeriales* for garrison duty in the citadels of the crown in Saxony. Their swaggering ways and their base origin angered the pride of the Saxons.

There was nothing essentially new in the use of "milites gregarii" or armed domestics by the Salian kings. The Ottos had done the same; they merely extended the employment of *ministeriales* for military service. What the kings of the Salian house are remarkable for is the introduction of this class into the civil offices of the crown.

¹³⁰ Widukind, I. 38; Thietmar, IV. 28; Cosmas of Prague, II. 9.

¹³¹ See *Constitutio de Expeditione Romana*, cited by Waitz, V. 373. The War of Investiture greatly multiplied the number of *ministeriales*, for each side made much use of them, rewarding them out of the spoliated lands. Waitz, V. 332; Schröder, p. 448; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 68. From some military statistics for the years between 1096 and 1146 it would appear that vassals formed 71 per cent. of the army. But between 1147 and 1191 this proportion drops to 23 per cent.; and between 1191 and 1250 the figure declines to 3 per cent. The balance of the troops, i.e., 29, 77, and 97 per cent., were composed of *ministeriales*. Kluckhohn, *Die Ministerialität in Süd-Deutschland* (Göttingen, 1909). However, it must be remembered that these figures pertain to South German contingents only.

¹³² *Vita Chuonradi*, ch. 24.

¹³³ Ekkehard of Aura, *Chron.* (SS., VI. 262); Waitz, VIII. 103, note 5.

¹³⁴ Bernhardt, *Konrad III.*, pt. 1, p. 598, notes 18, 19; for high Hohenstaufen times see Otto of St. Blasius, ed. Hofmeister, pp. 26, 27, 68.

¹³⁵ For Henry II.'s difficulty see Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, I. 14.

¹³⁶ There is much division of opinion in regard to this document. Giesebrecht, fourth ed., II. 633, thinks it genuine; Riezler, *Geschichte Bayerns*, I. 441, note 1, wholly rejects it. Waitz, *Forschungen*, XIV. 32, and *D. V. G.*, V. 334; Bresslau, *Konrad II.*, I. 252, note 1, II. 379; Steindorff, *Heinrich III.*, I. 415; Zallinger, *Ministeriales und Milites*, p. 4, and other historians think it genuine, but glossed or corrupted by later additions.

Occasional instances of favorite *ministeriales* near the person of the king may be found in the Saxon period. But Conrad II. was the first German sovereign who created the "royal" *ministeriales*, as a class, and organized them into an executive staff of officials. Werner was his chief *ministerialis* and the earliest secular minister in the history of medieval Germany. In his capacity of supervisor of the fisc he was a kind of chief intendant or comptroller general.¹³⁷

Henry IV. pushed the Salian policy of employing *ministeriales* in the administration of the fisc so far that almost all such officials in his reign seem to have been *ministeriales*,¹³⁸ the chief of whom was Eberhard of Nellenburg. These hated tax-gatherers and counsellors were the persons for whom the hostile chroniclers reserved such opprobrious epithets as "parasiti", "scurrae", "facinorum ipsius [Henry IV.] conscii et fautores", etc., and whom the Fürsten detested as "obscuri et pene nullis majoribus nati".

The arrogance and petty tyranny of this parvenu class made the *ministeriales* detested by the peasantry, and feuds between the *ministeriales* of one lord and those of another were frequent, for they readily took up the causes of their patrons.¹³⁹ Even the Bambergers complained of Henry IV.'s *ministeriales*, although Bamberg was the favorite seat of the Salian emperors.¹⁴⁰ Barefaced seizure or compulsory secularization of ecclesiastical lands to the profit of *ministeriales* in the employ of the Church was common all through Germany during the strife between Henry IV. and the rebel partizans of the pope and the revolted Saxons.¹⁴¹

For during the Saxon rebellion and the War of Investiture the power of the *ministeriales* enormously increased. Both sides recruited their fighting men from among this class of armed servitors and created new members for the express purpose of warfare, insomuch

¹³⁷ Wipo, *Vita Chuonradi*, ch. 4: "Werinharrii militis, quem rex longe ante cautum consiliis, audacem bellis, frequenter secum experiebatur."

¹³⁸ See the dissertation of Reohrig, *De Secularibus Consiliariis Heinrici IV.* (Halle, 1866). Waitz, VI. 292, is very brief. But see Nitzsch, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, n. s., IX. 200.

¹³⁹ The history of the strife of Bishop Salamon of Constance (d. 871) with the Kammerboten Erchanger and Berchtold has been unravelled by Baumann in *Vierteljahrshäfte für Württemb. Geschichte*, 1878. It was almost legendary by the time of Ekkehard of St. Gall (see *Casus S. Galli*, ch. 1) and gave rise to some of the earliest German ballad literature.

¹⁴⁰ Jaffé, V. 395. The famous ordinance of Bishop Embricho in 1128 for the government of the Bamberger *ministeriales* must have been called out by this abuse. Cf. Fürth, pp. 509-510; Gengler, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte Bayerns*, IV. 153-154. Fisher, *Medieval Empire*, I. 80, has translated part of the ordinance.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Martiny's study in *Mittheilungen des Ver. für Geschichte von Osnabrück*, XX. (1895). By the twelfth century we find *ministeriales* assuming titles from landed possession like nobles. Ficker, *Vom Reichsfürstenstand*, I. 77.

that the boldest of the *ministeriales* succeeded in converting their service tenures into real fiefs, and even demanded benefices as the price of their services.¹⁴² "Dienstmann ist nicht Eigen" was their slogan.

Yet it would be an error to assume that military service was the predominant function or activity of the *ministeriales*. It was the most distinguished, but the rarest form of service. Most of them were employed in small administrative capacities upon the crown lands, the manors of the clergy and nobles, as stewards, or bailiffs, and in household offices. Writing in 1135 and describing the monastery community of Zwifalt in Swabia, Ortlieb takes pride in the obedience and humility of the *ministeriales* who belonged to the abbey. "Among our men some owe service of this kind," he writes, "namely, when the lord abbot, prior, provost, or others among the brethren would travel anywhither, these men with their horses do accompany them and minister to them. And in order that this service may be rightfully required of them they are granted certain benefices. They assuredly rejoice to be honored by this distinction because they have the right to have under them men whom we call *clientes* or *ministeriales*. Yet in spite of this, no man of ours has ever become so perverse or so haughty that he presumed to ride with us, in military array, or refused to carry the wallet of any of our monks upon his pack-horse. The founders of our monastery did not intend to give us such men, and we have not consented to receive any one who might prove troublesome to us or to our successors."¹⁴³

Only the most ambitious and the most fortunate of the *ministeriales* succeeded in rising into the *Ritter* class and becoming noble. Such were those who had shown distinguished prowess in war.¹⁴⁴ It was rare in France, if not impossible, for a serf to become a chevalier. But in feudal Germany it was not unusual, even if not common. When this transformation was reached the *ministerialis* acquired the status of a petty noble. He had entered—albeit his foot was on the lowest rung of the ladder—the blue-ribbon membership of the *Heer*—

¹⁴² *Annal. Hild.*, 1103 (SS., VIII. 202); Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 881. For a remarkable instance of the boldness of a *ministerialis* in the time of Frederick I., see *Gesta Frid.*, II. 3. For the misconduct of Conrad III.'s *ministeriales* in Saxony, see SS., XVI. 82, and Bernhardi, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, p. 162. By 1200 we find these parvenu knights as "wandering knights" in Germany; Gislebertus Montensis, *Chronicon Hannoniae*, ed. Pertz, in *usum scholarum*, p. 66, "milites . . . in imperio Theutonicorum gyrovagantes".

¹⁴³ *Ortliebi Zwifaltensis Chronicon* (SS., X. 78).

¹⁴⁴ The first instance of the knighting of *ministeriales* is of those of the Archbishop of Mainz in 1126; Boehmer, *Fontes*, III. 278, 328. The practice first obtained in the Rhinelands; Waitz, V. 397.

schild,¹⁴⁵ assumed a title, was lord of a castle and a manorial proprietor, adopted a heraldic device, and aped the courtly fashions of the age of chivalry. By the time of the Hohenstaufen a considerable proportion of the German noblesse, especially the knights, were composed of former *ministeriales*. But we find counts, dukes, bishops risen from this class.¹⁴⁶ The poets and minnesingers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries all arose from this class, as did many of the heroes of whom they sang. Their technical feudal language, when it is not of French troubadour origin and often used in order to air their "culture", betrays their parvenu ancestry.

To all these forces which have been enumerated, which tended to break down the old German feudal aristocracy, should be added the democratizing (or shall one say the corrupting?) influence of the new monastic orders like the Cistercians and the German Cluniacs or Hirsauer monks, whose brotherhoods were far less aristocratic than the older orders were. In addition to hundreds of lay brothers or "conversi", these two orders developed *ministeriales* to an unprecedented degree.¹⁴⁷

The social practice of feudal Germany in thus elevating domestic serfs to the rank of small nobles gave a banality to the late medieval German aristocracy which one does not find in the English or French

¹⁴⁵ In its original, primary sense the *Heerschild* was the royal host. The king himself, as a noble, was the first degree; Homeyer, I. 286—*Sachsenspiegel*, c. 71, sec. 6. The first clear definition of the *Heerschild* is in *Chron. Lauresh.* [Lorsch], (SS., XXI. 415, 434-435). Ficker's book *Vom Heerschild* is a classic. Cf. Guilmösz, p. 264, note 27.

"The Thuringian family of Reuss, which has maintained its independence to our own day, springs from the imperial *ministeriales* who administered the Voigtland, or district of Weida, Gera, and Plauen. The peculiar interest of its history lies in the fact . . . that it attained its rank not through any noble connexion or in virtue of the office of *Graf*, but solely through reliance upon the position of imperial *Vogt*. The family was 'unfree', and was in part subject to the landgraves of Thuringia. By means of their judicial rights, which, as imperial officers, they retained over the small territory which came to them, the various members of this house gradually founded a claim to be immediate vassals of the empire. Assisted in the thirteenth century by the emperors who were opposed to the house of Wettin, the family of Reuss finally received a golden bull from Lewis of Bavaria in 1329, and were legally established in their princely rank." Rev. of W. Finkenwirth's *Die Entwicklung der Landeshoheit der Vorfahren des Fürstenhauses Reuss, 1122-1329* (*Jenaer Historische Arbeiten*, II., Bonn, 1912), in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVIII. 603.

¹⁴⁶ Roth von Schreckenstein, p. 335; Waitz, V. 385; Köhler, vol. II., pt. 2, p. 63; Gerdes, I. 482-483; Lamprecht, *D. W. L.*, vol. I., pt. 2, p. 1173; Kluckhohn, in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum*, LII. 135 ff. (1910).

¹⁴⁷ See my articles: "Church and State in Medieval Germany," in *Am. Jour. Theol.*, XXII. 515-516; "The Cistercian Order and Colonization in Medieval Germany," *id.*, XXIV. 87-89.

nobility. The German nobility of the thirteenth century lacked the culture, the grace, the urbanity, the pride which one so habitually associates with the aristocracy of England and France. Birth and blood always counted in France and across the channel. But in Germany by the twelfth century these qualifications, while not unimportant, had lost the unique quality they preserved elsewhere. The distinction between real knight and *ministerialis* was a blurred social difference, not a sharp cleavage.¹⁴⁸

By 1134 we find mention of the *ordo equestris major* and the *ordo equestris minor*, the one composed of real nobles, the other formed of *ministeriales*. But by 1152 even this distinction has disappeared and the two orders have fused into one. The law of 1187 shows the hardening of the process; the two groups were welded socially and politically.¹⁴⁹ Even before this development was reached the *ministeriales* of the crown and of the great nobles had forced their way into the diets and courts of the realm,¹⁵⁰ where they sat as proudly as real princes, and in Saxony only does their arrogance seem to have been regarded as effrontery.¹⁵¹

When we reach the reign of Frederick Barbarossa we find that the most ambitious of the *ministeriales* have blossomed into full-fledged nobles,¹⁵² and many of them among the *Ritterschaft*. Externally nothing distinguishes these parvenus from the old aristocracy except their low-born speech and rude manners. They, too, boasted title and assumed escutcheons like the real nobility, and their dynasties were recorded in the medieval *Almanach de Gotha*, the book of the

¹⁴⁸ Thus the *Chronica Regia Coloniensis*, 1122 (ed. Waitz, in *usum scholarum*), p. 60, writing of the year 1122: "orta seditio inter armigeros *de re modica*, uti sepe fit, usque ad *milites armatos* pervenit." The former are genuine knights, the latter *ministeriales* who have become knights. Cf. *id.*, pp. 144, 249.

¹⁴⁹ Waitz, V. 453; Köhler, vol. III., pt. 2, p. 35; Schröder, p. 458; Roth von Schreckenstein, p. 291; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 182; Schauffler, p. 131. Otto of Freising twice uses the term "*ordo militaris*" (*Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister, pp. 74, 175) and once the words "*militares viri*" (p. 88).

¹⁵⁰ *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* [1142], p. 78.

¹⁵¹ *Annals of Pöhlde*, 1146 (SS., XVI. 82). Werner of Bolland possessed seventeen castles in the time of Frederick Barbarossa and had 1100 knights in his service, *Chron. Han.*, ed. cit., p. 145. His *Stammtafel* is given by Schulte, *Der Adel und die Deutsche Kirche*, pp. 312-313. For the high position of *ministeriales* around Frederick I., see *Gesta Frid. Imp.*, II. 3; Arnold of Lübeck, *Chron. Slav.*, II. 17. For those in Germany during Frederick II.'s reign, see Huillard Bréholles, introd., p. clx. In general, see Gudenatz, *Schwäbische und Fränkische Freiherren und Ministerialen am Hofe der Deutschen Könige, 1198-1272* (Bonn, 1909).

¹⁵² By the charter granted by the Archbishop of Cologne to his *ministeriales* in 1154, art. 1 required that they take an oath of fidelity like any noble; art. 12 specifically calls the lands they held "fiefs". Text in Altmann-Bernheim, no. 70.

names of those privileged to be included in the *Heerschild*, at the apex of which stood the king-emperor.¹⁵³

And yet it must not be forgotten that these fortunate climbers who thus attained knighthood and nobility were, of course, proportionately few compared with the vast number of the *ministeriales* in all Germany. The great majority of the class, still in the twelfth century, as before, continued to be found in managerial capacities upon the lands of the fisc, of the Church, and of the nobles.

The evolution and importance of this new class in medieval German society, a blend of serfdom and knighthood, constitutes one of the most striking differences between German feudalism and French or English feudalism. France, by taking a different and more aristocratic road from that of Germany, eliminated the debris of those Carolingian institutions which were the residuary legacy of the Frank empire to both, while Germany retained it. Such indifference to social distinctions, such slight stress put upon ancestry, such lack of class pride as feudal Germany displayed were unthinkable in feudal France in the twelfth century. There the law of primogeniture was a selective process which kept out upstarts and social climbers. Germany did little of the kind, and the result was that the ancient German nobility was undermined by the lower classes, its authority weakened, its prestige debased. The French noble was by ancestry and remained a *gentilhomme*, he was gentle born. The German noble class became filled with parvenus, men of low birth, without family pride, and actuated by grossly materialistic motives and ambitions, without the culture and the idealism of the French noblesse. "As cheap as a German baron" was an adage as far back as the twelfth century. One has only to read the puzzled and critical comments of Suger and Gilbert of Mons to discover this.¹⁵⁴

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

¹⁵³ Ficker, pp. 51 ff.; Schröder, p. 452; Lamprecht, *D. G.*, III. 97; Gebhardt, *Handbuch*, first ed., I. 465.

¹⁵⁴ Suger, *Hist. Ludovici VII.*, ed. Molinier, ch. 2, p. 148; *Chronicon Hanoniense* (SS., XXI. 538); Waitz, VI. 409; Bernhardi, pt. 1, p. 26; Guilhiermoz, pp. 258-259.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY OFFICE IN AMERICA, 1763-1775

IN a memorial to the king in 1774 the first Continental Congress asserted that a "standing army has been kept in these colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes". It is further alleged that "the Authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him, of the brigadier's general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America". The development of the military branch of imperial administration in the British colonies, as suggested by this familiar allusion, and the interference with civil power, to the extent to which it persisted, were made possible by certain lines of development not directly indicated by the American protests of the time.

One of the pivotal questions precipitated by the French and Indian War was that of defending the suddenly enlarged empire. There arose also the collateral problems of territorial organization and management of the Indians and their trade. Coming into possession of Canada and the great interior area, extending from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico and westward to the Mississippi River, with the exception of New Orleans, Great Britain was confronted by the potential hostility of her new French subjects in Canada, of her French and Spanish subjects along the Gulf of Mexico in what had been Spanish Florida and a portion of French Louisiana, and by the active hostility of the great mass of western Indians. Moreover, when France ceded this western territory to Great Britain, she at the same time transferred to Spain her sovereignty over the remainder of Louisiana, thus placing a traditionally hostile power along England's western frontier. Coupled with this general situation, viewed on every hand as critical, was the well-known reluctance of the American assemblies to make adequate provision for the defense of the Alleghany frontier, immediately at their back, or even to co-operate with the British military forces.

It became clear, therefore, that some plan of defense must be inaugurated which would be under central and imperial control. This lesson had already been driven home in the course of the war which had just closed. It was now more patently clear than ever that a

closer integration of the empire was essential. National self-preservation made this inevitable. But as has been so clearly stated by the late George L. Beer, in his *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1763*, this integration could not be arranged speedily enough to stabilize the empire. The inability of the Americans to agree upon any system of colonial defense necessitated the constant employment of troops, under direction of a supreme command, in far distant posts, north, west, and south, and in reserve posts in the older provinces. This, in brief, was the basis of the well-known determination of the Grenville ministry in 1763 to maintain a standing army of ten thousand troops in America and to find a means for their partial support in the colonies.

However unsound and inconsistent the colonial view may have been in numerous respects, the fact is outstanding that the army thus maintained formed the base of a control of wide-reaching importance. When the various points at which the military power impinged upon the civil are viewed as a whole, this branch of the service takes on a significant aspect. Events so shaped themselves in this decade, when government and colonies were disputing, as to make it one of the chief instruments of imperial administration. It is with this aspect of the general problem that the present study is concerned.

The head of the army in America at the conclusion of the war was Sir Jeffrey Amherst, but he was succeeded directly, in the same year, by Major-General Thomas Gage, who had had considerable military experience throughout the late war, and who was commander of the forces in Canada at the time of his elevation to the supreme command. The headquarters of the army was located in the town of New York. The details of the work of the army in maintaining the peace of the empire are not pertinent to the present discussion. That it maintained the peace is a familiar and a significant fact, giving added weight to the power and prestige which this branch of the service earned in other, though related, spheres.

In addition to the obvious technical military command, the power of the military office was practically unlimited in at least two other spheres of action. The first of these was the western Indian reservation, which included all the territory extending from the southern boundary of Quebec, as defined in the royal proclamation of 1763 (and so comprising a large portion of upper Canada), to the northern boundary of West Florida, along the parallel of $32^{\circ} 30'$, and from the crest of the Appalachian system to the Mississippi River. In this immense domain, there were a few French settlements, numerous Indian nations, and a host of traders, British and alien, and on the opposite bank of the Mississippi River lay territory under the sovereignty of Spain, a rival power.

With the well-known reason for this reservation, which temporarily inhibited settlement within its borders,¹ there is no need to concern ourselves at this point, beyond observing that it represented one phase of the plan of imperial defense. But it is a pertinent fact that the king's proclamation establishing the reservation took no account of any need for a civil administration, although there were white settlements within its limits, which had hitherto been accustomed to a civil jurisdiction, nor of the need for some political or judicial regulation for the British traders who were encouraged to enter the territory, and whose disputes with the Indians and among themselves were certain to provoke much litigation. In the course of the ministerial discussion anent the administrative disposition of the newly ceded territories several suggestions were put forth touching the disposal of the Indian country—the great interior area. One of the original plans had been to place this region within the jurisdiction of some of the colonies, preferably Canada, with a view to providing at least so much civil supervision that criminals and fugitives from justice from the old colonies might be retaken.² Another plan, projected by the Earl of Shelburne, contemplated placing the region definitely under the jurisdiction of the commander-in-chief of the army, to the end that protection might be afforded to the Indian and the fur trade.³ This suggestion, too, failed to receive ultimate approval, partly because of certain changes that occurred in the personnel of the Board of Trade while the general problem was still under discussion and before a final determination had been reached. It turned out, however, that in the royal proclamation of 1763, which provided a constitution of government for the provinces of West Florida, East Florida, and Quebec, and which reserved for the use of the Indians the area described in the preceding paragraph, no provision was made for a civil jurisdiction. Indeed a careful scrutiny of all the documentary evidence at present available reveals no evidence that British officialdom was even cognizant that these white settlements, scattered throughout the West, at Detroit, in the Illinois country, and elsewhere, were in existence. It is highly improbable, however, that the settlements were wholly unknown to English officials. Whatever explanation may be offered for this state of affairs,⁴

¹ C. W. Alvord, "The Genesis of the Proclamation of 1763", in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 20 ff.; and *Mississippi Valley in British Politics*, I, 187 ff.

² Egremont to the Lords of Trade, July 14, 1763, *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791* (second ed., Ottawa, 1918), p. 147.

³ Representation of the Lords of Trade to the king, Aug. 5, 1763, *ibid.*, pp.

110-111.

⁴ This phase of the problem is discussed in C. E. Carter, *Great Britain and*

the duty of policing the area and of defending it against both external and internal enemies devolved upon the British army. The failure of the American colonies to face realities by surrendering their former isolation and provincialism and by uniting for protection made imperative the continuance of this service by the regular imperial establishment.

We have therefore the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, residing mainly in New York, directing the work of policing and administering this imperial domain—a task which necessitated a wide study of various conditions that might affect the success of the project. This meant a constant correspondence between his office and such widely scattered posts as Montreal, Quebec, Detroit, Fort de Chartres, Pensacola, and St. Augustine. Some of these posts, it will be noted, are within provinces created out of the French and Spanish cessions of Canada, Louisiana, and Florida for which civil governments had been provided. Nevertheless such provinces were still looked upon as potential seats of sedition and were consequently included within the scope of operations of the army, though the latter did not actually administer them. Many delicate and perplexing problems confronted the military officials. The difficulty of solving them was enhanced by the fact that the office was guided by few precedents and its personnel gifted with too little imagination. Nor did much intelligent guidance come from home officials. The commander-in-chief and his subordinates were therefore necessarily

the Illinois Country, 1763–1774, pp. 13–26. Knox, in *The Justice and Policy of the Late Act of Parliament*, pp. 39–43, after pointing out that the original purpose of the framers of the Proclamation of 1763 had been to govern the West and to control the fur trade by an imperial plan, observed: "This was the reason that so large a part of the ceded territories in America was left without government, and that the new province of Quebec contained so small a portion of ancient Canada." Lord Dartmouth observed in 1773: "There is no longer any Hope of perfecting that plan of Policy in respect to the interior Country, which was in Contemplation when the Proclamation of 1763 was issued; many Circumstances with regard to the Inhabitancy of that Country were then unknown, and there are a Variety of other Considerations that do, at least in my Judgement, induce a doubt both of the Justice and Propriety of restraining the Colony to the narrow Limits prescribed in that Proclamation." *Docs. rel. to Const. Hist. of Canada, 1759–1791* (second ed.), p. 485. In discussing the proposed extension of the limits of Quebec the author of one of the numerous papers relating to the Quebec Bill asserted: "The Kings Servants were induced to confine the Government of Quebec within the above Limits, from an apprehension that there were no Settlements of Canadian Subjects, or lawful possessions beyond those Limits, and from a hope of being able to carry into execution a plan that was then under Consideration for putting the whole of the Interior Country to the Westward of our Colonies under one general control and Regulation by Act of Parliament." *Ibid.*, p. 542.

given wide latitude in the development and execution of policies.⁵ British politics is, it is true, reflected in many decisions of the military office; at times, indeed, shiftiness seems to be the prevailing characteristic. But action must be taken in many instances where distance from home authorities or from the military posts and difficulties of communication would obviously make delay unwise.⁶ In one instance, however, Parliament passed an amendment to the Mutiny Act of 1765 which enabled the military department to seize offenders, other than soldiers, in order to convey them to the next adjoining province for delivery to the civil magistrates.⁷ This was enacted at the instance of General Gage, who had pointed out that there was no power available to enforce law and order in the territory left to the Indians by the proclamation of 1763.⁸

Along with this responsibility for policing the new possessions the military office likewise assumed the burden of Indian management. In the early years of the French and Indian War the imperial government determined to take over the direction of Indian affairs. The immediate first step in this new policy was taken by the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America for purely military purposes. In 1755 General Braddock handed a commission, with instructions, to Major-General William Johnson as superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations and their allies.⁹ This developed into the superintendency of the northern district, and a southern department was created at about the same time. The commissions to the respective superintendents were renewed by the successive commanders-in-chief, thus continuing the departments, with certain additions and subtractions as to powers, until the American Revolution.

⁵ Cabinet minute, Mar. 18, 1768, Public Record Office, C. O. 5: 1088, f. 156; Hillsborough to Gage, July 15, 1769, C. O. 5: 87; Hillsborough to Gage, July 3, 1771, C. O. 5: 89.

⁶ Hillsborough to Gage, Apr. 15, 1768, C. O. 5: 86.

⁷ C. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter, *The Critical Period (Illinois Historical Collections, X.)*, p. 485; Carter, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, p. 19. That the administration of justice in the Indian country was in the hands of Gage is illustrated by many instances. For example, prisoners are ordered to be conveyed to Canada for trial. Johnson to Hillsborough, June 29, 1772, *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. O'Callaghan, VIII. 300.

⁸ Gage to Conway, Mar. 28, 1766, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime (Illinois Historical Collections, XI.)*, p. 198; Governor Moore to Shelburne, Nov. 11, 1766, *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VII. 877; Gage to Johnson, Jan. 25, 1767, Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, p. 499.

⁹ *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, I. 465; *Pennsylvania Archives*, II. 203. This whole issue may be followed in part in *The Correspondence of William Shirley*, ed. Lincoln (New York, 1912), II. 203, 207, 339, 359; *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VI. 1017, VII. 2-14.

It is perhaps not without significance that these superintendencies coincided, in the main, with the northern and southern military districts, each in charge of a brigadier-general immediately under Major-General Gage. Experience gained from the French wars of the eighteenth century undoubtedly contributed materially in determining such a course. Commercial interests were, to be sure, involved. Yet the Indian question was inextricably interwoven with that of defense, and *vice versa*.

The Indian superintendents, though certainly aware of the source of their powers, stoutly opposed the complete subordination of their departments. Sir William Johnson, in particular, lodged a succession of complaints, although he appears to have become reconciled to the relationship by the time General Gage became his superior. But John Stuart, superintendent in the southern district, continued to chafe under the restriction for some time. In 1766, eleven years after the beginning of the system, Lord Shelburne found it necessary to remind him, and the superintendents in general, of their proper position in the following words:

As to what you propose of Instructions to be given to the Government to correspond with the Superintendants, His Majesty thinks it will answer sufficiently that your regular and fixed correspondence be with the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, the System of Indian Affairs are [as] managed by the Superintendants must ultimately be under his Direction. the different Governors can scarcely be supposed to coincide in opinion, nor is it possible for so many to act in Concert. You are therefore to take the Orders of the Commander in Chief on all interesting Occasions, who being settled in the Center of the Colonies will carry on the Correspondence with the Governors on all such Points . . . and as he will be very particularly instructed by Administration, you are to look upon him as a proper Medium of material Intelligence either to or from England or the Colonies.¹⁰

This language, so clear and explicit, admitted of no reservation or exception, and seems definitely to have settled the relationship.

A further evidence of control over this service is seen in the fact that all expenditures, such as those for salaries of deputy agents, commissaries, and other subordinate Indian officials, Indian congresses, and the marking of Indian boundary lines, were passed upon in the office of the general-in-chief.¹¹ The Indian trade, which was confined to the military posts during at least a part of the period, was always under the scrutiny of the army officers.¹²

¹⁰ Dec. 11, 1766; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, p. 453. Similar instructions were despatched to Sir William Johnson, *ibid.*, p. 450.

¹¹ Gage to Barrington, Oct. 11, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 399.

¹² Compare order for regulation of Indian trade issued by the commander-in-chief in 1765, as printed in Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, pp. 400-401,

The machinery of organization thus evolved for the management of Indians was therefore for all practical purposes an adjunct of the army. The areas and functions covered by each being in large measure the same, it was the natural tendency for the two departments to come under the same control. Indeed, the result was that the military arm was given additional powers and responsibilities which materially augmented its prestige. The ramifications of the Indian trade alone extended to all parts of British North America, New England, Virginia, Georgia, Nova Scotia; in fact, all the seaboard provinces were keenly interested in the competition for this lucrative branch of commerce and the operations of their merchants extended to the remotest parts of the new territories. Since this trade now came under the eyes of the commander-in-chief it brought his office into immediate contact with many powerful interests, which, up to this time, had felt only the rather loose control of the provincial governments.

Thus the commanding officer was placed in an important and powerful position. That this was clearly recognized by home officials is evident from a perusal of the correspondence that passed between Gage and the successive secretaries of state in charge of American affairs. In one of his communications to General Gage, Lord Shelburne, after referring to such matters as the status of American commerce and industry, colonial administration, Indian management, and colonial discontent, its causes and remedies, suggested that owing to the supreme importance of those questions, a confidential knowledge of the intentions of the government could be intrusted to no royal official so appropriately as to the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, who by "the nature of his Commission and his Trust holds by equal Ties to all the Provinces and watches equally over the safety of the whole". Shelburne then outlined three heads of inquiry to which Gage was to give his utmost attention and concerning which he was to transmit home from time to time all the information which he could gather, at the same time embodying his own opinions. The establishment of a proper system for the management of Indians and their trade; the disposition of the troops in North America; the reduction of the expenses of royal administration in the colonies, and the raising of a fund to defray these expenses

with instructions issued by Sir William Johnson to the Indian commissioners in 1767, to be found in *id.*, *The New Régime*, pp. 529-531. According to the latter, responsibility for the conduct of trade at the interior posts is transferred to the commissaries as proposed in the "Plan of 1764". The commissaries are to co-operate with post officials, however, and the expense accounts of the former are to be sent in on vouchers furnished by the latter.

were the questions which the commander-in-chief was charged to study.¹³

This significant recognition of the importance of the military office is maintained throughout the entire period, regardless of changes in personnel of the officers of government. Gage's central location in the old colonies, with active lines of communication radiating from New York to each province on the seaboard, to the newly created provinces such as Quebec and the two Floridas, to the remotest parts of the Indian country, to certain of the insular possessions, such as the Bahamas and Jamaica, and even to the Spanish province of Louisiana, enabled him in the course of his official correspondence to compile a vast mass of information on a wide variety of subjects, especially concerning the defense and integrity of the empire. Incidentally he passed opinion, pursuant to the request of government, upon many projects, policies, and events, which were frequently, though not always, made the basis of governmental action.¹⁴

Indian politics, comprising such phases as commerce, alliances, incipient wars, boundaries, relations between the various nations, alien influences among the Indians, relations between British traders and military officials, and between these and the Indians, required an amount of patience, judgment, and imagination which we cannot assume to have been uniformly characteristic of Gage or of his subordinates. Nevertheless he was able to maintain the peace of the empire at critical moments. No doubt this was due in part to fortuitous circumstances; certainly it was due in part to his reliance upon the advice of his subordinates both in the Indian and the military branches of the service. It was equally within the power of his office to have created a situation fraught with unhappy results. We therefore find him recommending alliances with the Indians, and supporting this advice with all the influence of his office.¹⁵ We observe him indorsing the plan adopted in the province of West Florida of encouraging an intertribal war, and recommending a similar policy to be adopted toward the northern Indians.¹⁶ We observe him

¹³ Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, pp. 455-456. The original is in the Lansdowne MSS., LVII.

¹⁴ Hillsborough to Gage, Apr. 15, 1768, C. O. 5: 86; Dec. 4, 1771, C. O. 5: 88; Gage to Hillsborough, Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5: 88.

¹⁵ Gage to Taylor, Dec. 18, 1766, Public Archives of Canada, ser. B. 2-2, p. 137. Taylor was the brigadier-general in charge of the southern department, with headquarters at Pensacola, West Florida.

¹⁶ Gage to Taylor, Aug. 14, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 118; Gage to the Duke of Richmond, Aug. 26, 1766, C. O. 5: 84; Gage to Stuart, Aug. 30, 1766, Shelburne MSS., I.I.; Gage to Haldimand, June 21, 1768, Canadian Archives, B. 18, p. 101; Gage to Hillsborough, Sept. 9, 1769, C. O. 5: 87; same to same, Sept. 3, 1771, C. O. 5: 89.

attempting, unsuccessfully to be sure, to divert the Indian trade wholly into British hands, and seeking a method to eliminate the influence of alien agents among the Indians.¹⁷ We observe his condemnation of the policy of a provincial governor, resulting in the latter's recall.¹⁸

Another phase of the colonial situation, relating particularly to the problem of defense, concerned the delicate relationship subsisting between the British and the Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, notably on the extreme southwestern frontier. This was viewed as a military problem.¹⁹

Moreover, the former subjects of France and Spain who remained in their old homes after the transfer of sovereignty came in contact with the army more frequently than with the civil power. This was wholly true in the unorganized area. Not only were definite decisions that were of undoubted significance made in many instances, but opinions were offered on phases of the general problem upon which the ministry based its policy, at least in part. The military office transmitted, therefore, a succession of opinions on such significant questions as the abandonment of the western posts and the concentration of the troops in the east;²⁰ the best method of maintaining the military posts;²¹ the establishment of colonies in the unorganized western territory;²² the best methods of regulating the Indian trade;²³ land grants;²⁴ the rum trade, etc.

The supreme jurisdiction of the military power was comparatively easy to establish in the new country, especially where no organized civil jurisdiction was operative. The issue became more complex,

He also instructs his subordinates in West Florida to act as mediators in the intertribal war; Gage to Shelburne, Dec. 23, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

¹⁷ One or two citations from many of similar import. Gage to Hillsborough, June 16, 1768, C. O. 5:86; Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5:87.

¹⁸ Gage to Taylor, Dec. 18, 1766, Canadian Archives, B. 2-2, p. 137; Shelburne to Stuart, Sept. 13, 1766, Lansdowne MSS., LIII.

¹⁹ Gage to Taylor, June 10, 1766, Canadian Archives, B. 2-2, p. 104; Gage to Shelburne, Feb. 18, 1767, Shelburne MSS., II, f. 94; same to same, Apr. 7, 1767, C. O. 323:25; June 13, 1767, Shelburne MSS., LI; Hillsborough to Gage, Aug. 21, 1767, C. O. 5:85; Gage to Haldimand, Dec. 18, 1767, Canadian Archives, B. 3, p. 172; Hillsborough to Gage, Oct. 12, 1768, C. O. 5:86.

²⁰ Gage to Hillsborough, May 27, 1767, C. O. 5:85; June 16, 1768, Aug. 18, 1768, C. O. 5:86; Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5:88.

²¹ Gage to Hillsborough, Mar. 12, 1768, C. O. 5:86.

²² The best illustrations of Gage's interest and views are found in his letter to Hillsborough, under date of Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5:88.

²³ In many letters, too numerous for detailed citation herewith, Gage discusses the problem of the Indian trade from many points of view.

²⁴ Gage to Hillsborough, Feb. 11, 1764, C. O. 5:83; Jan. 5, 1769, C. O. 5:87.

however, when civil and military officials were on comparatively equal footing, at least in theory, as in such newly established governments as Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida, and, although of somewhat earlier date, Nova Scotia. In these areas there was continuous friction, with frequent appeals to the secretaries of state for decisions,²⁵ but withal there appears to have been a constant accretion of power to the military branch. Gage's usual instructions to his subordinates were to use common sense, and to refuse to dispute over trifles.²⁶ But this sentiment was generally offset by an insistence that they permit no encroachment upon the department's rights, which was interpreted to mean that wherever the military arm participated it should be supreme. His subordinates were instructed to obey his order to the letter under all circumstances, regardless of any orders emanating from other sources.²⁷ Space does not suffice to detail the many instances of clashes between the two jurisdictions.²⁸ Naturally the problems of Indian management, of provincial defense, and of relations to inhabitants of alien blood gave added significance and prestige to army officials, since it was the latter's function to deal with such issues. In the province of Quebec, moreover, we observe a union of the offices of civil governor and military commander.²⁹ For a time a similar arrangement was made in Nova Scotia.³⁰ It appears evident, therefore, that the connection between Pensacola, St. Augustine, and Halifax was much closer to general headquarters in New York than to the Colonial Office in London.

In the older provinces we find less self-assertion on the part of army officials. The parochially minded people of such colonies as New York or Massachusetts had a great body of tradition to rely upon; they were too sensitive as to their rights to admit of the least

²⁵ *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I. 172 ff., 288 ff.

²⁶ Gage to Haldimand, Mar. 28, 1766, War Office 1:7; Feb. 20, 1773, *Canadian Archives*, B. 5, p. 121.

²⁷ Gage to Taylor, Aug. 14, 1766, *Canadian Archives*, B. 2-2, p. 118; Sept. 29, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 131; Gage to Shelburne, Nov. 11, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

²⁸ Documents illustrating many details of this controversy in West Florida may be found in the *Miss. Provincial Archives*, I. 172 ff., 288 ff., and 338 ff.; for the province of Quebec, see *ibid.*, I. 451; *The Maseres Letters, 1766-1768* (ed. W. Stewart Wallace), pp. 78 ff. See also Gage to Halifax, Feb. 23, 1765, C. O. 5:83; A. L. Burt, "The Mystery of Walker's Ear", in the *Canadian Historical Review*, III. 233-255. In East Florida Governor Grant sought to maintain a "Personal Command" over all departments—the fort, the artillery, ordnance, etc., "except the private regimental detail". This was resented and resisted by the military officials. Taylor to Haldimand, Feb. 13, 1768, and Taylor to Gage, Feb. 14, 1768, *Canadian Archives*, B. 11, pp. 365, 368.

²⁹ Gage to Richmond, Aug. 27, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

³⁰ Same to same, Oct. 8, 1766, C. O. 5:84.

encroachment without protesting loudly and in general effectively. In the areas just considered population was very meagre and we could not expect even a mild protest against the domination of the military except from the royal civil officials. In these older provinces, however, we have a wholly different set of conditions. Certain issues arose which gave occasion for numerous tests of strength. For example, certain new laws must be enforced, such as the provisions of the Mutiny Act and the Quartering Acts, which concerned both branches of the administration.³¹ The Mutiny Act, modified in some particulars, had been extended to America in 1765, largely because of representations from the commander-in-chief. In that year he communicated to the Earl of Halifax, secretary for the southern department, the following statement:

It becomes Necessary for me, to acquaint your Lordship, that the Difficultys in Carrying on the Service in North America, increase very fast. It is declared generally, that the Mutiny Act does not extend to America, but in such Clauses only where it is particularly Specified to extend to the Plantations, or to His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas. Soldiers are seduced from the King's Service, Deserters protected and Secured, Arms, Cloaths, etc purchased, Quarters and Carriages refused, without incurring any Penalty. Officers have been prosecuted and fined for Seizing Deserters, Seduced from their Regiments, and indented as private Servants; sent to Jail for being in the Quarters which had been allotted for them, and prosecuted for getting Carriages on their March. The Report of Such Examples tho' not as yet frequent, spread abroad, and the People in general begin to be Sensible, that they are not obliged to do, what they submitted to, in Times of Danger. It will soon be difficult in the present Situation, to keep Soldiers in the Service; or possible to March and quarter them where the Service shall require . . . without Numberless Prosecutions, or perhaps worse Consequences.³²

It appears that in the enforcement of the mutiny and other acts the chief sufferer in prestige was the royal executive, who stood midway between the encroaching military power and the recalcitrant assemblies. He was between two fires: if he yielded to the assembly he was held responsible by the commander-in-chief, and if he yielded to the latter to the extent of actively co-operating in the enforcement of the law, he lost his prestige as governor. There arose, also, certain disputes between governor and commander-in-chief in reference to

³¹ For the purpose of removing some of the difficulties incurred in enforcing those clauses of the Mutiny Act relating to the quartering of troops, Gage recommended certain changes in the law in a letter to Shelburne, Apr. 3, 1767; Alvord and Carter, *The New Régime*, pp. 548-549.

³² Jan. 23, 1765; Alvord and Carter, *The Critical Period*, pp. 422-423. Gage informs the secretary that a paper is being enclosed which submitted definite proposals for amendments to the Mutiny Act calculated to make it suit the peculiar circumstances of America.

questions of precedence on occasions of general councils of governors and other assemblages of varied character, social and other. The commander-in-chief persistently claimed precedence and refused to participate in any councils or social gatherings unless accorded the first position.³³ Moreover, whenever disputes arose between Indian superintendents and governors in the matter of their respective powers, as frequently happened, he threw the support of his office to the former.³⁴

In this eastern area general army headquarters likewise became a great clearing-house for information on all manner of questions.³⁵ Especially was this true with reference to the Stamp Act disturbances and the disputes growing out of the subsequent levying of other revenue duties.³⁶ Gage's correspondence constitutes an epitome of the whole contest, of course always from the official point of view. Located in the centre of the area of disturbance, he was in a strategic position to observe events and to gather information. As already suggested by the communications from Shelburne, he was especially deputed to study the problems of retrenchment in North America and the best method of raising an American fund to defray American expenses. To these questions he gave most diligent attention. His opinions were based upon a wide correspondence with his military subordinates in different parts of America, notably in the various centres of disturbance in the Indian country and of civil disorder in the old colonies; with the Indian superintendents and often with their subordinates; with the Secretary of State for the Colonies; with the Secretary at War; with the leading merchants and public men of the colonies—all on a multiplicity of questions. As has already been pointed out, his correspondence related to such matters as Indian politics, in its various aspects, commercial and political; forts and posts; boundary disputes; technical military questions; imperial policies relative to the founding of new colonies in the West; taxation; character of the colonial governments; disputes between military and civil departments; relations with France and Spain; and the treatment of alien subjects.

Thus in two distinct spheres, the Indian reservation and the management of Indians, the military office was supreme; in a third, the newly created provinces, it seriously and often successfully disputed

³³ *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VIII. 16, 17, 73, 97-99.

³⁴ The foregoing statement is based upon a perusal of many communications emanating from Gage's office.

³⁵ For example, Hillsborough to Gage, June 12, 1770, and Nov. 10, 1770, C. O. 5: 88.

³⁶ Hillsborough to Gage, Oct. 12, 1768, C. O. 5: 86.

power with the civil magistrates; in a fourth, the old colonial area, it was provoking embarrassment on the part of civil officials and active resentment on the part of the people; and finally, in the whole of British North America, it was the clearing-house for information and a source for opinions, based upon observation and correspondence, as to the proper policies to be formulated and enforced. It was a central agency which persisted for a longer period than any that had yet appeared. And it persisted to a considerable degree without definite authorization, though royal direction and parliamentary enactment at times gave impetus to the growth of its power.

In the Declaration of Independence there is a passage which declares that the king "has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power". Evidently this charge in the indictment against George III. implies more than a reference to affairs in the years from 1774 to 1776. From its location in the document the charge evidently belongs with that group which characterized the conduct of government in the years antecedent to the passage of the coercive acts of 1774. In its memorial to the king in 1774 the first Continental Congress, as has already been suggested, placed foremost among the grievances of the American people the presence of a standing army and the assertion of authority by a commander-in-chief. "The Authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him, of the brigadier's general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America." Doubtless these sentiments of Congress were expressive of the views of a goodly group by 1774. Prior to that date it is not unusual to find private utterances of similar import on the part of American observers. Franklin was suggesting in 1770 that the keeping of a standing army in the colonies without the consent of the assemblies "is not agreeable to the Constitution".³⁷ In 1768 Governor Pitkin of Connecticut feared the unhappy tendencies that might result from a continuance of such a policy.³⁸ Yet there is little evidence to indicate that the general situation, as outlined in this paper, was wholly understood by many prior to 1774. The irritating aspects always associated with the presence of an army were certainly not forgotten. But the general significance of the army's presence was not fully perceived until time had lent it perspective. However that may be, the men responsible for the expressions found in the declarations of the two congresses had seen those unmistakable tendencies to which attention has been directed in the present study.

³⁷ Franklin to Cooper, June 8, 1770, *Writings* (ed. Smyth), V. 259.

³⁸ Pitkin to Jackson, June 10, 1768, Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, fifth ser., IX. 288.

To be sure, there is indisputable evidence that British officials had no thought of establishing a jurisdiction in America that would be superior to the civil power³⁹—the actual intention being to retain the army simply for purposes of defense. Nevertheless, a mechanism was in the process of development which undoubtedly facilitated the assumption of such power in the later crisis, a concurrent power which loomed larger as the years passed and as revolutionary disorders increased.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

³⁹ Hillsborough to Governor Moore, May 14, 1768, *Docs. rel. to Col. Hist. N. Y.*, VIII. 73; Hillsborough to Gage, Jan. 11, 1772, Canadian Archives. B. 5, p. 57.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

CHARLES V.'S LAST PAPER OF ADVICE TO HIS SON

ONE of the most useful sources for the reign of the Emperor Charles V. is the various "Poderes y Instrucciones" which he left for those who represented him in Spain during his many absences. The most famous are those addressed to his son Philip from Madrid on November 5, 1539; from Palamos on May 4 and 6, 1543; and from Augsburg on January 18, 1548: they have been published many times (most recently by the late F. de Laiglesia¹ in *Estudios Históricos* (Madrid, 1918-1919), I. 31-39, 69-92. There is also another instruction to Philip, dated at Brussels on October 25, 1555, which has been printed by Dr. Bruno Stübel in the *Archiv für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, XCIII. 183-248.² There are, moreover, in the "Patronato Real" in the Archives of Simancas, a number of other "Poderes y Instrucciones" from the Emperor to different persons, at various periods of his reign. Among these are a whole series addressed to his Portuguese queen, Isabella, in the years 1528-1529, 1535, and 1538; another lot to his daughter, Maria, and her husband, his nephew, the Archduke Maximilian, who represented him in Spain in 1548; another to his younger daughter, Juana, in 1554; and a number of special directions to ministers and councils scattered through the years 1520-1555.³ And there is, finally, in the Real Academia de Historia (Varios de Historia, Sign. Est. 27, gr. 5^a, E. no. 134, tomo I, f. 12) the short paper of general advice to Philip which is printed below.⁴

The endorsement shows that the copy in question was made after the death of Philip in 1598, and the handwriting looks like that of the late seventeenth century. The date of the original is almost cer-

¹ Laiglesia also published (*Estudios Históricos*, I. 41-68) a series of instructions from the Emperor to the different government departments, dated May 1, 1543, at Barcelona.

² Cf. on all this, Willibald Richter, *Die Politischen Testamente Kaiser Karls V. und ihre Stellung in der Politischen Anschauung seiner Zeit*, Doktor Dissertation der Universität Leipzig (Halle a. S., Kämmerer, 1911).

³ This information was furnished me by the great kindness of Señor Enrique Pacheco y de Leyva, the well-known author of *La Política Española en Italia* (Madrid, 1919) and other works. He has made copies of all these documents and expects to publish them.

⁴ I copied this document in 1911, and compared my copy with the original last October.

tainly 1556, when the Emperor abdicated and went back to Spain; the fact that Philip is referred to in the title and endorsement as "rey" instead of "principe" points directly to this conclusion. On the other hand, it is fair to say that the title "king" was sometimes loosely used to indicate a prince regent who afterwards succeeded; and there is just a bare chance that the paper belongs to the year 1551, when Philip returned from his visit to the Empire and the Netherlands; for it would seem somewhat more likely from the context that the "dió su buelta" in the heading refers to the son than to the father. The balance of the probabilities, however, indicates the date 1556, and the tone of the document is that of a man who had recently laid down his sceptre and was going into retirement.

The document is chiefly interesting as evidence of the Hispanicization, during his later years, of Charles's originally dynastic point of view. Much of it may be doubtless regarded as counsels of perfection, such as would naturally be given by a man who has done with the world and is about to seek rest and peace in the seclusion of a monastery. But there is also much that shows how deeply the Emperor had taken to heart the lessons that he had learned in his capacity as king of Spain. The solicitude for the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Moors reveals a truly Spanish zeal for unity of the faith; thirty-nine years before, the gawky Flemish alien had shown almost no interest in such matters. The paragraphs dealing with the king's servants and advisers indicate a truly Spanish dread of the preponderance of a "valido"; clearly Charles envisaged a system of checks and balances, which would keep the different ministers on approximately the same level. Shortage of funds had been his bugbear all his life (*"Nervus belli est pecunia, which he will not have without Spain"*, as Sir Thomas Spinnely expressed it in 1520);⁵ by cutting off the Empire and the Austrian lands, Charles hoped that his son's treasury might some day be replenished. But the injunction "to keep peace with France as far as possible, but never to lose the friendship of England" is perhaps the most interesting and significant of all. During the first part of his reign, Charles had fought France in a war whose causes were only partially Spanish. In 1529 he had made a "peace without victory" and satisfied the oft-repeated demands of his Spanish subjects that the struggle be brought to a close. Moreover, he had striven earnestly to preserve that peace ever since; that he had failed to do so was the fault of his rival. He had begun his war with France in alliance with Henry VIII., but he had lost that alliance in 1526, and until he regained it in 1543, the attitude of

⁵ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.*, vol. III., app. 13.

England had caused him ceaseless anxiety. A period of latent hostility had followed under Edward VI.; then, in 1554, the two countries had come together again, through the marriage of Queen Mary to Charles's son, Philip. If, as seems almost certain, this paper was written in 1556, Philip must have almost given up hope of issue by his English queen; Charles doubtless foresaw the succession of the Protestant Elizabeth, and may possibly have had some inkling of how disastrous it might prove for Spain. He was at least firmly convinced of the wisdom of his "consejeros" and "procuradores", who had so often begged him "to keep peace with Christian Kings".

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Puntos que Enbió el emperador don Carlos de gloriossa memoria al Rey Don Phelipe su hijo quando dió su buelta a Spaña. De la manera que mejor se havia de gobernar.

Amad a Dios sobre todas las cossas y servilde devotamente: hazed Justicia ygualmente a todos.

Tened cuydado que la Inquisicion sea bien exercitada y que so color della no se haga agravio a nadie.

Guardad paz con Francia todo lo que pudieres, pero no perdays jamas la amistad de Inglaterra.

Meted tal orden en vuestra casa y hazienda que tengais cada año algun tesoro para alguna necesidad que os podria venir.

Terneys cuydado que vuestros soldados esten siempre bien en orden pagandoles bien: y no sufrays desordenes dellos.

No deys oficio ni beneficio en Encomienda ni merced a los que los piden, sino daldes vos mismo a quien las merezen.

Y para hazer esto sera necessario tener un Registro a donde esten escriptos los nombres de vuestros buenos criados y servidores de vuestros reynos tan eclesiasticos como seglares, principalmente de los que os podriades mejor servir, ofresciendose ocassion dello para proveerlos en su ausencia y sin que lo sepan, a uno de un beneficio, a otro de un oficio o Gobierno o encomienda, merced o pension o de otra cossa, cada uno segun su qualidad y meritos.

Que en vuestros conssejos metays los mas savios y de mejor vida y buena conciencia que pudieredes hallar, no parciales ni criados y que dependan de algunos grandes.

Semejantemente no deys ningun oficio ni regimiento ni corregimiento a pedimiento de algun grande, ni a sus criados y servidores, sino que los deys a gente onrada y buena que dependan solamente de vos.

Hechad los moros de vuestros Reynos.

Remunerad a vuestros buenos servidores y castigad los malos y sereys bien servido.

[Endorsed:] Documentos breves del Emperador de gloriosa memoria don Carlos. Al Rey don Philipe que esta en gloria.

SOME PROBLEMS OF THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN¹

THE approach of the year 1856 found the Republican party by no means well established. Its rival in opposition to the Democrats was the American party which, as the election returns for 1855 proved, greatly outnumbered the Republicans. Schism along sectional lines was proving disastrous to the Americans and the newly formed Republican National Committee, headed by Edwin D. Morgan of New York, was not slow to take advantage of this split, if indeed they did not themselves help to bring it about. Negotiations between the committee and the northern wing or "North Americans" resulted in the endorsement of Fremont by the latter group, although they persisted in nominating a vice-presidential candidate, William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania,² on the understanding, so they later claimed, that the Republican nominee, Dayton, would be withdrawn in Johnston's favor. The first problem, therefore, before the reorganized Republican National Committee, with Morgan still chairman, was the adjustment of the vice-presidential question in order to effect a firm coalition between Republicans and North Americans.

Immediate action was necessary. The customary ratification meetings were raising a serious issue in certain Northern states. Should they be Fremont and Dayton or Fremont and Johnston meetings? The Republicans could afford to lose no states; in Connecticut and Massachusetts the Americans had a formidable strength which, if lost, might easily mean Democratic victory; on the other hand, too close affiliation with the American party might turn off the German vote upon which, especially in Pennsylvania, the Republicans counted. In Connecticut, in fact, there seemed to be a tendency for Republicans to support the Fremont-Johnston ticket. Welles wrote to Morgan, June 26, asking him to do something to get Johnston out of the way. He advised that Thurlow Weed and Truman Smith, prominent Whigs of former days when Johnston was of that group, endeavor to persuade him to withdraw.

Morgan took two steps. He apprised Dayton's friends of the quandary, thinking that possibly Dayton might withdraw. And on the other hand he encouraged the Americans of Massachusetts to endorse Dayton at their state council on July 1, sending Allen of

¹ The material for these notes is taken largely from the Welles correspondence in the Library of Congress. As most of the data are taken from letters from Morgan to Welles, citation from that series will simply bear the date.

² McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VIII. 230-249; H. R. Mueller, *Whig Party in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1922), pp. 226-228; New York *Herald*, June 11-21, 1856.

Massachusetts there to represent him. Then came a surprise. On June 30, there arrived at Republican headquarters, Trinity Building, New York City, a letter signed by Francis H. Ruggles of New York and Lucius G. Peck of Connecticut. These gentlemen, chairman and secretary of the North American National Committee, declared that Fremont had been nominated "upon the assurances given by numerous and prominent leaders of the Republicans, that in that event Mr. Dayton . . . would be induced to withdraw in favor of the American Candidate for the Vice Presidency". Therefore they demanded that Morgan write a letter immediately, to be used in the Massachusetts council meeting the next day, promising Dayton's withdrawal. Morgan saw fit to ignore the communication.³

Neither of these steps brought results. Dayton refused to withdraw and in Massachusetts, after a split caused by nearly half of the council seceding to support Fillmore, the remainder endorsed Fremont and Johnston. Morgan then began to feel it to be rather impolitic to exhibit to the Americans any anxiety; he was inclined to let matters take their own way, hoping that Johnston's support would dwindle away.⁴ But Connecticut was still making trouble. The council of the Americans, held July 10, showed an antipathy for Dayton; but the party leaders, after negotiations initiated by the Republicans, agreed to simultaneous conventions. These meetings were to be held August 6, for the purpose of forming a coalition electoral ticket in Connecticut. Contrary to some expectations a ticket was there agreed upon and Fremont was endorsed; no action was taken on a vice-presidential endorsement. Dayton's friends suspected that he had been sacrificed for Johnston.⁵

The next move was another letter which Morgan received on August 4, from the North American committee, proposing the joint withdrawal of Dayton and Johnston and a new convention to choose a new candidate. This Morgan answered by a personal call at the North American headquarters, where he threatened to call together the Republican National Committee and answer their letter, saying "that the answer was *very likely to do harm*—nevertheless as they *pressed it*, we [the National Committee] would not be so discourteous as not to reply". This refusal to concede anything rather nonplussed Peck, Ruggles, and their associates and they speedily asked Morgan

³ June 28, July 9.

⁴ July 9; *Boston Herald*, July 2.

⁵ J. D. Baldwin to Welles, Boston, July 11, 1856; *Columbian Register* (New Haven, Conn.), Aug. 16, 1856; New London (Conn.) *Weekly Democrat*, Aug. 9, 1856.

to take no notice of their letter, protesting that it should never have been sent and that they wanted no answer.⁶

In spite of his bold front to the Americans, Morgan on August 8 wrote to Dayton once more in regard to his withdrawal. To this Dayton replied: "How it is possible that a body of *thinking* men could suppose that I would *take the responsibility* of withdrawing after a nomination by a Convention *knowing all the facts*, I am at a loss to conceive. A sense of self respect, the weight of responsibility involved in such an act, as well as ordinary good faith towards the Republican Convention would forbid it." He countered by describing overtures that had been made to him. Stockton was urging that he go on the ticket with Fillmore, alleging that the Connecticut Republicans were supporting Fremont and Johnston; a proposal which he had refused.⁷

Little is revealed of the rest of the story. A meeting of the National Committee was held August 20. On September 1, Morgan was able to report that Johnston had written a letter withdrawing. Morgan explained this action: "I think it proper to say that Johnson [*sic*] had an interview with Col. Fremont and all is satisfactory, though I know no promise was made to him, the Colonel [Fremont] said in case of his Election he should give all his friends who participated in it fair play."⁸

While the Republican leaders were eliminating Johnston they were becoming concerned over finance. Little preparation seems to have been made for the raising of funds, as no regular treasurer had been appointed. Indeed it was not until late in August that serious steps began to be taken to raise any money and then John T. Howard of 34 Broadway, New York City, took charge of collected funds.⁹ It was the imperative need of carrying Pennsylvania which made the question of funds important.

Extraordinary efforts were needed. Charles Gibbons, the state chairman, required outside assistance in obtaining press support. He had secured the Philadelphia *Times*, but more papers were needed. Strange to say, Lieutenant-Governor Thomas H. Ford of Ohio, recently a very prominent American and participant in the North American Convention of June, was intrusted with the task of going to Pennsylvania to buy up some newspapers; he was given *carte blanche* to draw on the committee for \$5,000.¹⁰ This draft having been

⁶ Aug. 8.

⁷ Aug. 12; Dayton to Morgan, Aug. 15.

⁸ Sept. 1; Mueller, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

⁹ Chace to Welles, Sept. 24.

¹⁰ July 21, Aug. 27, Oct. 8; Welles to James T. Hale, Sept. 4.

authorized, cash was necessary to meet it; as Welles naïvely said: "Funds are very essential . . . for money will command some kinds of assistance that cannot be otherwise secured. There is no stimulant like it." Efforts toward raising revenue had been slack—not until the middle of September did earnest work begin. Weed went to Philadelphia to meet Cameron. Banks came to New York. Here he addressed a large gathering of business men from the Merchants Exchange, appealing to them to support the Republican party. In a week \$2,000 came from Boston, with a promise of \$5,000 more. Then on the night of September 29, about forty Republicans went out through New York City, and came back with pledges for \$8,000. By October 8, the assets of the National Committee were approximately \$15,000. After much of this had been spent, Ford returned with a list of about fifteen newspapers which he had procured at an expense of \$8,000 which later grew to \$10,000. Morgan felt that this was a little high, but set out, albeit rather reluctantly, to raise the balance.¹¹

Then came the blow of October 14; in spite of these efforts the Pennsylvania state election was carried by the Democrats. Discouraging as this seemed to many, it did not bring the efforts of the campaign managers to an end.¹² Attempts were again made with little success to form combination electoral tickets composed of representatives of the Republican, North American, and Fillmore parties.

The final spurt was in the direction of raising money, and collectors were sent out. One of them carried a letter of introduction from Morgan which expressed the committee's continued earnestness: "We intend to make a most decided effort to secure the vote of the State of Penna. . . . for which a large sum will be required. . . ." The secretary of the committee, Chace, felt that the Keystone state could be carried with \$50,000 and a good organization.¹³ The last-minute efforts are best described by Morgan:

We have been and are now exerting ourselves to raise money for Pa. I authorized a draft on me yesterday for \$5,000 and for \$25,000 in event of Fremont's election. At Boston the true men meet at 3 o'clock today for the same purpose, at Phila. Mr. Lindley Smith, a merchant, is at the same thing, meantime the rabid Fillmores are pushing *their own* ticket in desperation, or to elect Buchanan. . . .

I am confident that but for Americanism, victory would be certain. *Our union ticket has been adopted at Harrisburg.* Not a Union ticket of the two parties for the *South Americans run their own.* But a ticket made

¹¹ Sept. 11, 19, 30, Oct. 8; Welles to Morgan, Sept. 13; Chace to Welles, Oct. 11.

¹² McMaster, VIII. 275, gives the opposite impression.

¹³ Oct. 20; Chace to Welles, Oct. 21.

by the State Executive Fremont Committee of Penna., and it ought to be satisfactory to Germans and to everybody honestly desiring the defeat of Buchanan.¹⁴

Mr. Chace is in Phila. and so is Mr. Truman Smith, with Cameron and other leading men of our party from various parts of that State. They are disposing of the funds as the combined wisdom may deem most judicious. They also have a contingent fund, only to be paid upon Fremont's election by the Electoral College, to be chosen on the 4th Novr. \$25,000 has been used in this way and \$25,000 more with the same condition will be put in a shape for use in Phila. and in other counties. They also have all the ready money we can raise, and are using it. In New Jersey there will be a union tomorrow (already agreed upon by the Fillmore and Fremont state committees) not to be public till their leading men confirm it. Stockton has been here and is in it.¹⁵

Here the correspondence relating to this campaign ends. These letters provide valuable material for a study in practical politics, but they leave room for many conjectures which more evidence alone can answer. What agency did Republican leaders have in the American schism? What is the history of the Republican-American negotiations at Philadelphia in June, 1856? Were promises of Dayton's withdrawal made? Why did prominent Americans like Ford immediately receive responsible places in the campaign organization? What attempts were made at coalition in the various states? These are some of the questions raised. Their answers would demonstrate that the first Republican managers were deeply concerned over problems other than slavery and "bleeding Kansas".

ROY FRANKLIN NICHOLS.

¹⁴ Oct. 22.

¹⁵ Oct. 27; the New Jersey scheme seems to have fallen through.

DOCUMENTS

Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, [1754] 1769-1796, I.

IN 1826 General John Mason, of Virginia, son of George Mason of Gunston Hall, possessed a large bundle of papers relating to the opening of navigation up the Potomac River, which had been entrusted to him by General Washington, a year or two before the latter's death. Mason lent nine of these papers, in that year, 1826, to Andrew Stewart, member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. Stewart made excellent use of these in his report of 1826 on the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and, fortunately, printed nearly all of the nine in the appendix to that report. Writing in 1853 to John Pickell, he says that he returned "the original manuscript" (manuscripts) to General Mason.¹ The documents which are here printed seem to come from the same Mason collection. The history of these letters and papers, folded neatly and endorsed by Washington, from 1826 until they were discovered in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society in 1922, will probably never be known, though certain vague references point to 1870 as the date of their acquisition by that institution. They form a unit, all dealing with the navigation of the Potomac and James rivers, and cover the period 1754-1796. The only exception is a letter from Stephen Sayre of November 15, 1787, relating to the new constitution of the United States. In all, the group consists of thirty-eight pieces, including three pen sketches. Some papers of the bundle as it came from Washington's file have been lost, notably all but one of those documents bearing his signature. Fortunate it is, sometimes, that the autograph collector seldom recognizes the value of an unsigned manuscript; for nearly every piece in this collection has writing by Washington upon it, and several are entirely in his autograph.

Some of these papers are drafts of acts, resolves, etc., that may be found among the printed laws of Maryland and Virginia. The majority, however, will prove an unworked mine for the economic history of Maryland and Virginia in the second half of the century; for the antecedents and activities of the Potomac Company; and for chapters in the lives of two great men, George Washington and

¹ 19 Cong., 1 sess., *House Report* no. 228, pp. 25-35. John Pickell, *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington* (New York, 1856), p. 175.

Thomas Johnson. They fill many gaps that Mrs. Bacon-Foster in her excellent account of early efforts to obtain water communication between Chesapeake Bay and the Ohio River was obliged to leave through dearth of material.

Even granting his primary object to have been that of making his lands on the Ohio and Potomac more valuable, nothing is more indicative of genuine statesmanship in George Washington than his early perception of the significance of the West, and his unremitting efforts to bind it to the thirteen states by making the Potomac the avenue of commerce for the back country. These papers show that as early as 1754 he was studying the obstructions in the Potomac, and that his interest never abated until his death. In his quest for accurate data on the most convenient route to the Ohio, he unwittingly preserved for posterity many valuable facts regarding early forges and furnaces, paths and portages in the interior, cost of transportation to tidewater from the up-country, quantities of flour and iron exported, and so forth.²

The papers when discovered were scattered through a collection of miscellaneous manuscripts with no indication that they had ever been together. As many were undated and unsigned, it has been somewhat of a problem to determine sequence, authorship, etc. The handwriting has been the surest guide to authorship, nearly all the men with whom Washington corresponded on the subject having very individual autographs. The date of most of the uncertain documents can be judged fairly closely by internal evidence. Unless otherwise indicated, the endorsements as printed below are Washington's. Four resolutions by Maryland and Virginia legislatures of 1784 and 1785 have been omitted, as they are to be found in the printed journals of those years, and a few other documents for reasons indicated in each case.

In view of the fact that Washington's letters of 1754 in this collection have already been published,³ no further account of them need be taken, except to point out what the editor has not made sufficiently clear, namely, that the single sheet bears two letters: one presumably to Innes, dated August 12, 1754, relating to campaign events; the other dealing with the navigation of the Potomac, with

² For Washington's interest in western lands and his early perception of the significance of the region beyond the mountains, one could not do better than to read Archer B. Hulbert, *Washington and the West* (New York, 1905), and Herbert B. Adams, "Washington's Interest in Western Lands", in *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, third series, III. 55-77.

³ Warren Upham, "Washington's Canoe Trip down the Potomac Related in a Letter to Colonel Innes", in *Records of the Past*, IX. 74-79.

no address and no date. One error in transcribing the undated letter needs to be mentioned. Instead of "Snyerland Island" read "Sugarland Island".

What are evidently the rough notes from which the undated letter was written are found on a fragile sheet bearing in the upper left-hand corner a rough sketch of a portion of the Potomac. A bit of extraneous matter on the back reads, "to represent to the assembly their protection of the wounded men—also to have the articles of War made authoris'd". As Washington's letter to Governor Dinwiddie of August 20, 1754,⁴ mentions the matter of martial versus military law as that by which his men are to be guided; and as Dinwiddie's letter to Washington of September 11, 1754,⁵ refers to the failure of the Assembly to provide for the wounded men, it seems likely that both the rough notes and the letter describing the Potomac were written in August, 1754. The fact that the undated letter was written *over* the letter of August 12 places the date of the former sometime after that of the latter.

GRACE L. NUTE.

I. JOHN SEMPLE'S PROPOSALS FOR CLEARING THE POTOMAC.⁶

The opening and making convenient Passage for Vessells of Ten to Fifeteen Tons Burthen; through such particular parts of the River Potomac, above the Great falls, as is now difficult, and render Tedious and Expensive Portages necessary, has been long considered as highly meriting the public attention; But as is often the fate of matters wherein many are interested, little has been hitherto done to carry it into execution. On Generall Braddocks arrivall att Alexandria a fair prospect was presented of having it Speedily done. It admitted of no sort of dispute, that much the readiest and easiest communication with the waters of the Ohio and consequently Fort du Quisnie⁷ must be by the river Potomac, as it would reduce the whole of the land carriage from Alexandria to the aforesd: fort, (now fort Pitt) a distance of two hundred and Sixty miles to no more than Seventy. The Generall Sensible of the Superior advantages of this conveyance, undoubtedly had its improvement in view, and made use of it even in the State. It was for the carriage of his Artillery, Ammunition and Provisions a great part of the way: His defeat and Death and

⁴ *Writings of George Washington* (ed. Sparks), II, 60.

⁵ "The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie", in *Collections of the Virginia Historical Society*, I, 317. Of course it is possible that Washington used a piece of scrap paper which chanced to have this statement on it, so that no absolute certainty as to the date of the observations on the Potomac is afforded thereby. If Stewart is correct (*House Report* no. 228, 19 Cong., 1 sess., p. 26), the date may be definitely placed as 1754; but he, too, may have been misled by the fact that a letter dated 1754 was written on the same sheet.

⁶ Two manuscripts of this document are included in the group, one apparently copied from the other. Both are in Semple's handwriting and one of them is endorsed by Washington.

⁷ Fort Duquesne.

the consequences resulting therefrom, Facts too recent to want enlarging upon, put an entire Stop to all further proceedings. The future Operations to the westward were by a peculiar Management unnaturally carried on from a quite different quarter and Potomac lay neglected.⁸ A Second attempt was afterwards made to have it done by private Subscription which being in the time of the late war and thought by many to be too heavy for private persons to accomplish, It was proposed to apply to the Legislature for their concurrence and assistance in a work of Such General Utility, some of that respectable body being consulted, they advised the posponing of it to a more favourable opportunity The people at that time being heavily burthened with taxes occasioned by the late war upon which the matter was laid aside.⁹ The last mentioned objection being now happily removed, It is hoped that an application to the Legislature in a work of so publick a nature will not at present be thought unseasonable or impertinent. The vast bodies of land now ceded to us by the Indians¹⁰ must open a new and extensive field of commerce, of which the River Potomac must necessarily be the principall channell, not to mention the very lucrative Skin and furr Trade which this must make our own whenever we chuse to make use of it. As some Gentlemen¹¹ have lately carefully viewed the river and computed the Expence of removing the different obstacles, that obstruct and make the passage of Vessells Difficult, the following account of their observations may not be unnecessary. Viz. From the lowest landing place to which it is proposed opening a passage, The Widow Brouster's Two miles above the great falls or cataract and within ten miles of Tide water There is good water for five miles to the lower part of Seneca falls which consists of continued Rifts of Rocks for near a mile up the River, these may be easily passed as only two Short Dams, with Gates placed in them, four or five feet in height in a narrow naturall channell between a chain of Islands and the Main, will be required to raise the water a Sufficient Height at the Dam Mr Ballendine¹² has built across the channell, in which if a third gate be put, it will raise it to the levell of the water above the falls. The Expence of all which, by the aforesd: Gentlemen is computed not to exceed £250 as this will be the only safe and practicable pass, and as Mr Ballendine intends Erecting a saw Mill and other works on the said channell woud it not be expedient and

⁸ In 1758 General Forbes selected a Pennsylvania route for his advance and made a road directly over the mountains. This was more than Virginia and Maryland could endure comfortably. See Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster, "Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West", in *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, XV. 109 (also as a separate print), and a letter from Washington to Bouquet, Aug. 2, 1758, *Writings of George Washington* (ed. Ford), II. 62.

⁹ Is this the project which Scharf mentions, "and about the year 1762, he [Washington] projected a chain of improvements by the route of the Potomac from 'Fort Cumberland, at Wills' Creek, to the Great Falls' "? J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1879), II. 518.

¹⁰ By the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768. See C. W. Alvord, "The British Ministry and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix", in *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1908, pp. 165-183.

¹¹ See Thomas Johnson's letter of June 18, 1770, *infra*, no. IV.

¹² See *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 117, and, *infra*, no. VII., the declaration of the trustees at a meeting in Frederick Town, Nov. 16, 1774.

even necessary for the Legislature to interpose and prevent him from Executing his plan, in such a manner as may be so injurious to the community, as Stop the farther passage past that place, More Especially as it wou'd require but a trifling additionall Expence to have a passage through his Dam and to continue his race a little farther which would equally answer every purpose he can propose to himself. From these falls there is now water sufficient for Boats properly constructed, during the winter and Spring months, and generally as late as the last of June or July as High as Payne's falls (the foot of what is called Shanadoah falls) a distance of about forty miles. Paynes falls consistith of a narrow Rift of Rocks, extending a cross the River which may be passed through a naturall channell in land that may be improv'd, so as to admitt the passage of Vessells such as aforesaid att an Expence not exceeding £250, from thence it is about two miles and a half to that remarkable fall called the Spout att present the most difficult and dangerous above the great falls which ariseth not so much from its Height, as from the water of almost the whole River being confined and forced through a narrow Rocky Passage that makes it rapid, and subjects Vessells to the danger of filling as they pass, but notwithstanding the apparent difficulty a safe and easie passage may be had by a channell dug within land having locks placed in it by computation at the Expence of £800. The next obstacle is above Harpers ferry about a mile above the Spout, this tho in appearance not so formidable as the last, will be found on tryall by much the most expensive, requiring a channell Dug and wall'd along the Side of the River for at least half a mile with locks placed in it, at proper distances, to execute which in an effectual manner will require the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds. The next obstacle and last of any consequence, is at the head or beginning of what is called Shanadoah Falls, where there is already a naturall channell, formed between the main and an Island which channell was formerly begun to be improved and partly dug but never compleated and now much choaked and filled up, which being cleared, the channell dug deeper and enlarged, and Dams and locks placed in it Vessells will pass through with readiness and safety To the Levell water above the Falls. this is computed might be done at an Expence of about £800. From thence to Fort Cumberland one hundred and thirty miles, and to a much greater distance up the North and South Branches, There is no very materiall obstruction but want of water over Shallow places when the River is low in autumn and the latter end of Summer, which in many places nay almost every part may be much improved at the expence of about £900 and following the same plan as is afterwards proposed, for clearing the Gravelly Shoals below Shanadoah Falls the greatest falls in this last distance called House's has already this summer been opened and cleared, and a passage made through it for the Transportation of Iron from Keep Triste Furnace to Anteitem Forge.¹³ From Shanadoah downwards, such shallow places when the river is low

¹³ Antietam Forge, about four miles from Hagerstown, was built by Samuel and Daniel Hughes about 1770. James M. Swank, *History of the Manufacture of Iron in All Ages* (Philadelphia, 1892), pp. 254, 255. Keep Triste Furnace is not mentioned by name, but it may very well be one of those mentioned by place only by Swank or Bishop—J. L. Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures* (Philadelphia, 1866), vol. I., see index under *iron* in Maryland and in Virginia. Keep Tryst, or Sandy Hook, is in Washington County, Maryland, just above Harper's Ferry.

being all gravelly Shoals may be improved and made passible in any time of the year at a small expence and trouble, by adopting the plan by which severall rivers to the northward have been improved Viz. appointing overseers on the Shoals in the same manner as on public Roads, and allotting to them the Taxables contiguous and convenient to their respective Shoals to clear and make channels through them. The greater Stones being removed, the River woud in these places soon naturally wash itself into Such channells as woud thereafter require little or no assistance; This plan being followed and Fish and other Dams removed and every thing prevented for the future, that woud any ways hinder or prejudice the passage of Vessells up and down the River, which Dams and obstructions, our neighbouring Colony ¹⁴ has wisely prohibited, will render it in a very short time readily passable att all times be the river high or low. As a farther Explanation and Proof to Show the great utility and advantage of this improvement, it may not be improper to annex a just State and cost of the difference of expence as it now is, of land and water carriage on a Ton of Iron from Keep Triste Furnace to Navigation; There being so great a difference from that place as the river now is unimproved, How much greater must it be to persons inhabiting higher up the country, in proportion to their greater distance and which woud be still greater if the above obstructions were removed that Vessells might pass from one end of the River to the other, without hindrance or Stoppage, a great part of the expences that now arises consisting in the frequent Stoppages, Portages, and different handling of the commodities of which very few will admitt. Was the above improvements made, any commodity whatever might be transported with Safety and ease at a small and reasonable Expence, from the highest landing to the lowest without shifting untill they were put ashore at the lowest landing intended.

Thus at the expence of £5000 the best channell is opened for inland trade that can be possibly had in British America. The land carriage between the bay of Chesapeak and the mouth of the Mississippi, The Illinois, three hundred miles up the Missouri and to the different lakes, by very small Portages is reduced to Seventy miles and in time may be reduced to a much Shorter distance, an acquisition by Oeconomy such as is in the power of few States to attain which we do not doubt will engage every Gentleman of public Spirit and Generous Sentiments, to foreward an Undertaking so generally and extensively usefull.

The Expence of transporting a Ton of Iron by land carriage From Keep Triste Furnace to Navigation is	<i>Pensa. Curr'y</i> £3. 15. 0
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The Expence of transporting a Ton of Iron down the River Potomack as it is now unimproved, to the little Falls is Viz

Portage from Keep triste furnace to Payne's landing, five miles, Half a days Journey of a Waggon at 12/6d. pr day the half is	£0. 6. 3
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From Paynes landing to Mr Ballendines Dam at Senecca

¹⁴ See *Laws of Maryland*, 1768, ch. 5, "An Act to prevent any obstruction of the Navigation in the river Potowmack". This reference, the references in Johnson's letter of June 18, 1770, and the mention of the clearance of House's Falls "this summer" seem to place the date of these observations as either summer or fall of 1769.

Duty and he or they are hereby impowered to seize and detain any Vessel navigating the said River until the said Toll shall be paid. . . .

III. JOHN SEMPLE TO WASHINGTON.

OCCOQUAN ¹⁶ 8th. Jany 1770.

Sir

I am Sorry it is not convenient for you to take Iron for Mr. Kennedays Pork should my people have got It which is uncertain. when I came from the Furnaces I left directions with them to procure it If possible and which Mr Kenneday had promised me to be at the Furnace about that Week. Should they have got It would a Credite with Doctr. Ross ¹⁷ suit you.

I am greatly pleased to find you are so likely to Carry the point of Improveing Potowmack River ¹⁸ But the plan adopted on the footing of the Adventures being to be repaid with Interest from a Toll Will be lyable to a Great dificulty which I am afraid will prevent Its being accomplished. Money is not so plenty that Persons possessed of It are under any dificulty to let it out at Interest on the Terms of withdrawing and Commanding It when they please which would not be the case If Sunk in a plan of this kind attended with the greatest uncertainty when It might be Recoverable Which would prevent any Persons Sinking in It a Sum more than as a Gift of Charity He had given away and did not Expect to receive again which Scanty Methods I am afraid may not be Suficient to accomplish the End. On the footing of the Toll being made the property of the Adventurers as is the mode of all Such Publick undertakings in Britain and always allowed by Parliament In the makeing of either Turnpicke Roads in Land or Portable Cannalls by Water Upon Such a footing people would Subscribe freely and Sink considerable Sums in It on the Supposition of Settling It By way of Estate and Reaping in time considerable advantage from It Altho' at a distant Prospect On this footing the Adventurers would have the greatest encouragement that could be given them which would Induce them to continue It on to Tyde Water with Locks at the foot of what is called the Meadows below the Great falls. It is a thing not Improbable or Impossible Nor extremely difficult or Expensive nearly equal to the Utility of It to the Community And from thence I presume It may be continued past the Little falls to Tyde Water.

In the forming of the Law there is a point that ought to be guarded against That perhaps might not be attended to. Two of our Staple Commodities And which is Still more likely to be so for Exportation which is the Surest means of Inriching a Country And Counter Ballancing the Excessive Imports our necessity and Prodigality require Are Flower and Iron And which likewise in a Great measure is the Support of the Farmer Therefore all encouragement ought to be given By the Legislatures for the manufacturing of them And no place prevented from being Improved for these purposes that possibly can be made Serviceable towards that End. The places where Locks are required for the Navigation of Rivers Are Generally Such where the Waters Run strong by the height of the

¹⁶ Occoquan in Prince William County, Virginia.

¹⁷ See Bishop, *History of the Manufacture of Iron*. pp. 268, 269. for mention of Ross's iron works.

¹⁸ See the preceding document.

fall And which places are most Generally Commodious and proper for Works of that Nature And on Rivers capable of being Navigated most Advantagious By the great and Constant Supply of Water. Which places being capable of being Improved so as to Serve both purposes viz. the Navigation of the River And manufacturing these Commoditys and so as the One may be made Subservient to the other and of no detriment to the Navigation The Proprietor ought not to be deprived of so valuable a part of property And so advantagious to the Community Many such Instances and Proofs of which I have in the Lands I possess which I propose to improve and which purpose I have secured Adjoining to them Great Quantities of Wood Land Ground which If I was deprived of using by these Improvements would be a great Burden to me But with Such Improvements of Great value to me and the Community. The Lands other ways than for Wood are of no Real value Mountainous and Stony and unfit for Agriculture Which hint in your Makeing of the Law I hope will and Pray may be attended to As otherwise great injustice may be done to Inviduals Nay to the Community in preventing the Improvements of very valuable places in a maner not prejudicial to the Navigation of the River Nay such Improvements adjoined to Locks would be a Real Advantage to them By the constant Attention of those who possessed them to keep the Dams and Locks required to make the River Navigable in Repair. These things in the Law would be necessary to be Guarded against In case the Legislature thought proper to Incorporate the Adventurers into one Body or Company with a Power to cut through and make use of any mans Lands which might be the most prudent method under proper Managers. I am

Sir yr most Obt. hble Sert.

JOHN SEMPLE

[Endorsement:] From Mr. John Semple 8 Jany 1773.¹⁹

IV. THOMAS JOHNSON TO WASHINGTON.

Sir

I take the Liberty by the Revd. Mr. Boucher²⁰ who as well as others have assured me of your Friendship to the Inland Navigation on Potowmack to inclose you a Subscription Paper²¹ which is intended to be put about at our Frederick Court next week. I have with some though too few others²² lately taken a View of the River. from a little below Fort Frederick to Paynes Falls in our Voyage down we met with nothing of

¹⁹ The endorsement by Washington seems to be an error as to year, for Semple's heading is very legible, and the year is plainly 1770.

²⁰ Rev. Jonathan Boucher. See sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and index to S. M. Hamilton, *Letters to Washington* (Boston and New York, 1901), for many letters to Washington, especially those of Apr. 2, 1770, and Aug. 18, 1770. This letter by Johnson is that to which Washington's well-known letter of July 20, 1770, was the answer. Mrs. Bacon-Foster writes: "Our only knowledge of it [Johnson's plan] is from the following letter by Washington, which on account of its importance we will quote in full." *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. III.

²¹ See the following document, no. V., which seems to be the paper in question.

²² See Semple's proposals.

any Consequence till we came to Catons Gutt what is called Houses Falls another Rift between that and Andietum and what is called Shepherds Falls a little below Shepherds Town being the only Obstructions and which might be easily removed at very small Expençe. from Catons Gutt to Paynes Falls about 5 Miles Distance will we think be in prudence our present Object and 2500^l Pensylva. Currency it is thought by an Englishman in whom I have very great Confidence and a German who has been long employed in blowing Rocks will reduce Shannandore to allow a tolerable passage and make a towing Path. If we ever get through the Shannandore I need not remark that all the Force above may be easily drawn to a point at Seneca or any other Obstruction below which will admit of Improvement at a tolerable Expense. We choose to blow a Passage rather than attempt Navign. through Locks because the Falls no where appear too steep for Vessells to come down if they had but Room enough and this plan is the more eligible as it avoids a very strong Objection to Locks from the Freshes Ice etc. our Boat came through and we are satisfied loaded Battoes might with safety was there Room enough and a Channel deepned. I had the pleasure too to be fully satisfied there's no weight in a plausible Objection made some Time since²³ that deepning the Water where there are at present Ledges of Rocks would draw off the Water and occasion Shallows above for suppose about 20 or 30 Feet in width is deepned 2 Feet for Instance what Effect can it have on a Body of Water constantly supplied of 200 or 250 Yards width besides on actual sounding and I was attentive to the Circumstance I find the water deep above those Ledges no where as I recollect less than 5 Feet generally more and sometimes double that depth. but suppose the worst, Timber or Stone might easily be placed in other Breaks of the Ledge of Rocks so as to keep the Water to it's natural height by counteracting the new Draft in a new Obstruction. Should this mode of effecting the navigation be generally approved I am not unapprized that the Scheme of raising Money by Subscription is liable to Objection and I think with many that this River justly claims the Attention of the Legislatures of both Provinces. I sincerely wish they could be both brought into one generous and grand Scheme and am sure that the vast addition to Trade would soon repay almost any Expençe but I fancy you and I are too well acquainted with the Difficulties of carrying points of Consequence through the three Branches of one Legisl. to entertain Expectations that both Legislatures will soon concur circumstantially in the same Scheme for clearing Potowmack. If any Thing should be given in Maryland in a public Way a Subscription will certainly be an essential Condition and from what I have understood in Virginia the plan of a Corporation Subscription of Shares and tolls would be the most agreeable there. A great many of the interested in Maryland are willing to put their Hands into their own pockets at once and I believe the Germans of whom we have numbers in good Circumstances are much disposed to it so that if the people of your side can be brought to do their just part, I do not mean an Arithmetical exactness, I flatter myself the Thing is well within our power and that a considerable part may still be done this year.—To convince people of the immediate advantages to themselves I make this Estimate.

²³ Another reference is made to this objection in the subscription paper; see *infra*, no. V.

Land Carriage 80 miles at 1/ Pensylva. Curry. per Mile per Ton on 38 Bushels of Wheat is	4. 0.0
From Paynes Falls to Shannandore Semple now gives for Water Carr'e per Ton'	8.0
from the Mo. of Connegocheage to Paynes about the same Distance suppose the like	8.0
Land Carriage from Seneca to the little Falls 12 or 14 Miles say 14	14.0
	<hr/> 1. 10.0
saved by Water Carriage except the small Expense of Carriage from the little Falls to Geo. Town or Bell- haven ²⁴ on each Ton	<hr/> 2. 10.0

but what has weight with some though not enough are the future advantages which you can much better than I can form an Idea of in making Poto. the Channel of Conveyance and Connection between the new Country westward and Britain.

If you Sr. should approve the Scheme of a Subscription and think any Thing can be done that way in Virginia it will give us new Spirits on this Side, if not I shall be greatly obliged by your communicating your Thoughts on the Subject.

When I had the pleasure of seeing you at the Springs last Summer I mentioned that my Brother ²⁵ had obtained the Secret of curing fits by simples he had several people under his Care who have been happily relieved. the cure was much slower than he expected and indeed he once began to think that he had been deceived but he is now fully satisfied of the salutary Effects of the Medicine which has been considerably improved lately, from his own actual Experiment on several Subjects and if, which I shall indeed be sorry to hear, the young Lady has as yet met with no Relief, I shall procure and send you some with proper Directions. Mrs. Washington may be assured that no ill Consequences will follow from it.

I am sr. With great Regard

Your most obedt. hble Servt.

THS. JOHNSON Esqr
ANNAPO. 18 June 1770.

[*Endorsement:*] Letter and Proposals from Thos. Johnson Esqr Annapolis—18 June 1770 respect'g the Inland Navig'n of Pot'k.

V. MARYLAND SUBSCRIPTION PAPER.²⁶

Will the Landholders on the navigable Waters be benefited by a cheap and easy Carriage from the Back parts of the Country? if they will it may naturally be expected they will promote easy Carriage if not though the Community would be benifited *as an intire Body* an extraordinary Exertion of the people below in favour of Carriage would be a rare Exercise of Virtue.

²⁴ Belhaven; an old name for Alexandria.

²⁵ Dr. John Johnson, a physician of Annapolis. See his letter of Mar. 21. 1772, to Mrs. Washington regarding Patsy Custis, daughter of Mrs. Washington, who died June 19, 1773. *Letters to Washington*, IV. 119.

²⁶ It is possible that this document is the subscription paper which Johnson mentions in his letter of June 18, 1770. The handwriting is obviously Johnson's and both documents mention the objection which had been made by certain persons to the construction of locks at the Falls.

There is no Demand for Tobacco beyond the ordinary Consumption. the [Force?] of Maryland and Virga. exclusive of what is made in Carolina is more than sufficient to produce in Common Years the necessary Quantity—superior or better executed Regulations will give Advantages over Rivals but the price depending much more on the Quantity the violent policy of the Dutch with regard to Spice if no better could be adopted to lessen the Quantity would be good with respect to Tobacco but the same End may be better answered by diverting a part of the [Force?] of both provinces another way.

What Quantity of American wheat might be disposed of in the European markets it is impossible to say. the whole Export but a few Years ago was very inconsiderable and yet in a Time of Peace the Demand increases faster than the very rapid increase of Quantity indubitably proved by the rising of the price and it is likely to keep pace with any Increase of wheat raised in America. the Arbitrary Governments in the possible countries is very inimical to high cultivation many parts of them have relied and from the Soil and Climate will rely chiefly on a foreign supply. vines and Fruits engage their Care in preference of Bread Corn and turn more profit to the Individual. England used to feed her Neighbours. her internal produce now of Flesh Meat Bread Corn and Horse-meat is not equal to her consumption of those Articles. the Deficiency daily grows greater. The Humour and immediate Interest of the Landholders is to turn their arable into pasture Lands by which the produce of Bread Corn is not only diminished but by driving the Tenants and their Children into the Towns to look for Employment the Consumption of flesh meat and wheaten Bread is still increased. The Landholders in England have too much to say in making Laws to suffer any regulation to take place either to increase the internal Supply of Bread or lessen the Expende of Flesh meat by substituting Fish, as was done in Eliza's Time, in it's stead. The present supply from America is very inconsiderable when compared to the whole Consumptn. of Wheat in Europe. In London only the whole Consumptn. amounts yearly perhaps to 15 Millions of Bushels of Wheat. If G Britain could raise a Sufficiency of Flesh Meat and Bread Corn or be supplied with a considerable part of the Latter from her Colonies at her Option it would seem as if she had better be partly supplied from her Colonies. the Colonies will take off the British Manufactures in propn. to their Ability to pay for them. if the Colonies are not able to pay for the necessary Quantity they must manufacture for themselves the Difference between what is necessary and what they can pay for. suppose that Difference at any given Sum so far Manufactures in Brit. are useless. If the Profits of Cultivation in America are greater than on manufacturing there, the Americans will continue to clear and cultivate the Lands rather than manufacture. every Increase of the People in America increases the Demand for British Manufactures and consequently affords means of Subsist'ce for the greater number of people in Britain. this would strengthen Brit. and her Colonies as a people and especially as a Maratime State for the additional Number of Sailors employed especially as they would be at Home at least twice a year might occasionally very much strengthen the Navy—and if the Security and Happiness of America is in the Strength of Britain we had better forego manufacturing for which we are not yet ripe and clear and cultivate our Lands if we can dispose of the Produce to Advantage. If the American

Supply of Wheat is inconsiderable when compared to the Consumption of Wheat in Europe as it certainly is and if the Demand is likely, from a decrease in the Quantity raised in Europe, fully in proportion to the increase of Quantity raised in America, to keep up we had best divert our people as far as we can from raising Tobacco to the raising of wheat. too much Tobacco may certainly be and often has been raised but it is not only likely that America cannot raise too much Wheat but probably the price of her wheat will even rise with the Quantity. it has done so hitherto and may do so for 100 years to come by which Time we shall be populous enough to enter on other Views.

If an Increase of the Quantity of Wheat is desirable rather than an Increase of the Quantity of Tobacco the only Method to induce the Back-people to cultivate Wheat for which their Land generally is the most suitable rather than Tobacco is to reduce as much as maybe the Expence of Carriage. 2 Hhds of Tobacco weigh say one Ton or 20 gross Hundred and will sell for 12 Sterl equal to 20 Curr'y. 30 Bushels of Wheat is about the same weight and sells say at 6/ PB.²⁷ a Ton of wheat produces 10.8. on any given price of Carra. the Difference of the Value of the Produce is nearly as two to one in favr. of bringing Tobacco to Market rather than Wheat. the higher the price of Carriage the greater the Difference of nett value after deducting the Expence of Carriage. If from the Distance as from Fred Town for Instance the Expence of Carra. is 2/ p B. or worse from Andietem or Connegocheage 2/ 6 p B. the net produce of the Tobo. being greater in Proportion than on wheat the Motive according to the Distance grows stronger to raise Tobacco instead of wheat—and so if the price of Wheat should fall and Tobacco rise cheap Carriage will be still the more necessary towards continuing the Back people Farmers.

The Expence of Water Carriage when compared to that of Land Carriage is not more than as one to four perhaps not so much on those of the Back parts of Potowmack which are at present navigable. Potowmack is naviga. at present for Battoes from Seneca to Paynes the lowest part of the Shann. Falls abt 45 miles by water—from Semples—except a trifling place or two between that and Andietem to Fort Cumberland about 140 or 150 miles by water. Monocasy Connegocheage the So. Branch and patterson Cr. are all at Times and most of them generally capable of navigation for considerable Distances and some of them go off almost at right Angles from the River—hence an Improvemt. of Water Carriage by opening the Shann Falls taking off the Land Carriage below Seneca or shortning it and improving the Roads to Navign. would be very extensively beneficial. Mr. Semple had water Carr'e from paynes to Seneca for 7/ 6 p Ton on wheat it would be 3 d. p B. Jacques and Johnson²⁸ have Carriage from their Forge to Cussapi abt. 75 Miles by Water ag't the Stream for 30/ a Ton. they have had Corn collected about the Mouth of the So. Br. and carried to their works for 4 d p B.— The Carriage upwards to Fort Cumberland to satisfy the Demand for the Back Country would be equal to the demand for Carr'e downwards from thence wherefore and as there would be but one Loading and unloading the Carr. down may not be expected to exceed 6 d p B. as far as the Mouth of Seneca—

²⁷ Per bushel.

²⁸ See in Bishop, *The Manufacture of Iron*, p. 254, reference to Green Spring furnace and Licking Creek forge owned by Jacques and Johnson.

from the Vale of Connege. not more than 4 d. or 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ —from below payne's not more than 3 d. If Land Carr. from Seneca a Waggon would be two Days in going down and up it being abt 20 Miles—at 15/ a Day (two thirds of the whole Carr. being allowed to rest on the produce brought down) the Expence would be 20/ on a Load 30 B. of wheat or 6 $\frac{1}{3}$ p B. If a Canal could be constructed to take off such a part of the Distance only that the Waggon might return the same Day it would reduce the Land Carr. one half at least and consequently the Expence inclusive of that on the Canal to at most 4 d p B.—so that even from F. Cumberland the whole Exp. to navigable water might not probably exceed 10 d p B. If the Road from F Cumberland to the Westn. Waters can be made *good* and brought under 50 Miles a Waggon may perform a Trip in 4 Days at 15/ a day £ 3. 38 B. brought and as much salt carried back 76 B., brings it to about 9 d p B.—say 1/ to F Cumberland and 1/ afterwards. it would bring the Yough. as near to Market as Fred Town is at present. What an Increase of Shipping would such Improvements occasion what a rise in Value of the Lands in Conn[ocheague] which are said to produce upwards of 20 B. to the Acre. we might spare one half our present number of Horses or make the present number about doubly useful. we Should be strengthened in Harvest with the Labour of the Battoomen they would too assist in Winter in clearing our Lands. We might thus greatly increase our Export of wheat gently lead our people off from Tobacco at least in due proportion as well as render a vast Extent of Back Country useful to Trade but if the present method of Carriage continues it will then as it does now take at least 4 good Horses to carry the produce in Wheat of the Labour of two to Market from Connogochegé. 2 Horses can put in 30 acres very well, besides rye and oats suffn. for their own Maint'ce, at 19 B. P[er] A[cre] 570 Bushels at 38 Bushels to the Load 15 Loads or at the Rate of 30 Loads for two Horses. is it to be wondered at that so many Horses being killed in going to Market most of them being so much injured by long Services in the worst of weather the price of Horses should have risen 50 p C. or more or that the new Crop comes in before the old is carried to Market.

The Europeans have grown fond of our flour. we ought to improve on the Circumstance even so far if possible as to occasion a Discontin'ce of their Mills for we should thus not only gain the profit of manufacturing that essential article and make a further Demand for Labour in Cash but become one Step more necessary to their Subsist'ce. The River Carr'e would promote milling; in the winter there's a plenty of water at all the Mills. the flour ground in Winter is best for Exporta. the Brand of that then ground may be fed away profitably to Stock whilst it is sweet and nourishing. the Brand of that ground in Summer grows musty and is spoiled before Stock, other than Hogs, has the least Occasion for it. the Spring is a very proper Time to export Flour; from Mar. till May inclusive, the Water on the River is the best when any Quantity may be brought down so that our Wheat might by the Assist'ce of water Carr'e be shipped chiefly in Flour earlier than generally it is now chiefly or at least great part in Wheat. In the Spring the Roads are very soft and in many places Springy so that it is unfavourable for Wagonning and besides the Horses are generally employed in April, if the weather is good, and part of May in putting in a Spring Crop.

From the great Cost as we have heard of some of the Canals in Europe we are dettered from over estimating the Expense of any Improvemt. of

the Kind and fancying ourselves not equal to such Undertakings. To cut a Canal sufft. for our purpose *if the Ground is favourable* would not exceed the power of many Individuals. Suppose the given Distance 10 Miles, 12 feet at top 8 feet at Bottom so that the mean Breadth would be 10 feet and 3 feet deep would perhaps be sufft. for a Boat of 1000 Bushels Burthen.

Length 10 Miles or	52,800 feet
multiply by the mean Breadth	10
	<hr/>
	528,000
the product by the depth	3
	<hr/>
	1,584,000 Square feet.

If a Labourer cuts only 50 Feet in Length 4 feet wide and 6 Inches deep p day he then cuts 100 sq. Feet a Day the Work will require 15,840 Days Labour which a. 3/ p day would cost for Labourers	2376
suppose for Tools	100
Overseers	200
2 small Locks to fall 3 or 4 feet	200
5 [Wastes ?] at 10¢	100
priviledge of Land say	500
	<hr/>
	3426 £
	[3476]

To gain 3 feet depth of water in almost any Ground the Cut on the Upper Side of the Hill or Rising must frequently be more than 3 feet deep but by paring away the Soil beyond the Line of the Cut on the lower Side and throwing Clay to Clay it might be depended on against a little weight of water and often make it unnecessary to go so deep as 3 feet. Say 25 working Days to the month 80 Labourers would do the work in 8 months. The Expense might be lessened by buying about one half the whole number of Labourers imported Servants who had been used to Spades and picks they wd. do much more of this Kind of Work than negroes and might be sold again at the end of 8 months for or nearly for their original Cost. But say there can be no Saving add which is often necessary on Calculations 25 p Ct. and then for the Sake of Caution Ct. p Ct. Suppose three Times the Distance is, necessary and therefore three Times the greatest Sum may be necessary what is there still to frighten provinces.

A Square Foot of Water weighing about 60 lbs. about equal to the Weight of one Bushel of Wheat. A Boat 85 feet long 8 feet broad for that Distance (and for a Canal she might be made as long as the winding of the Canal would allow and as full as possible at the Ends) sunk 20 Inches by her Lading would exclude about 1066 Sq Feet of Water and consequently carry about so many Bushels of Wheat. two Hands would manage her with great Ease on dead water.

A River Battoe must be of a very diff. Construction. perhaps there's not one on the River made as it ought to be. one of 60 feet may not carry her Breadth, of 7 feet and an half at most, more than 40 feet. she ought to have a fine Rake rise perhaps an Inch in a foot from a Line with the

Keel for 10 feet to her Ends her Ends at the Water as sharp as possible and gradually spreading in a [nice?] twist towards the top of the Stern (there's a Difficulty in communicating the Idea from an Ignorance of the Terms of Art) so that she might be lifted as it were by an extraordinary pressure of water and would consequently push up the lighter in Sharp Water as well as come down difficult places loaded with more safety. such a Boat drawing the same water as the Canal Boat would carry abt. 500 B. and must be worked by 5 good Hands.

From the Flat water by Semples to the Back water in the lower part of Catons Gut about 50 ps show's 10 1/2 Foot Fall by much the quickest from and soon after the Entrance into the upper part of the Gut. suppose an Entrance 2 1/2 feet deep is made into the Gut it takes off something in the most necessary part. why might not 3 or 4 feet be again taken off by a low River Lock the sides made of [rough?] Loggs well pinned together or bolted with Iron Bolts filled in with large Stones of which there's such plenty at Hand in the same Manner as Stone Dams. when there's any Danger from Ice or Trees the Water would gen'ly if not always be over the Lock and Ice and Trees would probably pass over without touching. if its's feared they would not to prevent their hanging the Lock might in the Fall be filled with Stones and no great Labour to clear it out in the Spring. two such Locks 4 Feet each would certainly do the Business or perhaps of 3 feet or perhaps one might do. If a Stone Towing path was built which might be done for 3 or 400 £ and large Iron pins with broad Heads fixt in the Rocks at proper Distances, around which occasionally to take a turn of a long strong pointer by which one Hand might hold on and gently rase off in going down or in coming up hold on what three of the other Hands gained in pulling leaving one Hand in the Boat to keep her off from the Sides with a light Setting-pole it seems likely five Hands would carry such a Boat through any water in which she could swim. the same Method if successful there might be taken at the Spout except a Lock for which there could be no Occasion. there's no other place in the Shann Falls but where the Hands might if the water was deepen'd set a Boat up with their poles. An unlucky Objection was started some years ago against opening a Channel through the Rifts of Rocks, supposing the Water would be thereby drawn off and make new Shallows or even expose Rocks above. the Idea was formed without any consideration of the Vastness of the Body of Water in potowmack or even perhaps a Knowledge that that there are many spaces in those Rifts of Rocks through which great Quantities of Water now pass or that the Water is deeper just above and below those Ledges of Rocks than common elsewhere in the River, yet after all admit the Objection in its full Force that cutting a Channel of 30, 40, 50 or 60 Feet wide 2 1/2 feet deep will too suddenly draw off a Body perhaps 150 yds wide so amply supplied, the Evil may be easily remedied by only sinking a few Cutts of Timber to obstruct the passage of the water in the other Spaces where it now passes and thus at very small Cost reduce the then to the present Expence of Water by which the River above will undoubtedly continue it's old Depth.

[The next paper, in Johnson's handwriting, is section 27 of chapter 26 of the Maryland Laws of 1773, *An Act for emitting Bills of Credit and applying Part thereof*. This section appropriates money for clearing and keeping in good order a wagon road from Fort

Cumberland "to the nearest Battoe navigable water on the western Side of the Allegany Mountain". Johnson was made one of seven supervisors of the road.]

VI. ANONYMOUS REMARKS.

*To A Member of the Present Assembly Now siting at Annapolis*²⁹

Sir. Having accidentally heard it mentioned that a scheme³⁰ was in agitation, to Render Potomack River Navigable from within about Twelve or Fourteen Miles of George Town, up thro the Seneca Rapids, or falls, and tho my Small Acquaintance with that River, Together with my Inexperience with Undertakings of this Nature may prevent me from treating this Subject to the purpose, or pronouncing to what Degree of perfection the Navigation may be carried in this River, Yet prepossessed with the opinion, that it is Certainly practicable, to Such a Degree, so as to be of Infinite Service to the Community, and also of opinion, that we are in our present state full able to Accomplish it so far, provided it is Conducted with any Tolerable degree of Unanimity and Judgment; and the money which may be Raised or Contributed for that purpose disposed of with frugalitty and Discreation; the fear that this may Not be the Case, or that the Scheme may miscarry from attempting too much at first, has Induced me to trouble you.

Undertakings of this Nature in any Country are found to be both Teadious and Expensive, but in this New Country it will be found to be more particularly so; as we must Labour under and meet with many additional Difficulties, which Nothing can enable us to surmount, but a steady perseverance, and the most Rigid Oeconomy, together with using every possible precaution, to prevent our undertaking whatever may be either Deemed Unecessary, or above our abilities to go thro with. may I not be Excusable for hinting this admonition, when I consider how Easily we are Lead without any Investigation to adopt every Scheme offered to the publick, of which a subscription paper³¹ Lately handed about by a Certain person, is a Recent Instance. There also, permet me to observe, that their are some Circumstances which Induce me to entertain some Doubts, whether the money which I hear is to be appropriated for the purpose, of making a Road over the allegany mountains³² can be so properly Laid out at present, as it may some time hence. I have not seen the Bill, and my situation is such as to prevent me from being Inform'd particularly concerning its Contents, However I learn that the Commissioners appointed to Lay off the Road, are by it Limited to begin at Fort Cumberland, and to proceed the best and Nearest way to Navegable Water on the Monongahela. No person presumes to doubt the Good Intention of the Framers of this Bill, but perhaps the place Directed by the Law (if they are Confined to a peticular place) may be Discovered to be Improper. We have as yet

²⁹ Probably written to Johnson.

³⁰ See Pickell, *A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington* (New York, 1856), p. 29; and "The Life of Thomas Johnson", in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV. 30-32.

³¹ Probably Ballendine's subscription paper. See *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 118, 119.

³² The act referred to above, "An Act for emitting Bills of Credit and applying Part thereof".

but little knowledge of that part of the Country; the Commissioners appointed to marke out the Road I am Informed have little or none. It is possible upon a more Intimate knowledge of these parts, that a place more Convenient than that Directed by the Bill may be Discovered. At any rate it seems like beginning at the wrong End, for no place can with propriety be fixed upon for the road to sett out from, till it is ascertained how High up potomack River, is capable of being made Navegable. From what Enquiries I have made, together with the Little knowledge which I have of that part of the Country and River, I may Venture to affirm that upon a survey, it will be found to be as Easy to Continue the Navigation for a Considerable Distance (at Least Twenty Miles) above Cumberland, as it will be to make it Navigable below; above Cumberland the River is far from being so wide as below. In the Summer and Fall it Receives but little or no Supply from Wills Creek, therefore in these Seasons it will be found to have more Water a few miles above, than it appears to have below, and as the River is so much Narrower above, the Water is Deeper, and wherever it may be Requisite to Confine the water, it will from the same Cause (I mean the Conteguity of its Banks) be easier accomplished; if therefore the navigation can be Continued so far above Cumberland, it is probably that a shorter Land Communcation with the Monongahela may be Discovered than by a road to Start from Cumberland. I take it not upon me to say Certainly that this may be the Case; I am not so well acquainted with the Country as to affirm it; But as the River Continues its Course about South West and breaks Into the allegany mountains and Runs up opposite to where Cheat on the West Side, a principal Fork of the Monongahela, forms a Considerable river, it is not Improbably and therefore worth Enquering into wether a Communication Between the two Rivers may not be Accomplished by a Carrying place of Thirty or at most of Forty miles. I should also Deem a Carrying place here full as Convenient, as if it led Deredctly to pitt, for the Monongahela (the Current of which is Gentle as Tide water) and the Conaway³³ Rivers when they are Navigable are not more than Twelve or Fifteen Miles, and a good Levil Country assunder, a much readier and Easier Communication would be opened to the Inhabitants on that Extensive River, as well as to the Inhabitants on the Ohio. But we leave these Schemes at Least for the present in Speculation and Return to the Design more Imeadeatly under Consideration. the Step which appears Requesite to be first taken is to obtain an Accurate Survey of the River from the most Convenient Landing above the Great Falls up to Cumberland, and Indeed Higher, in which the Fall of the River ought to be Carefully Laid down with the Depths of Water and particularly marking such Rapids as may appear to stand in Need of being either made Deeper or the Current Lessened. From this plan or profile some Judgment may be form'd with a tollerable degree of Certainty how far it may be prudent to undertake and tho I much fear from a survey that the fall will be found to be too Great to admit of being made Navegable for Vessells of Considerable burthen, Yet if it can be Compleated so as to admit of Vessells Carrying from Ten to Fifteen Ton with the Stream, it will be accomplishing an object of Great moment. the Dificalty of Erecting Locks and the Uncertainty of maintaining them in the bed of Large Rivers are found to be Extreemly precarious, and often times the end not answered, which Demonstrates that works of that

³³ Kanawha.

Nature ought not to be undertaken till after the most mature Consideration, and I believe that there are very few situations on potomack where the River and the Ground together will admit of the Water to be taken out with any Degree of safety. Where Undertakings of this Nature have been attempted in England, Experience has Demonstrated how Difficult and uncertain it is to make and to Keep a River Navegable in its original Bed, where the Fall is Considerable; when this is the Case Locks are found to be Requisite to Compleat the Navigation and they seldom can be placed in such a Situation as not to be Exposed to the Danger of Floods, and Even when they can be Erected Either from their Strength or Situation as to stand the Shock, yet there is a Certain Inconvenience which Constantly attends works of this sort, where they are Erected in the bed of Rivers which is that the Strength and Rapidity of the Water in time of Floods encreased by the fall over the Locks will Constantly Raise the stones and gravle at some Distance below, Where of Consequence it forms a shallow and a Rapid; from these and some other Reasons it is, that wherever the nature of the Ground is such as to admit of a Cannall it is Deemed preferable, (tho at first, perhaps the most Expensive), as the Safest and certainest navigation. It is probable However that many of the Inconveniences to which these kind of Works Erected in the bed of Rivers are Subject, May be owing to the badness of the Bottoms, and I am apt to believe that this may be the Case, with most of the Rivers in England, at Least in those where they have failed in attempting to emprove their navigation. They chiefly are found to run over Clay or Marl covered with Stones and Gravel; a Bottom of this Nature will perpetually shift, upon every little alteration of the Course, or addition of the Fall. It may be otherwise with the bed of potomack, which for the most part I conjecture to run over a rock, at Least it will be found so in such places where it may be Necessary to Erect any work, and was it found to be Requisite I flatter my self that a lock might be constructed upon the shanandore Falls in such a manner as to stand the shock of the Flood but I am of opinion, that even here a safe Passage may be Accomplished for Vessells of the Burthen mentioned without the Necessity of Erecting any work of that Nature. But it is time to Leave this subject till a more Certain Knowledge of the River is obtained when it can be more properly Canvassed. The Conveniences attending water Carriage are so obvious, that I have thought it unnecessary to enumerate them as arguments in favour of this scheme. However there are some peculiar Circumstances attending the success of this Undertaking, which ought in my opinion to Render it an object of publick attention. The Vast Country that Lies on the waters of that Extensive River in Virginia and Even some parts of Penselvania, by means of Monocasy, Shanandore Conegocheague and the South Branch would have an Easy Communication into potomack, for I apprehend them to be such Considerable Rivers as to admit of being made Navegable a great way up them, but when we consider Potomack as the principal Chanell of Communication with the Extensive Countrys on the Western Waters it becomes an object of still more Genreal Concern, and if found practicable will I make no Doubt, meet not only with the Continuance but the assistance of the Legislature of both Colonies.

[*Endorsement.*] Anonymous Remarks of the Poto. Navign.—1774

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING BALLENDINE'S SCHÉME.

At a meeting of several of the Trustees (named in Mr John Ballendine's Proposals for making Potomac River Navigable)³⁴

At Frederick Town the 16th Day of November 1774

Declared that it is the Opinion of the Trustees present that John Ballendine hath, on his Part, complied with the Terms and Conditions of the former Subscriptions made in his Favor for his encouragement to go to Europe and qualify himself to undertake the rendering of Potomac River Navigable and that therefore such Subscription Money ought to be Paid, and it is recommended by the Trustees present that Mr. Ballendine make his next beginning to remove the Obstructions in Potomac at the Shanandoah Falls and proceed down the River as soon as the Season of the year will permit which he has promised to do—but that he continue to carry on the Work he has already begun at the lower Falls as a great part of the cutting may be done the ensuing Winter.

Recommended that a Meeting of the Trustees be held at George Town on Thursday the first Day of December next³⁵ and that notice of such Meeting be as publickly and generally given as may be

Recommended that Robert Peter, Thomas Richardson, Thomas Johns, William Deakins Junr and Adam Stewart of Maryland with an equal Number of Trustees residing in Virginia at the said Meeting of George Town be appointed a Subcommittee according to Mr. Ballendines late Proposals and that a Convenient number of them have Power to Act.³⁶

WILLIAM DEAKINS JUN	C. BEATTY	THO JOHNSON JR
THOMAS JOHNS	JONATHAN HEGER ³⁷	THOS. CRESAP
RICHARD THOMPSON	JOHN CARY	JOHN STULL ³⁸
	ADAM STEWART	JOHN HANSON JUNR
	WM. BEATTY	THO RICHARDSON
		JACOB YOUNG
		DAN HUGHES

(Copy Exd)

VIII. HEADS OF AN ACT.

Heads of an Act for Raising the Sum of 50,000 for the more Effectual Carrying Mr Ballantynes plan of Extending the Navigation of Potomac River into Execution etc etc etc³⁹

³⁴ On May 8, 1772, Ballendine had secured from prominent men in both colonies a testimonial of their confidence in his integrity and ability, and subscriptions to a fund to enable him to go to Great Britain to examine canals, locks, etc. In September, 1774, he announced in the *Maryland Gazette* that he was just back from Europe with engineers and artificers to open the Potomac. On Oct. 10 a meeting of prominent men of both colonies was held at Georgetown and subscriptions made to aid him in his project. *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 117-123. For the announcement made by him in the *Maryland Gazette* of Oct. 25, 1774, giving a list of the trustees, see *ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁵ For an account of this meeting see *ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Hagar* in the *Maryland Gazette*. These names are not original signatures, but are in the same handwriting as the rest of the document.

³⁸ *Stall* in the *Maryland Gazette*.

³⁹ For Ballendine's plan see notes 12 and 34. These remarks were written

Remarks

Whereas and so on—Be it Enacted etc.

That the said Sum of £ 50,000 be divided into 500 Shares of £ 100 Each, and that Every such Share may be transferd or sold at the future Option of Each Subscriber to such Share.

That Books be opened at the Several places herein after named viz. Williamsburg, Norfolk, Dumfries, Fredericksburg, Alexandria and Winchester in Virginia, Annapolis, Marlborough, Bladensburg, George Town, Frederic Town and Hagers Town in Maryland.

to receive the Names of Each Subscriber and of the Sum which is intended to be subscribed, and Notice thereof given in the Newspapers of each province.

That at the Expiration of 3 months after such Subscription Books are opened, a Meeting of the following Gentn. or any 5 of them be held at Alexandria to consider the State of the said Subscriptions Viz

That if it should appear that a larger Sum than what is intended to be raised by this Act is subscribed, it may be in the power of the Gentn. above named, to omit as many of the smaller Subscriptions as may be found necessary, and as far as the said Subscriptions may fall short of the said intended Sum, then the Gentn. above named may be impowered to borrow or raise the same by Lottery as to them may appear most beneficial for the purpose.

That provided the Sum of £ 30,000 be subscribed at the time of said Meeting at Alexandria as aforesaid, a Deposit of 10 p Ct shall then be made by Each Subscriber to assist the Undertaking, bearing Interest from the Date of Each payment, provided the whole Sum is subscribed, a Deposit of 7 1/2 P Ct. be adopted on the whole, as aforesaid.

That in Case any Neglect may arise in the future payment of any Call of so much p Ct. on the Subscribers as the Trustees or Directors hereafter to be appointed may deem necessary, after — Days Notice given in Writing, then the former Deposits are forfeited and made void and the said Trustees or Directors may dispose of the said Share or Shares at public Sale giving Notice accordingly, the profit arising to be applyd to the General Fund.

That Until the Subscription be completed the Gentlemen afore named may continue to act, and are impower'd to appoint whom of the Subscribers they think proper to superintend the progress of the Undertaking and the Expenditure of the Money, but as soon as the Subscription is filled, immediate Notice shall be given in the papers of Virga. and Maryland that a General Meeting of the Subscribers will be held at A—— or G on the 2d Wed. in the Ensuing Month, to Elect by Ballot 12 Trustees or Directors to continue 2 or 3 Years as the Majority shall then determine; fixing on a future Day for the Choice of New Ones. These Trustees may be sworn or not and shall be impowered to Conduct the whole Business of fixing the several Rates of Toll, settling the Wages of

by Washington, and may be based on the bill referred to in the *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, June 14, 1775, as "the Bill for raising a Capital fund of forty thousand pounds by subscription, and establishing a Company for opening and extending the navigation of the River Potowmack". Other references to the bill may be found under dates of June 15 and June 21, 1775. It was passed by both houses but is not found in Hening.

the latter to give Security and to settle the Annual Divid. These Trustees to meet alternately at A and G on the first _____ in Every Month or oftner, as they shall deem necessary, not fewer than 5 to make a Committee, subject to no other allowance than a moderate Expende at Each Meeting, these Trustees to give an Acct. of the State of the Undertaking at a General Meeting whenever called upon by 12 Subscribers, and at the Annual General Meeting which shall be held at _____ on _____ Day of _____

No person shall be intitled to vote at the Election of Trustees or Direct. unless possessed of 3 Shares, nor shall any Trustee act as such unless possessed of 5 Shares.

That a Dividend be made if possible twice a year and notice of the Time and Rate be given in the papers, and to be made at no Expende to the Subscribers Except that of sending to Receive it.

That at Every General Meeting Except for the Election of Trustees, Every Subscriber indiscriminately has a Liberty of Voting. *Quaere*: Whether it is necessary that Every Subscriber should be allowed as many Votes as Shares? I know of no Instances of the Kind in England.

That if the Interest arising from the Tolls as first fixed in an Equitable and proportionate Degree, should amount to more than a Dividend of 12 or suppose 15 p Ct. then it may be in the power of the Trustees (to prevent any Suspicion of Extortion or Monopoly,) to reduce the Rate of Toll, so as Reserving an Adequate Supply for Accidental Repairs, the Dividend may continue at such stated Rate.

[*Endorsement*:] Heads of an Act for opening the navigation of the River Potomac.

[The next document is a schedule, in Washington's handwriting, of Ballendine's proposed toll-rates, embracing both Potomac and James. These rates may have been used in preparing the tables which accompany the acts of 1784 for incorporating the Potomac and James River companies; Hening, XI. 456, 517, 518. Washington's comments on those acts, no. XIII., *post*, are written on the same sheet as this schedule, not here printed.]

IX. ESTIMATE OF EXPENSE, JAMES RIVER.

*An Estimate of the expense in removing the obstructions in James River, and for extending the Navigation about 200 Miles above the Falls.*⁴⁰

£ Virg C'y

From the tide Water at Richmond up to Westham is about 6 miles, in this distance there is 73 feet fall, which will require 7 Locks, estimated at £ 800 stg each

5600

⁴⁰ The date of this estimate is uncertain, but judging from Washington's remark to Thomas Jefferson, in his letter of Mar. 29, 1784, it would seem to be about 1774: "To get this business [navigation of Potomac River] in motion. I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River, in order to remove the jealousies, which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac." Sparks, IX. 30. The manuscript affords an unusually good example of Washington's most characteristic style of handwriting.

Extra expence in the first lock for sinking and extending the same, so as to admit Barges or Rafts 100 feet long, 16 feet wide, and 4 deep	400
Extra expence in cutting a streight canal frm. the river side up into the first lock 4 ft. deep	500
Extra expence in the upper Lock at Westham to turn and raise the Water by a Suffict. Dam	1200
Extra expence in a side Work from the said Lock, laid with stone sufficient to secure the Canal from Freshes	800
As the Falls betwn. Westham and Shockoes, or Richmond, is too rapid for the river navigation it is considered to make a level cut along the side of the river from Westham to the Warehouses near Tide Water, the same to be made 30 feet wide and 4 feet deep estimated at £ 25 Stg. pr. mile	6000
For spreading the Earth etc. on the lower side of the Canal for a road etc. to track up with Horses at £ 25 pr. Mile	150
From Westham to the Seven Islands is 80 miles by Water, the loose stones to remove in many places in that distance and shoals to deepen for a clear passage.	750
The track for horses along the river side the above distance and large trees to cut and clear at £ 25 pr. mile	2000
The Falls at the Seven Islands are about five miles long, much like the Shanondoah falls in Potomack, which will not require more than 2 river locks	800
Clearing and removing the rocks in the Rivr. the same distance for a safe passage estimd	1200
The track for horses all the way must be laid with large stone secure from freshes etc.	2300
From the Seven Islands up the said river navigation thro' the bleu ridge is about 100 miles as the river runs, in this distance no sudden falls, only the stones to remove and some shoals to deepen for a safe passage	2500
The track for horses the same distance at £ 25 pr. Mile	2500
Extra Expence for 2 River Locks	800
Extra Expence for a pavement of Stone abt. 2 Miles thro the ridge	1000
The River Navigation still continuing good and may be extended as far as necessary for the Land Carriage opposite to the Kenhawa, for	4000
Total,	£32,500

[*Endorsement:*] Estimate of the Expence in removing the obstructions of the Navigation of James River.

(To be continued.)

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Trend of History: Origins of Twentieth Century Problems.
By WILLIAM KAY WALLACE. (New York: Macmillan Company.
1922. Pp. xix, 372. \$3.50.)

THIS work constitutes a respectable achievement in the field of historical interpretation. The author endeavors to unfold from the vast body of facts relative to the history of modern times the major trends and developments which have produced the contemporary social order. The attempt is, for the most part, successful and illuminating. The present work is, apparently, the first in a series of two or more volumes—in all probability it is the historical prolegomenon to a sociological analysis of modern society.

Mr. Wallace's conception of the trend of history is that we are passing from an age dominated by political institutions into one in which the economic and social factors will be ascendant. "We are standing on the threshold of an unpolitical age. Politics has fallen from its high estate. . . . The preëminence of the State politically conceived, has been called into question. . . . Other forms of corporate organisation are pressing for recognition. We may in turn see arising before our eyes a new, great social institution. . . . 'Industrialism,' which may serve to denominate this new institution, is a social and economic system, only indirectly political. Such would appear to be the trend of history." While this view has received the partial assent of notable political thinkers from Gierke and Maitland to Figgis, Belloc, Duguit, Oppenheimer, Loria, and Laski, its truth or falsity does not affect the value of this first volume by Mr. Wallace. He makes little effort to elaborate this thesis in his review of the more important tendencies in the development of modern society.

Much more significant for the historian is his view of the true nature and function of history. He boldly claims that all vital history must be institutional and interpretative, must discover and indicate causal relationships, and must concentrate upon those things which most directly contribute to an explanation of the characteristics of the present age:

History is the book of life of mankind. Its function is primarily interpretative. Historical interpretation means the selection of those relevant factors out of the mass of past events which stand in significant relation to the present moment. . . . Hitherto history has generally been conceived in an exclusively political sense as a record of the *res gestae*, and of the men who brought them to pass. . . . History must henceforth

be approached from an institutional, not from an individual or national standpoint. . . . Religion, politics, and economics are the three great regulative factors of human intercourse subsumed under the term—Society. At various epochs the principal emphasis has been placed now on one, now on another of these elements, according to a certain historically relevant relationship which may be traced. It is a one-sided distortion of historical truth to attempt to claim absolute preëminence for any one of these factors, though the dominance first of one and then of another is confirmed by a perusal of history. As a consequence the manner and mode of the civilisation of a given epoch, the cultural life of a period is colored by the dominant characteristic of the age, be it religious, political, or economic. . . . History in this sense is not merely the book of life, it may if read aright become the book of wisdom of mankind. . . . [By] presenting those events which are closely related to our own times and showing the relationship that exists between the past and the present, . . . we may hope to arrive at an understanding of the significance of the course of events. . . . It is . . . with these causal factors that history is primarily concerned. It is by weaving them into a unity, by setting forth cogently whatever may serve to explain their meaning, that the course of events, the trend of history is revealed.

This appears to the reviewer to be a reasonably accurate and satisfactory formulation of the point of view and programme of the so-called "new history", and Mr. Wallace has made a creditable contribution to the growing body of historical literature which exemplifies this type of historical writing. His work begins with a survey of the breakdown of the medieval system as produced by the rise of the middle class, the growth of parliamentary institutions, the early phases of nationalism and secular absolutism, and the anticipations of constitutional government, culminating in the French Revolution and the popularization of national sentiment. He next sketches the remarkable development of the power and prestige of the *bourgeoisie* since the Industrial Revolution, and describes the development of nationalism and *Realpolitik*. Then the reaction against capitalism and nationalism is studied in the development of socialism and internationalism. The remaining portion of the book is devoted to a somewhat confused analysis of modern diplomacy, imperialism, and international relations, in the course of which the author develops the interesting, if not altogether convincing, thesis that imperialism in the contemporary age has been due to collusion between the aristocracy and the proletariat, and not to the *bourgeois* impulse to extend trading facilities by securing markets in territory overseas.

The author does not give any evidence of acquaintance with the most important literature of institutional and interpretative history which has been produced in the last generation, and, though his conclusions are not widely different from the accepted synthesis of modern history in such works as those by Pollard, Gillespie, Ogg, Abbott, Hayes, Fueter, Marvin, and others, there can be no doubt that Mr. Wallace's analysis would have been freshened and strengthened if he had possessed a prior acquaintance with the more up-to-date works on modern times. Particu-

larly does the book lack an adequate comprehension and exposition of the relation of the expansion of Europe and the Industrial Revolution to the institutional history of Europe since 1500. Again, the order and arrangement of chapters is curiously and notably defective, frequently defying both logic and continuity of thought. There are a number of minor errors, such as the sweeping statement about the effects of the French Revolution (p. 80), the exaggerated notion of the influence of Rousseau upon American political thought from 1765 to 1776, the allegation that racial arrogance has played no part in French nationalism, and the assertion that Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* is written in "lucid language", but, on the whole, it is the opinion of the reviewer that in few other places can there be discovered as successful an attempt to interpret the "trend of modern history".

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Progress and Science: Essays in Criticism. By ROBERT SHAFER. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xii, 243. \$2.50.)

SOMEONE who wishes to be thought original should try writing a book in the field of social studies without using the word "progress", or its popular equivalent "evolution". I don't know whether it would be possible, so convenient is the word for conveying the impression of valuable objectives without being under the necessity of defining either the values or objectives. The other day I read Mr. Herbert Hoover's little booklet on *American Individualism*, in which the word progress was used twenty-six times in seventy pages; and although Mr. Hoover implicitly accepted the notion of progress as the test of all social organization, and explicitly justified his faith in American Individualism on the ground that it contributed to progress, he did not condescend to tell us what it was that constituted progress. In reading his book I was accordingly left with a lively sense of being on my way without knowing where I was going. This I suppose is the great value of the word; it stands as a symbol of the modern faith that the great thing is to keep on moving, the substance of the thing not seen but hoped for being that if we do this, if we keep on moving, we shall every day in every way be getting better and better.

The content of this modern creed is of course more concrete than this in the minds of those who have thought seriously about it; and in this more concrete form Mr. Shafer has defined it accurately enough as follows:

Social progress has in short . . . become a species of popular religion of which the chief articles of belief are: that earthly life is in and for itself a good thing, that terrestrial happiness is possible for all men, that applied science and industry have given us the means for abundant enjoyment, and, that it is now the task of social science and government so to order our common life that toil shall not rest heavily upon any of

us and that the means of enjoyment shall be equally open to all. It is, moreover, generally believed not only that terrestrial happiness is possible for all men, but that it is infallibly coming to pass. (P. 49.)

Mr. Shafer is convinced that this is a dangerous delusion; and his book (a revision of essays previously printed) is devoted to proving it. He has perhaps not always chosen the strongest towers for demolition, and he sometimes accepts evidence of doubtful validity. For example, his use of the results of the army intelligence tests (he is not alone in this) seems to prove that the average adult mind of Americans is below the average adult mind of Americans—which reminds one of the Dominie who claimed a high standard for his own sermons by saying, "I always preach up to my average, and usually above it". But in general Mr. Shafer's work is a thoughtful presentation of points often made before. Science increased the goods to be enjoyed; but the result is that men and their desires increase more rapidly, so that happiness is as far off as before. Neither education nor institutional change can accomplish more than a limited improvement, because the accumulation of knowledge "is a very different thing from increasing intellectual capacity", and biology assures us, or at least Professor Conklin does, that "the hope of permanently improving the human race, or any other species . . . can only lead to disappointment". In the end all that Mr. Shafer will concede is that the doctrine of Progress "may indeed serve as an anodyne for the treadmill of earthly experience".

But this is to concede all. Creeds are illusions; but that is precisely their significance and value. Man cannot live the good life without illusions. The beasts of the field live without illusions, taking things as they come, because they remember but little and foresee but little. But man recalls the past, and because he does so he also looks into the future; and he finds that the present, regarded in this long perspective, is intolerable as reality. From this reality he accordingly escapes into an imagined past or future, into a dream world, into utopia. If utopia (Plato's or Sir Thomas More's or Edward Bellamy's) became a reality it too would be intolerable, because there would no longer be anything to hope for, mystery and adventure and aspiration would disappear—in short, existence would be a burden. It was quite unnecessary for Plato to exclude poetry and the fine arts from his Republic. In a real utopia they would vanish of themselves, since in a real utopia there would no longer be any incentive to create imagined utopias. The notion of progress is the illusion, the utopia, which the modern world has substituted for that of Christian theology. Formerly men labored in the vineyard of the Lord, and their reward was to enter into Heaven. To-day, having lost faith in God and Heaven, we labor "to make this world a better place to live in", and our reward is to be remembered by a grateful posterity. Posterity, like adversity, thus has its uses—"Posterity", as Diderot remarked, "is the other world of the philosopher". It is illusion if you like; but after all we are perhaps more likely to make the

world a better place to live in if we think it can be done than if we think it can't be done.

CARL BECKER.

A Manual of Archive Administration, including the Problems of War Archives and Archive Making. By HILARY JENKINSON, M.A., F.S.A. [*Economic and Social History of the World War, British Series*, JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., General Editor. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1922. Pp. xix, 243, 7. 10 s. 6 d.)

THIS work is divided into five parts and six appendixes, of which part I. defines archives, discusses their nature and quality and the standardization of methods respecting them, and summarizes the purpose of the book. Part II. (pp. 23-114) treats of the Origin and Development of Archives and Rules for Archive Keeping, for example, their evolution with respect to division and differentiation; their transmission with respect to questions of custody and administration; the functions of an archivist, what they are and are not; archives as contrasted with manuscripts in museums and libraries; the physical and moral defense of archives; their housing, care, and repair; principles for the classification of archives; preparation of guides, indexes and repertories, and calendars, as well as printed texts. Part III. (pp. 115-133) is concerned mainly with the problems arising in the selection and destruction of "modern archives". Part IV. (pp. 134-162), on "archive making", discusses the materials, such as paper, inks, stamps, and typewriter ribbons, and the administrative functions like preservation and destruction, accessioning, use of a register, limitation of use in certain cases, and organization of the staff. Part V. (pp. 163-178) is wholly devoted to "war archives" of the late World War, namely, their bulk, questions of selection, the relations of local and central war archives, and ideas for their collection and arrangement. The appendixes, in part, outline a scheme for a "bibliography of archive science", suggest paraphernalia such as boxes, files, and bindings, and lay down specimen "rules for an archive repairing department". There is an adequate index.

Mr. Jenkinson had written most of his work before he met with the reviewer's scheme for an archives manual, presented in 1912 at a conference of the Public Archives Commission. He graciously refers to it as an "excellent scheme" and adds: "A manual completed on the lines there laid down should contain . . . a large amount of what the archivist requires in the way of suggestion and precept." But he also hopes his book, "based on those archives which have inspired the work of so many American scholars, may be found to contain a point of view and illustrations worthy of some attention". The reviewer is happy to assure him that his hope must be realized, and that his sound judgments deserve *serious* attention from American archivists and custodians of our official records.

Such a work in English has been a need, and the American archivist could set himself no more useful undertaking than the making of an intimate summary of this volume, in all matters that are applicable and adjustable to the nature of American archives; and he could enhance the value of his archives by introducing the practice of these first principles into his administration of them. To the historian or other scholar, the Jenkinson volume will have value with respect to the evolution of the British records.

It is tempting to digest the main points, but allotted space forbids. The fundamental principles he aims to hold uppermost. The primary duty of the archivist is to safeguard his archives, and secondarily he should "provide . . . for the needs of historians and other research workers". This order "must not be reversed". So "the only correct basis of arrangement is exposition of the administrative objects which the archives originally served", and not "the subject interests they may possess for modern students". Therefore, the *fonds* or archive group constitutes "the archives resulting from the work of an administration which was an organic whole, complete in itself, capable of dealing independently, without any added or external authority, with every side of any business which could normally be presented to it". His definitions of archives and documents need to be studied in the United States, where the distinction is hardly understood, whence comes also lack of understanding in arrangement and classification. A corollary he gives is, that "archives were not drawn up in the interest or for the information of posterity" and that documents become archives when they "are set aside for preservation in official custody". Problems concerning the late war archives, in most cases, "cannot be properly understood except by an archivist trained in the history of archives of the past".

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

Rome and the World Today: a Study, in Comparison with Present Conditions, of the Reorganization of Civilization under the Roman Empire which Brought to a War-worn World Two Hundred Years of Peace. By HERBERT S. HADLEY, Professor of Law at the University of Colorado. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1922. Pp. xvi, 362. \$3.00.)

THIS volume by the former governor of Missouri is in no sense a work of scholarly research nor does it make any such pretension. It is a study of the career of Augustus and is based frankly upon secondary sources, and, apparently, upon such of them as are available in English. For the specialist the work is marred by a number of mistakes and misleading expressions but an enumeration of them is hardly necessary. They do not greatly diminish the value of the book for the general reader as they seldom affect the broad outline of the picture which the author draws. For the historian the interest of the work must be sought elsewhere than

in its details. It will always be worth while to learn the views of a man of such ability and standing as Professor Hadley on the results of historical investigation and from this point of view the book will have an interest for the specialist in spite of its inaccuracies.

Two motives have led to the publication of the book. One of these is the desire of the author to encourage those who feel depressed by the present situation of the world by showing that civilization has survived a crisis quite as formidable in the past. The similarity of conditions to-day and those which confronted Augustus is seldom long absent from the author's mind, but the analogy is not often pressed unduly. How much comfort the reader will derive from this side of the work will probably depend upon the strength of his faith in the validity of historic parallels.

The other motive for the publication is the enthusiastic admiration of the author for Augustus and his conviction that historians have not adequately appreciated that emperor's work or character. As a vindication of Augustus in the eyes of the general reader the work will probably be successful, if it should achieve popularity, but it is not likely to affect materially the judgment of scholars. The author seems hardly to have understood the grounds on which his hero has been criticized by historians and hence his answers are not usually convincing. For example, the often-repeated charge of hypocrisy has a much more solid basis than Professor Hadley seems to believe. The accusation was not brought against the emperor on such trivial grounds as that he used the device of a sphinx on his seal but because the entire Principate was an elaborate farce. It can only be met by finding some other explanation of the element of make-believe in his government. The reviewer personally believes that this can be done, at least to a considerable extent, but Professor Hadley seems hardly to have seen that under Augustus things were not always what they were officially described as being. Other instances of the same sort might be given, but this one will suffice for purposes of illustration.

In sum, it may be said that while the book will have only a general interest for the specialist it will give the average reader a substantially true picture of the times. It is well written and entertaining and the errors of detail do not materially affect the broad outlines of the author's presentation. As an admirable corrective to much popular misunderstanding both of Rome and of Augustus it is to be hoped that the work will enjoy a wide circulation.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

A History of Germanic Private Law. By RUDOLF HUEBNER, Professor of Legal History in the University of Giessen. Translated by FRANCIS S. PHILBRICK, Professor of Law in the University of California. [The Continental Legal History Series, vol. IV., published under the auspices of the Association of American Law

Schools.] (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. lix, 785. \$4.50.)

READERS of Professor Huebner's scholarly and illuminating *Grundzüge des Deutschen Privatrechts* will rejoice to find it, under its English title and in its English form, included among the volumes of the invaluable Continental Legal History Series, edited by a learned committee of the Association of American Law Schools. In its present edition Dr. Huebner's work will be read, moreover, by many students of law and history who have not a mastery of the technical legal German of the original. Here they will find a rich treasure-house for their exploration and delight. May they use it wisely and frequently in the enrichment of English and American studies in legal history and comparative law.

Although the author deals primarily with the principles of present-day Germanic law, he gives an admirable survey of the historical evolution of the law before and since the Reception of elements of the Roman system. The introduction, in which the general traits of Germanic private law are set forth, is all too slight to enable the reader to obtain a full and rounded picture of the processes which preceded, accompanied, and followed the Reception. But it is suggestive and lucid, and is supplemented by many portions of the main part of the work. In five "books" Dr. Huebner gives an admirable account of the chief subdivisions of the private law of persons, things, obligations, family relations, and inheritance. In each book the principles of law are traced in their historical development throughout the centuries of Germanic life. Origins, medieval growth, the influence of the Reception, and the modern codes, all find their appropriate place in the author's plan. This method of treatment, especially in the hands of a master like Dr. Huebner, makes for lucidity and for the reader's firm grasp of the historical basis of the several branches of modern law stripped of the complexities and superfluities of antiquarianism.

Professor Huebner is a Germanist as distinct from a Romanist: he follows in the footsteps of Gierke and Brunner, not in those of Windscheid and Dernburg. But he uses his materials in his own way and is moderate in his expression of the views of the Germanistic school of legal thought. He is a disciple who respects the conclusions of his masters, but is independent enough to differ from them on occasion and to strike out new lines for himself. This quality of Dr. Huebner's scholarship gives his treatise a special value. It is an excellent summary of the tenets of the Germanists, and as such it will be welcomed by many who find it difficult to grasp the reality—as distinct from the artificiality—of the juristic person, the *Gewere*, and all the other Germanistic doctrines as they are set forth in the longer works of the school. Dr. Huebner boils it all down for us and puts it shortly and clearly. This is his great and special service. But throughout his treatise one finds the author's own philosophic speculation and critical judgment at work; and, when the end is reached, one feels that the author, Germanist though he be, is yet some-

thing more than the pure Germanist. He is indeed not unmindful of the injurious effects, as he is also not unmindful of the blessings, produced by the penetration of Roman legal rules and ideas into the *corpus* of Germanic law in the time of the Reception. By bringing out both of these aspects of the reception of foreign law in Germany Professor Huebner has rendered an additional service to scholarship.

Professor Philbrick's English translation of the German text of the work is accurate and clear. The introductory essays by Sir Paul Vinogradoff and Professor Walz place the reader in the historical and philosophical atmosphere of the subject-matter of the treatise itself and whet his appetite for solid and entertaining learning. Let us be glad that Dr. Huebner's well-known work is now within the reach of anyone who reads English and does not read German. He will find these pages a useful and enlightening introduction to the history and principles of that part of the present-day private law which is based on Germanic, as distinct from Roman, origins and development.

H. D. HAZELTINE.

The History of the Balkan Peninsula from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL, Professor of Modern European History in the University of Chicago. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1922. Pp. vii, 558. \$4.00.)

THE fundamental problem in writing a history of the Balkan Peninsula resembles on a small scale that of writing a history of Europe. Both tasks involve greatly diversified geographical conditions, a number of peoples differing in language and traditions, political conditions which vary from relative anarchy through national to imperial organizations, continuous strands of local history woven together irregularly in the colors of sympathy and aversion and peace and war, and relations of many sorts to areas and peoples outside. If the book must be a short one, the process of selection and exclusion is important and exacting.

Another difficulty arises from the fact that many opaque spots still exist in Balkan history. Archaeology has accomplished little outside of the classical Greek region toward illuminating pre-Macedonian times. Intensive studies can be carried much further in assembling details and restoring completeness and unity to the history of every period and people of the peninsula. Parts of the land are not well measured and mapped—not even well explored. No adequate census has been taken anywhere in Balkania (to adopt Professor Schevill's apt name) until relatively recent times, and in some considerable areas there has never been a reliable census. An impartial study of the habits and customs of the peoples has still to be completed. Natives, as for example Cvijić, have made beginnings but these must be purified from their strong taint of political propaganda. A future age may produce a syndicated enterprise which will do extensive justice to the field.

Professor Schevill has handled his complicated problem very skillfully. He has for the most part omitted doubtful and controversial matters. But believing that an important part of the historian's work consists in illuminating the present time by an accurate representation of appropriate events in the past, he has not endeavored to give equal weight to all regions and to all periods of time. After an introduction which contains a general survey of both the history and geography of Balkania, he devotes only a little space to the Greek and Roman periods. The time of the Byzantine Empire, and Ottoman rule to 1800 A. D. are more fully discussed. About one-half of the book remains to be devoted to the periods since, which he calls the epoch of liberation.

The narrative is sober, clear, and well balanced. Descriptions of the regions, the peoples, and the systems of government are introduced at suitable chronological junctures. Probably no two writers would agree precisely on the distribution of emphasis in such a history. It is possible to criticize Professor Schevill mildly for having introduced at times into an already overcrowded canvas descriptions and episodes which lie mainly outside Balkania. It may be that he devotes a disproportionate space to the systems of government of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires. Of course Balkania was an integral and important part of each of these empires, and strictly speaking it included Constantinople, which was the capital of them both. So much justification can hardly be adduced for the introduction in chapter XXVII. of accounts of the Armenian and Cretan questions under Abdul Hamid II. Perhaps some space saved here might have been used in defining more clearly and sharply the characteristics and the historic continuity of each of the Balkan peoples.

Professor Schevill avoids expressions of personal opinions and exhortations based on mistaken policies of the past. He permits the reader ordinarily to draw his own deductions from the facts presented. Here and there, however, he betrays a pessimism, based upon the repeated triumph of destructive over constructive forces in this area, which does not permit much hope for the future. He feels that imperialism and extreme nationalism have alike led to fatal results. He sees hope only in the appearance of a real League of Nations, which will be able to supervise and control Balkania.

Whether Dr. Schevill has made many errors of omission, as regards affairs of equal importance to those he mentions, is a matter of personal judgment. His positive errors are not of great consequence. He is inexact as regards a number of dates and circumstances, as when he calls it "almost two thousand years" since the reign of the Emperor Constantine (p. 7), and states that Maria Theresa of Austria died in 1781 (p. 271), and Catherine II. of Russia in 1795 (p. 273), and that the Franco-Russian alliance was formed "in 1892, to be exact" (p. 449). It is hardly accurate to refer to the "Norse conquerors" of Russia (p.

108), or to say that the Byzantine Empire was "made up of Greeks" (p. 48), or that descendants of Central Asians make up the bulk of the population of Anatolia to-day (p. 127), or that Mohammed II. repopulated Constantinople after 1453 "from the country round about" (p. 200). There is perhaps a slight pro-Serbian and anti-Bulgarian bias in the treatment of the Macedonian and similar questions.

The style is occasionally obscure, but it contains frequent shrewd observations, vivid phrases, and adequate descriptions. For example, he says in portraying the Byzantine Empire: "The vitalizing element is the stream of inheritance, consisting of the Roman tradition in the state and the Hellenic tradition in commerce, literature, and the arts" (p. 123). Again, he describes the theme of the second half of the book as "the heroic struggle of the rejuvenated Christian peoples to shake off a degrading yoke and to assert their inalienable right of directing their own destiny" (p. 287). The spelling and proof-reading are not faultless. The book contains fifteen well-chosen maps, a bibliographical list, tables of sovereigns, and an analytical index.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

La Música de las Cantigas. Estudio sobre su Origen y Naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna por JULIAN RIBERA de las Reales Académias Española y de la Historia. (Madrid: Tipografía de la *Revista de Archivos*. 1922. Pp. 156, 346.)

THIS forms the third volume of the great edition of the "Cantigas de Santa Maria" of Alphonso X., *El Sabio*, which has been edited for the Royal Spanish Academy by the Marqués de Valmar. The first two volumes of the edition, on the text of these songs, hardly come within the scope of this *Review*. But the present volume is not only so valuable a contribution to our knowledge of the medieval music of the Spanish peninsula and to the history of music in general but it also breaks such new ground as to the interrelations of the civilizations of Islam and of Christendom that at least attention must be drawn to it in these pages. That students of the history of music must take account of it is certain, just as students of Romance literature had to take account of the earlier volumes; but our unhappy zeal for specialization would be reduced to an absurdity if this volume were to be passed over by students of history because they were not musicians, or were not interested in Alphonso the Wise and his taste in songs. Songs, like folk-lore stories, are free of all boundaries of race, language, or religion. They and their melodies run beyond seas and transform themselves into strange shapes and for strange uses, and Professor Ribera's thesis is, in short, that these Galician hymns in honor of the Virgin are last echoes of love-melodies gathered in Bagdad to please Harun ar-Rashid and perhaps go back even farther to Persia, Byzantium, and Greece.

In this he is only confirming and carrying a step farther his thesis of ten years ago in his *Discurso*, read before the Royal Spanish Academy when he was received by it as a member in May, 1912: that the key to the mechanism of the poetical forms of the various lyrical systems in medieval Europe is to be found in the Andalusian lyric, to which the *Cancionero* of Abencuzmán belongs (*Discurso*, p. 50) and that the Andalusian lyric arose in a bilingual community speaking two colloquials, Arabic and Romance, in the mixed civilization, Muslim and Christian, of the south of Spain. And even then he had recognized the importance for this of these *Cantigas* and of the musical affiliations of Alphonso the Wise (pp. 47 ff.).

He, now, on the basis of an elaborate study of the music of the *Cantigas*, to which he was led almost accidentally, has come to the following farther conclusions: (i) While the attempts through modern Muslim music to reach that of the medieval Muslim world have failed, there is to be found in the manuscripts of the *Cantigas*, when rightly interpreted, a very rich collection of specimens of that music, both vocal and instrumental, perfectly preserved as it existed in our thirteenth century. (ii) This collection also gives the origin of all the different forms of native Spanish music existing in the different provinces of Spain at the present day; they all go back to these, products of the Andalusian genius, working under the stimulus of the Muslim civilization. (iii) This musical system also gives the clue to the secular European music of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially that in the manuscripts of the troubadours, which has remained so obscure in spite of all researches. (iv) It shows clearly the origin of that mysterious musical phantom, "musica ficta" and "diabolus in musica", which appeared among almost all the peoples of medieval Europe and the origin of which has never been explained. (v) This music is in a notation quite intelligible but very archaic, pointing to great antiquity; yet it is such as to give pleasure even to ears accustomed to modern harmonized music. It is demonstrably derived from the music of Persia and Byzantium. Does it, then, lead us back to the lost music of Greece?

Professor Ribera shows that the origins of Muslim music are made perfectly clear by the Arabic writers on the history of that art. These writers have also treated the art at length; but their descriptions and theories have been almost unintelligible to us for the lack of illustrative specimens. And modern Muslim music has gone only a little way toward filling this gap; yet perhaps Professor Ribera is here somewhat too disdainful. Certainly the manuscripts of the *Cantigas* do fill the gap most amply, both in a multitude of melodies in full notation and in many pictures of musicians and their instruments. One of the great bridges of connection between the two civilizations is thus at last made plain to us and vague hypotheses of possibilities become solid reality. This is part of the great work of the Spanish school of Arabists, and is to be sharply distinguished from the fantastic speculations of Professor Wiener.

DUNCAN B. MACDONALD.

Medieval France: a Companion to French Studies. Edited by ARTHUR TILLEY, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xx, 456. 25 s.)

"THE aim of this volume is to present to the reader within a moderate compass a survey of the history (political, military, naval, economic), language, literature, and art of Medieval France." This aim has been fully attained and a book produced that appeals equally to the general reader and to students. In the dearth of good books in English in this field, the volume will be especially welcome to teachers as collateral reading for classes in earlier French history, though it is evidently not intended as a text-book.

The list of the collaborators is in itself sufficient guarantee of the character of the work: Chapter I., Geography, by Professor Gallois; II., History, by Professor Langlois; III., The Army, by M. P. Caron; IV., The Navy, by M. Ch. de la Roncière; V., Industry and Commerce, by Professor Halphen; VI., Scholastic Philosophy and Universities, by Mr. A. G. Little; VII., Language and Dialects, by Professor Jeanroy; VIII., Literature, by M. Lucien Foulet; IX., Architecture, by Sir T. G. Jackson; X., Sculpture, Glass, Painting, by Dr. M. R. James.

Professor Langlois gives in 120 pages a brilliant review of the political history of France from 987 to 1494. Without unnecessary detail, he traces the growth of the royal power, the development of administrative machinery and taxation, the rise of the towns, and the beginnings of foreign interests and international relations. In a book of this kind chapters on the army and navy might well have been omitted to give space for more important topics, such as the organization of the Church in France and the condition of the peasants. The treatment of the navy, however, proves unusually interesting. The chapter on the army is not so satisfactory, omitting as it does the discussion of such general topics as the influence of crusading experience, the reasons for English superiority in the Hundred Years' War, the changes in tactics and discipline due to the use of mercenary soldiers and the early organization of artillery. Professor Halphen's survey of industry and commerce is, as might be expected, a masterly sketch. In particular, it contains the best brief account of the fairs of Champagne to be found in English. The chapter on medieval French literature is a model of its kind. It is charmingly written and M. Foulet has shown great skill in tracing the relations of literature to the social and political conditions of the time.

In turning to the contributions of the English authors, one cannot help being struck by a falling off in the method of treatment. The chapters on the universities, on architecture, and on the arts are scholarly in treatment, but they lack the breadth of view and the consciousness of the unity of all phases of French life that are to be found in the other chapters. There are too many facts for a general survey and the woods cannot be seen for the trees. The details of the organization and studies of the

thirteen provincial universities of France are of interest only to the specialist and become tiresome to the general reader. The same is true of the description of decorative details of the various cathedrals and abbey churches. Such minutiae are more suited to a work of reference than to a general survey of the culture of the period.

A few errors due to carelessness or mistranslation have been noted. Louis VII. is said (p. 53) to have had no children by Eleanor of Aquitaine, though there were two daughters by this marriage; Philip the Fair died "without male heirs" (p. 173); Edward III. is called the "grand-nephew" and Philip VI. the "cousin" of Philip the Fair (p. 173); St. Louis's reign is given (p. 388) as 1223 to 1264; Ferdinand and Isabella are said to have had an "only" daughter (p. 137); the Normans are spoken of as the "most ferocious of all the barbarians who desolated France" (p. 333); the chief trade route between Aigues-Mortes and Rochelle, mentioned on page 339, differs from that laid down on M. Halphen's map, pages 202-203.

A. C. HOWLAND.

La Formation de l'Unité Française. Leçons professées au Collège de France en 1889-1890 par AUGUSTE LONGNON, Membre de l'Institut. Publiées par H.-FRANÇOIS DELABORDE, avec Préface par CAMILLE JULLIAN. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1922. Pp. xiii, 460.)

THE posthumous publication of class-room lectures is one of the penalties which great and original scholars are likely to have to pay for their pre-eminence, and Auguste Longnon, author of the *Atlas Historique de la France* and profound student of French historical geography and toponymy, is to be no exception to the rule. His lectures on place-names began to appear in 1920, and the course of lectures on *La Formation de l'Unité Française*, which he delivered more than thirty years ago at the Collège de France, is now at hand in a substantial volume. Let it be said at the outset that the publication of this work, revealing as it does the wealth of the author's knowledge extending over a vast field and the qualities of his teaching, will not diminish his reputation. The volume contains no striking novelties, but novelties are hardly to be expected in a work which comes from the press so long after it was written.

Writing of the author's career shortly after his death in 1911, Gabriel Monod expressed a regret that in Longnon the historian had been so largely submerged in the geographer and that he had died without producing "a history of the geographical and political formation of France which he was qualified above all others to write" (*Revue Historique*, CVIII. 327). This history, which Longnon failed to give to the world in his lifetime, is now supplied in the present volume, and while it may not have taken quite the form which the author would have most desired, it is not likely that the territorial growth and consolidation of the French

nation from 987 to 1871 will ever again be treated with such fullness and mastery. Beginning with an exact description of the realm, of the royal domain, and of the holdings of the chief vassals at the accession of Hugh Capet, the author goes on to trace in detail the territorial vicissitudes of the monarchy under Hugh's successors until the forces of feudal disintegration and of foreign domination were at last defeated and the royal domain extended to the limits of the realm. It is a complicated story. Lands once gained by the monarchy were often torn away again in moments of weakness or granted away as appanages to provide suitable establishments for princes of the blood royal, and their recovery was often long delayed and difficult. But the author's courage does not fail him amid the mass of intricate details. With an unrivalled knowledge of feudal dynasties and their holdings he pursues his course, drawing up the balance-sheet of the gains and losses of the monarchy reign by reign. With the passing of the feudal age and its complexities the narrative becomes more simple, and the author confines his attention in the main to the policy and aims of the government in successive periods and to the provisions of the treaties by which at the close of successful wars the national territory was extended step by step toward the "natural frontiers". Brief though the treatment of the modern period is, it is difficult to understand why Richelieu's struggle with the Huguenots, which was surely an important episode in the history of national unification, should have been passed over with no more than a bare mention.

A sort of patriotic fervor pervades the entire work, giving it a certain epic quality. "L'histoire de la formation territoriale de la France que je vais dérouler devant vous, c'est, en effet, l'histoire de la formation du pays qui a tout notre amour, du pays pour lequel nous sommes tous prêts à donner le meilleur de nous-mêmes, soit en le défendant contre les entreprises de l'étranger, soit en travaillant, chacun dans notre sphère, à lui maintenir la place glorieuse que, depuis tant de siècles, il occupe si légitimement à la tête des peuples." Longnon was a convinced believer in the doctrine of the "natural frontiers". But everywhere his patriotism was restrained and controlled by his devotion to science and his love of truth.

The volume is provided with a detailed and careful index of some eighty pages which greatly increases its value as a work of reference. It is almost wholly lacking in bibliography.

C. W. DAVID.

History of Switzerland, 1499-1914. By WILHELM OECHSLI, late Professor of Swiss History at the University of Zurich. Translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul. [Cambridge Historical Series.] (Cambridge: University Press. 1922. Pp. xiii, 480. 20 s.)

FOLLOWING the general plan of the Cambridge Historical Series this work is concerned with the modern history of the Swiss commonwealth.

The heroic-romantic period of struggle and victorious independence is recapitulated in a few pages, and the story begins with the just-completed confederation of thirteen states now practically, if not formally, detached from the German Empire. The author would have been entitled to write with authority upon the whole history of that republic if required, for in addition to important contributions to various intervening periods, he had produced monumental works on the origins of the confederation, and at the other extreme on its history in the nineteenth century.

Switzerland enters this epoch with a military reputation surpassed by none, but with a civil organization so feeble that it collapsed on the slightest touch. Each miniature state was so inflated with local independence that the federal diet was a mere assembly of ambassadors who could take no action without referring to home governments, and if by some extraordinary chance a resolution was unanimously voted obedience could not be obtained if any state chose to disregard it. Any member of the confederation could make separate alliances with foreign states; consequently the picture is confused with a multitude of entangling treaties. Switzerland, at peace within, was mixed in all the wars of western Europe. The country enjoyed the effects of neutrality because all nations wished to use it as a recruiting ground.

If the observer is surprised that the Swiss remained in this unstable condition for 350 years before obtaining a real federal government, he must consider the shocks which this feeble structure encountered. Here is where Professor Oechsli's treatment excels. The work is almost strictly political history, with only a few of its twenty-six chapters devoted to the civilization of the advancing centuries. Much space is given to the international complications in which Switzerland was involved owing to differences of opinion on religious and governmental questions upon which any state could act as it pleased.

The first shock was received almost at the beginning of the new union, in the advent of the Reformation. Religion being under state regulation, the differences of belief entered at once into politics and caused not only differences of sentiment but even hostile military action between states. Possession of common subject territories and a common market for mercenary soldiers prevented by the narrowest margin the dissolution of the union on lines of creed. In the discussion of this subject the author is eminently fair. Stanch Protestant himself, he distributes praise and blame with discriminating hand to both contestants, and presents a remarkable picture of the international intrigues which characterized the conflict. Further on, in reviewing the part played by the Swiss in the religious wars of two centuries, he notes the numerous instances where their soldiery delivered the decisive blow for pay and not for patriotism.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterized also by wide differences in the forms of state government, varying from rural democracies to patrician aristocracies in the cities, with standing subordination of those who lived outside the walls. Here again the picture is

sketched with rapid and decisive strokes and the failings of the author's ancestral countrymen are described with penetrating insight. So too the final shock of the Revolution and Napoleonic interference receive an unencumbered treatment which one does not always expect from an author who has already written volumes on that period alone.

An appendix contains a reprint of a series of articles written during the early part of the war on the "Historical Relations of England and Switzerland", covering events between 1514 and 1857. This was intended to restrain unfavorable comments inspired by German sympathy on England's position in the war. An extensive bibliography of Swiss history will be helpful to progressive readers, but would have been more so if the items had been accompanied by brief comments.

The author should have the credit for his plan and treatment, but the translators deserve high praise for their clear-cut, distinctive English.

J. M. VINCENT.

Catherine de Médicis. By PAUL VAN DYKE, Professor in History at Princeton University. In two volumes. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1922. Pp. xi, 389; vii, 447. \$9.00.)

FOR nearly three centuries and a half "St. Bartholomew" epitomized for most persons the whole career and character of Catherine de' Medici, and the portrait by which she was best known was that of a monster of wickedness; crafty, perfidious, cruel; sleepless intriguer; seducer, poisoner, assassin; urged on from one crime to another by the demon of ambition and hate and revenge; pitiless, remorseless, utterly graceless; a foul spirit that entered into the wretched body of distracted France and incited it to self-destruction—the incarnation of infamy. Such is the portrait handed down and accepted as genuine for more than three hundred years.

But that incorrigible skeptic and iconoclast, Scholarship, which seems to take a malicious delight in making free with traditional portraits, has lately been showing a good deal of interest in this particular picture, so long hung between Messalina and Jezebel. Within three years two lives of Catherine de' Medici, both of capital importance, have appeared: in 1920, that of M. Jean-H. Mariéjol, whose reputation had already been established by an earlier work in the same field of French history, the sixth volume of Lavissee, *Histoire de France*; and now, that of Professor Van Dyke, who has given us in these two volumes the ripe fruit of ten years of research in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Archives Nationales, the British Museum, the Vatican, and a dozen other libraries, Italian, German, and Swiss. These two are the first scientific biographies of Catherine, the first based wholly on original materials. Indeed, it is only recently that a critical study of her life has been possible. It is not above fifteen years ago that the complete correspondence of Catherine was first made available, in the edition of Counts de la Ferrière and Puchesse.

Of contemporary sources perhaps the most important, next to the letters of Catherine, are the reports of the various ambassadors at the court of France. In evaluating these Professor Van Dyke utters a *caveat*—none of them was strictly impartial, and, as access to the secret counsels of one party naturally closed the door to the other, none of them was fully informed. The most trustworthy and the least biased were the Venetians; the most violently prejudiced, the Spaniards; but the reports of the English, too, were warped by their sympathy with the Huguenots, and those of the Ferrarese by the connection of their ruling house with the family of Guise. The thoroughness of the author's exploration of the sources is attested by thousands of citations; his work is documented to the last degree; at every point he rests his case upon first-hand evidence.

No, not "case"; the word is misleading. Professor Van Dyke presents no case; he holds no brief, either for or against Catherine; he is neither apologist nor prosecutor. His sole aim is, to quote from his preface, to "show her as she was . . . to draw a portrait, not to pronounce a judgment".

The portrait he has drawn bears little resemblance to the legendary Catherine de' Medici. Instead of a monster of iniquity, inspired by a murderous hate and adept in every diabolical art, he has depicted a woman of extraordinary vitality and energy, and phenomenal capacity for affairs; tenacious of purpose, persistent, indefatigable; quick to sense a situation and prompt to act, yet seldom swayed by momentary passion; resourceful, and not scrupulous as to means; apparently frank, but in reality secretive, evasive, distrustful; a shrewd judge of motives, skeptical to the point of cynicism; a born intriguer; master of finesse, but more than once losing the trick through over-confidence in her own cleverness; self-possessed and rarely thrown off her guard; unimpressible, and dry of heart, save toward her husband and her children. Her ruling passion was love of power; her absorbing interest, "people and the game of mastering them" (II. 46). She was a politician, not a statesman; her own position and influence, the fortunes of her children, the glory of the house of Valois, were her ceaseless care and concern, not the strength and dignity of France or the welfare of the people. Though it is true that hers was probably the most stabilizing and unifying of the various political influences in France, that was due to the caprice of circumstances, rather than to lofty and disinterested devotion to the state. Had she loved France, and had she had the courage of such patriotism, she would have given over her wretched and futile policy of "balance", the immemorial expedient of the political trickster, and have rallied to the support of the crown the moderates who put France above religion and unity above orthodoxy. But courage was not of her nature, and patriotism was a sentiment unknown to her. She had no country, neither France nor Florence; her only fatherland was her family.

Religious scruple would have been no bar to such an alliance. "No one in her time was less of a fanatic in religion than she was" (II. 82). The great-granddaughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and the grand-niece of Leo X., she was too much of a Medici to be a bigot. She was politically minded, and with characteristic Renaissance license she took her religion, now more seriously, now less, as suited her immediate purpose. It was not purity of the Faith, any more than unity of the state, that constituted the controlling aim of her policy. To impute to her such ends would be to credit her with an idealism to which she never pretended. To abstract considerations she was quite indifferent; her aim was personal, concrete, practical—to preserve her own power and to retain her control over her sons. To that end she was prepared to compromise or to combat, to tolerate or to exterminate, according to the exigency of circumstances.

Not even St. Bartholomew, "the ugliest deed that stains the history of any modern European nation" (II. 87), a deed for which she more than anyone else was responsible (II. 61), was inspired by fanaticism, but by hatred, jealousy, and fear—hatred, a "certain unemotional hatred" of Coligny, because of his frigidity, his imperviousness to flattery; jealousy of his influence over Charles IX.; fear of detection and exposure, for the attempt upon Coligny, two days before the massacre, was beyond all doubt with her approval, possibly even at her instigation. It was the woman and the mother, turned fury, who "loosed the passionate vengeance of young Guise" upon the Admiral. St. Bartholomew was not the outcome of a deep-laid and long premeditated plot, but a devilish improvisation of Catherine's, to cover up her tracks. On this point the author's analysis of the evidence is so minute, exact, and impartial as to admit of no appeal from his conclusion (II. 108-117). Nor is there any ground for the charge of a Huguenot conspiracy against the crown, nor for the oft-repeated story, originating with Margaret of Valois, that Charles IX. believed in the existence of such a conspiracy (II. 86, 107).

But the limits of space forbid further comment. In a word, the work of Professor Van Dyke is scholarly, trustworthy, judicial, eminently fair, a masterpiece of research, presented in faultless literary form.

It had been the author's intention to add to the biography a third volume, of some five hundred letters of Catherine and other documents hitherto unprinted. It is the hope of every student of the period that the execution of that purpose may not be long delayed.

THEODORE COLLIER.

The Development of the British Empire. By HOWARD ROBINSON, Ph.D., Professor of History in Carleton College, under the editorship of JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Ph.D., Professor of History in

Columbia University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. xv, 475, xxvi. \$2.75.)

It is evident that great care has been taken in the preparation of this text-book, and the author deserves much credit for accuracy of statement; but the task which he has attempted is an impossible one.

In his anxiety to include everything of major importance from the days of Elizabeth to the Washington Peace Conference, Professor Robinson has cut his narrative to the barest skeleton of fact, and even for text-book purposes this, to the reviewer, would seem a mistake. To be of any genuine educational use a text should be somewhat provocative of thought. This book is an historical Baedeker.

How could it be otherwise? It devotes ten pages to the revolt of the American Colonies, thirteen to the British Empire and Napoleon, six to Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, and five each to the Confederation of Canada, the South African War, colonial conferences from 1887 to the opening of the Great War, and the duel with France for India. Three pages are given to the Indian mutiny and to Anglo-Russian competition in Afghanistan; while to Canadian liberalism under Laurier and to Great Britain's relations with China during the nineteenth century, in each instance, two pages are assigned.

Two unfortunate results follow from such a diaspora of interests within the compass of one book. In the first place, it is impossible, in many instances, to give a true account of many historical events, because to do so qualifying statements are essential, and such consume space. Secondly, the element of personality in history tends virtually to disappear, making the narrative dull and uninspiring.

As an instance of the first difficulty one may cite Professor Robinson's treatment of the causes of the South African War as given on page 370. It is true that "Kruger's heart was hardened", but it is also true that the Boers made a desperate effort at compromise during the summer of 1899, and likewise that throughout those same fatal months British troops poured into South Africa, making inevitable the Boer ultimatum in September. These facts have been ignored, not presumably because Professor Robinson was ignorant of their existence, but because he had no room for their inclusion.

As for the second criticism, it must be remembered that this book is apparently intended for the class room. The imagination and the sympathies of the undergraduate should be aroused and stimulated by the study of history, not deadened. When men such as Sir Henry Lawrence, Chinese Gordon, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and General Botha appear on the historic stage as machine-like units, devoid of personality, the interest flags. One may, of course, treat historic movements in an imaginative and sympathetic way while paying no attention whatsoever to individuals; but it is a difficult thing to do. Professor Robinson has not done it; no one could in the space allotted. To describe, for instance, the

agitation for reciprocity between Canada and the United States from 1891 to 1911 in one page in a way to grip the imagination is impossible. Ancient prejudices, racial prides, and economic cross-currents are too complex to be thus summarized and dismissed.

This book is a good guide-book to the empire's history. It has excellent maps and bibliographies and a good index. It adds something to the literature of the subject in chapter XI., a New Colonial Interest, in which it analyzes the opinions of McCulloch, Selkirk, and Wakefield. Aside from this, however, it contains nothing that could not readily be gleaned from the *Britannica*. Even as such it is not without value since it is, for facts, a handy reference book.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Holy Alliance: the European Background of the Monroe Doctrine. By W. P. CRESSON, Ph.D., formerly Secretary of the American Embassy in Petrograd. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. ix, 147. \$1.50.)

THE pact known as the Holy Alliance, signed in Paris on September 26, 1815, was essentially the product of Alexander I.'s visionary mind. The Emperor's dream of a combination of the great powers of Europe probably went back at least as far as 1804, the year in which he issued his well-known Instructions to Novosiltsov. After 1812, considering himself as arbiter of western Europe, he sought once more to revive the project of a European combination—a league, not so much of nations as of sovereigns, bound together like brothers for the purpose of governing their subjects in accordance with the fundamental precepts of the Christian religion. This was in substance the ideal behind the pact, an ideal which Alexander broached to Castlereagh and Wellington in February, 1815, and committed to writing in the following September. To Castlereagh it appeared to be a "piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense", although it was duly acknowledged in polite terms with Castlereagh's approval by the Prince Regent. Widely sanctioned by Continental rulers, the agreement was taken seriously by no one but its imperial author.

The true Holy Alliance was the outcome of a treaty signed in Paris on November 20, 1815. This brought into practical working relations a quadruple combination of powers which had been in some sort of union since 1813. It provided in article VI. for a new system of solving international problems—a system of conferences and congresses. Through a variety of modifications in this treaty Alexander was by 1820 "grouped" with Prussia and Austria, a combination which then advocated the principle of intervention in the affairs of such countries under European and monarchical sway as might be struggling for liberal and constitutional forms of government. Almost wherever liberalism raised its abominable head—in Italy, in Spain, and especially in Spanish-America—there this

Holy Alliance sought by armed forces to quash its unholy aspirations. To British and American statesmen it appeared to be a grave menace to political progress. Moved by the decisions in 1822 of the Congress of Verona and the restoration the next year to the Spanish throne of Ferdinand VII., and aware of the attitude of England's government, John Quincy Adams prompted President Monroe to promulgate in his message of December 2, 1823, sentiments that in time came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Thus a definite policy was announced by an American President, then quite unaware of its large consequences—a policy which was primarily at the outset an expression of opposition to European intervention in American affairs.

Dr. Cresson's monograph covers after a fashion the period just outlined. It rests upon a cursory examination of manuscript materials in Petrograd and in the Department of State (1816-1825). To these materials the reader must discover references in foot-notes, for they have not been either listed or analyzed in the bibliography (pp. 139-141). Much of the important printed lore bearing upon his theme has been examined by the author, but he gives no indication of having seen E. Muhlenbeck's *Étude sur l'Origine de la Sainte Alliance* (1887). For his emphatic and somewhat exaggerated assertions (pp. 33-35) regarding the importance of Nicolas Bergasse in the production of the famous pact of September 26, 1815, he has produced no really significant evidence. If he was aware that Castlereagh drafted in its final form article VI. of the treaty of November 20, 1815, he has sadly marred its careful language by translating it carelessly from the French and by omitting significant phrases (p. 28). And why, one must ask, with excellent translations of the pact easily accessible, should the author have deemed it necessary to translate it anew, not too well (p. 31)? Close scrutiny of numerous quotations has made it apparent that these can seldom be trusted; and translations from the French are frequently careless, ill considered, or misleading (cf. pp. 12, 28, 32, 37, 40, 85-86, 109).

In general the volume leaves the impression of being a brief for Alexander. It is neither a well-rounded nor a mature historical study of the European background of the Monroe Doctrine. Dr. Cresson is inclined to read into his sources conclusions scarcely warranted by them. To say, for example, that the treaty of Kalisch, arranged between Russia and Prussia with the aid of Stein on February 28, 1813, "was with the peoples of Germany rather than with their rulers" (p. 18), is to overlook the urgency of the political situation and to forget the real spirit prevailing among rulers at the time. To interpolate the term "League" (p. 34, note) in a quotation from Mme. de Choiseul-Gouffier's *Historical Memoirs* (Chicago, 1900, pp. 152-153), would seem to be quite unjustifiable. At the time when Simon Bolívar was contemplating in 1815 a possible assembly of delegates from all parts of South America, is it quite fair to assume—as does the author—that Bolívar's ideal was a League of Peace (p. 60)? To write of the South American *juntas* in 1810 as "against

the power of King Jérôme" (p. 58), is of course a slip for King Joseph Bonaparte. Less excusable is the passage (p. 107) referring to Byron as singing "the heroic deeds of Marco Bozzaris".

In order to make an effective study of his theme, Dr. Cresson should have been familiar with the fairly consistent and far-reaching policies of three British statesmen, Pitt, Castlereagh, and Canning. To understand the designs and accomplishments of these men—in particular Castlereagh's work in the five years from 1813 to 1818—would have given him a viewpoint from which to gain a true vision of the virtues and the defects of their Continental contemporaries. But this viewpoint he has not acquired. The discovery in the index of no direct references to Alexander, to the Holy Alliance, or to Russia, is one more indication of carelessness. In brief, this essay is lacking in evidence of that scrupulous patience which is characteristic of true scholarship.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith. By JOSEPH VINCENT FULLER, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXVI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. xii, 368. \$3.75.)

THE interpretation of Bismarck's diplomacy during the Bulgarian crisis of 1885-1887 has hitherto depended upon guesses and surmises. But the documents now available, particularly those of the German Foreign Office, and numerous memoirs enable Professor Fuller to draw the veil and reveal the resourcefulness and treachery of Bismarck's policy. The new material has been skillfully woven into the old to present a clear picture, in excellent style, of the complicated relations of the great powers, the Balkan states, and Turkey. A lengthy annotated bibliography and an index are provided. Students of pre-war diplomacy will clamor for more monographs of this quality.

When the Bulgarian union was consummated in September, 1885, Bismarck dominated Europe. The Austrian alliance and the Three Emperors' League had reduced the eastern empires to obedience; the Triple Alliance permitted him to encourage French colonial ambitions and to challenge those of England. But the Bulgarian revolution and the fall of the Ferry ministry threw the system out of gear. The Austrian alliance assured German ascendancy if France and Russia could be kept apart, easy enough if Bismarck could compose Austro-Russian differences in the Balkans. But let those differences become acute, and Germany's position was impossible: support of Austria would throw Russia into France's arms, refusal of support would place Austria at Russia's mercy. The chancellor warned Vienna that "we could never contemplate the employment of the German army . . . in the extension of Austro-Hungarian influence on the lower Danube", supported Russia sufficiently to demonstrate the value of

his friendship, and urged upon both the demarcation of their spheres of influence in the Balkans. All in vain, for Austro-Russian relations got steadily worse. Even more ominous, Boulangism grew powerful in France, and when in February and April, 1887, Bismarck assumed a threatening attitude, his plans were checked by the intervention of the Tsar.

So Bismarck set about the "indirect blocking" of Russia. He engineered a secret agreement between Austria, Italy, and England, Italy being bribed by concessions in the Triple Alliance, England by support in the Egyptian question. Then he arranged the secret "reinsurance treaty", which was not communicated to Austria (p. 195), with the deliberate intent of "double-crossing" Russia. Alexander was promised German support for any solution of the Bulgarian question he might propose, but secretly Bismarck was strengthening the Triple Entente, urging Turkey to come to terms with it, and encouraging Ferdinand of Coburg. The famous "Bulgarian documents", pronounced forgeries by Bismarck, were probably genuine in substance, for their purport is confirmed from other evidence. The Tsar, still distrusting France, was helpless; he suspected Bismarck, but could only accept his protestations of friendship and declare that he would never attack Germany, while washing his hands of Boulanger and the Bulgarians.

A glorious victory, on the surface. But Bismarck's speech of February 6, 1888, was a confession of failure: Germany was reduced to defiance of her neighbors, and of the magnificent fabric of 1885 only Austria remained. Alexander felt that he had been duped, and this, not the lapse of the reinsurance treaty, as Bismarck alleged, caused the Franco-Russian alliance. So "Bismarck's diplomacy, at the zenith of his power, contained all the causes of his Empire's downfall" (p. 325).

Professor Fuller rejects, however, the thesis of Hammann that the breach with Russia necessitated co-operation with England. The policy of William II. of neutralizing the Dual Alliance by personal manipulation of Nicholas II. was only the revival of a Continental coalition against England with which Bismarck had played in 1884. But does not this argument overlook one important distinction? Bismarck was indifferent to Russian control of the eastern Balkans, even Constantinople, whereas William II. intended to reserve the Near East for the Central Powers.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914: Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes . . . herausgegeben von JOHANNES LEPSIUS, ALBRECHT MENDELSSOHN BARTHOLDY, und FRIEDRICH THIMME. Volumes I. to VI., 1871-1890. (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte. 1922. Pp. xiii, 328; 344; 454; 419; 350; 416.)

Not content with the invaluable four-volume collection of documents published by Kautsky and his associates on the immediate causes of the

war during the July crisis of 1914, the German government decided to go back to 1871 and publish all the important documents in the German Foreign Office, including Bismarck's most secret instructions and marginalia, which would lay bare the whole course of German diplomacy for more than forty years. The aim is to allow the impartial historian to see what really happened, and to be in a better position to reach a conclusion as to the underlying responsibility for the war. It is a courageous and most praiseworthy decision. The first installment, covering the Bismarck Era, 1871-1890, consists of 6 volumes, 43 chapters, 1365 documents, and 2300 pages, with an index of persons, though not of subjects, at the end of the sixth volume. It is announced that during the present year six more volumes will be published covering the years 1890-1897. Such publication of recent diplomatic secrets which have usually been so jealously guarded in the archives is almost unique in history. It offers a mine of wealth to the historian, and will do much to throw light on dark places and to correct mistaken notions which are current.

In the arrangement of the documents the editors have not followed the austere chronological arrangement which many historians would have preferred, but for the convenience of the reader have grouped the documents somewhat according to subject-matter. Dr. Lepsius edits the documents on the Eastern Question, Professor Mendelssohn Bartholdy those on Anglo-German relations, and Dr. Thimme those on Franco-German relations and the Triple Alliance. But they all assume joint responsibility and declare that no documents of importance have been concealed. We are inclined to believe, judging by the internal evidence and by what we know already from the works of Wertheimer, Pribram, Ballhausen, Hanotaux, Matter, J. V. Fuller, Daudet, Pagès, Monypenny and Buckle, Lady Gwendolen Cecil, and many others, that their declaration is honest and true. Naturally it is quite impossible to print the vast mass of documents in their totality. It would have been too expensive, and would have involved a great deal of useless repetition. Adequate foot-notes, however, give reference to omitted or summarized documents. The editors have also mostly omitted the papers relating to the lesser states of Europe, to America, and to the Far East. As the title suggests, the publication deals mainly with the policy of the great powers of Europe.

The first volume, on the Peace of Frankfort and its Consequences, 1871-1877, affords some interesting analogies with the present day. It shows the victor ready to make many concessions desired by the vanquished, enabling France to be rid of her indemnity obligations and the German army of occupation several months before the time designated in the treaty. After the severe terms of the peace had been met, France was treated with consideration by Bismarck in the hope that she would be reconciled to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine, but at the same time he took no chances. The German army was kept at high efficiency, and the formation of the League of the Three Emperors was to give Germany diplomatic

protection and to assure the continuance of peace, which was Bismarck's great object after 1871. But this friendly and conciliatory attitude ceased for a moment with the war scare of 1875.

The second volume, on the Congress of Berlin and the events leading up to it, already somewhat familiar from Wertheimer's *Andrássy*, brought Bismarck to one of the most difficult tasks of his career—the preservation of good relations with both Russia and Austria. The policy which he laid down in 1876, and to which he recurred again and again during crises in the Near East, was to preserve peace if possible between his two powerful neighbors in their Balkan rivalry. He favored a line of demarcation of interests allowing Russia preponderance in Bulgaria and Austria preponderance in Serbia. He pretty generally refused Russian insistence that he use pressure at Vienna to make Austria yield. Similarly he was unwilling to use threats at St. Petersburg in the interests of Austria. He preferred to keep a reserved attitude, always aiming to have Russia and Austria settle their differences in a tête-à-tête directly with one another. He disliked the thankless task of mediation between them. He only consented to step in, to preserve the peace of Europe, when Vienna and Petrograd could not come to terms. In the last resort, if their rivalry became irreconcilable and war broke out between them, he might permit one of his neighbors to be defeated in battle, but never to be given a death-blow or lose its independence or cease to exist as a great power. To prevent this he was ready to abandon neutrality and intervene with Germany's army (II. 53 ff., 76 ff.; V. 235; VI. 356 ff.). In his attitude of reserve he was apparently sincere in his hesitation to have the Congress meet at Berlin. He would have preferred Vienna or London, but to these places Russia was absolutely opposed; so, in the interests of peace and after the consent of everyone had been secured, he finally agreed to invite the powers to Berlin. He even told England he was ready to allow Gorchakov to preside at the Congress (II. 227). In spite of his indignation at the Pan-Slavists and the attacks of the Russian press in the decade following the Congress, he still held close to his policy of preserving good relations with both the Tsar and the Emperor of Austria. In contrast to those at the helm in the post-Bismarckian period, he continually warned Austria that Germany would not fight to support Austrian expansion or aggression in the Balkans, and repeatedly took occasion to state that the Dual Alliance of 1879 was defensive, not offensive (IV. 338, 354, 357; V. 8, 11 ff., 26 ff., 35 ff., 62 ff., 136 ff., 149 ff.). With prophetic vision he even warned Austria in 1885 that in supporting Serbia too strongly she might so arouse Serbian ambition that Serbia would some day turn against Austria, claim Serbia Irredenta in the Banat, and deprive Austria of the rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina acquired by the Treaty of Berlin (V. 12).

Volume IV. makes clear how Bismarck supported England in the Egyptian question, for which he was repeatedly thanked by English ministers. This friendly relation continued until 1884, when the British

Foreign Office left unanswered for nearly six months Bismarck's question whether England laid claim to the coast of Southwest Africa. The main features of England's clumsy handling of the question in regard to Angra Pequena—how the Foreign Office referred to the Colonial Office, and the Colonial Office to the government at Cape Town, and how Bismarck meanwhile getting no answer lost patience and hoisted the German flag in Southwest Africa—have long been fairly familiar from three British Blue Books and a couple of German White Books. But the new publication gives an interesting, not to say amusing, account of Lord Granville's embarrassment and of Bismarck's genuine indignation. On June 16, 1884, Herbert Bismarck complained to Lord Granville that Germany still had no answer to the question she had put on December 31 of the preceding year, a question which ought properly to have been answered within three days. Granville replied that he couldn't tell him much about the matter as it belonged to the sphere of his colleague in the Colonial Office, Lord Derby. He offered to fetch Lord Derby and Derby's predecessor, Lord Kimberley, but Herbert Bismarck replied quite properly that he was authorized to deal only with the British Foreign Office and did not care to sit in an English ministerial conference. The next day Granville, somewhat better informed, gave a long explanation and apology for the delay, and added that he hoped the Germans did not intend to proclaim their sovereignty over Southwest Africa but only to act like the British in Borneo. "What flag flies then in North Borneo?" Herbert Bismarck asked. Granville hesitated, begged to be excused for a minute, and disappeared. In a few minutes he returned and remarked that the Borneo Company flew its own flag. Herbert Bismarck replied that such flag questions were *curiosa* which might interest professors of international law, but the German government could not follow such hair-splitting distinctions. The German flag meant German sovereignty. Then he pointed out that an English firm had written to the German consul in Cape Town hoping that a German protectorate would be proclaimed at Angra Pequena. The letter was in the German archives. "That seemed to be news to Lord Granville", reported Herbert;—"like everything else", wrote Bismarck in the margin. Granville again begged to be excused for a little while to investigate his despatch-boxes, but on returning declared that he was not acquainted with the matter; again he regretted the absence of Lord Derby and Lord Kimberley "who might have given you all the particulars". In later conversations Granville kept repeating, "I am afraid that I am guilty of some omission". "We are in a sort of a mess. It is all the fault of the Colonial Office and of Lord Derby, who have talked about the matter without consulting me and giving it due consideration" (IV. 70, 73). He complained to Herbert Bismarck about how new he was to the office, how difficult it was to deal with Parliament, how many hours he had to work, etc.; but, as Herbert Bismarck commented to his father, it never seemed to occur to Granville

to give up his position into more capable hands. Bismarck was particularly indignant at England's attitude in regard to Southwest Africa and the Fiji Islands because he had been supporting England in the Egyptian matter and England seemed to show no spirit of gratitude and reciprocity. That he did not expect the hoisting of the German flag at Angra Pequena to anger England seems to be indicated by the fact that he had instructed Count Münster at this very time to sound the English as to whether they would be willing to cede Heligoland in return for German good-will in Egypt and elsewhere. The friction over colonial questions prevented the cession of Heligoland from taking place at that time. But after some months, better Anglo-German relations were restored and Bismarck succeeded in bringing about an Anglo-Italian understanding in 1887, to which Austria soon adhered (IV. 295 ff.). Much has been written lately about Bismarck's letter to Salisbury in 1887 (IV. 376 ff.) as a "feeler" toward an Anglo-German alliance, but much more interesting and important is his direct suggestion for such an alliance on March 22, 1889 (IV. 405). Owing to the difficulty of getting parliamentary approval Salisbury would not definitely say "yes" or "no", but preferred to "leave it on the table" for the present. Incidentally it is interesting to note that Joseph Chamberlain strongly urged Herbert Bismarck in March, 1889, to exchange German Southwest Africa for Heligoland (IV. 408 ff.), but Salisbury was not quite ready to act, and Bismarck, though favoring it, did not want to press it lest he seem too eager. So for a second time the Heligoland matter was allowed to rest until Emperor William II. and Caprivi took action after Bismarck's fall.

To call Bismarck a pacifist, as a German reviewer of these volumes does, is to misconceive Bismarck's policy or the meaning of the word pacifist. He wanted peace, but it was an armed peace in which Germany was strong and France impotent for *revanche*. He often took an attitude which France regarded (too easily) as a menace. But on the whole, one gets an increasingly strong conviction of Bismarck's sincere desire to preserve the peace of Europe and his remarkable skill in doing so. His despatches show an extraordinary clarity, consistency, and continuity of purpose throughout the period. One rises from a perusal of the volumes with an enhanced admiration for the genius of the Iron Chancellor in contrast to his puny successors. He had a great capacity for understanding the national and selfish interests of the other powers with whom he was dealing, and his strength lies in the fact that he was always ready to give consideration to these interests and make bargains on the basis of them. Except when bargaining, he was pretty generally ready to support the English in Egypt, the French in Tunis and Morocco, the Austrians in the western Balkans, and the Russians in the eastern Balkans. He did not look for trouble. In contrast to his imperial master after 1890, his policy was to avoid interference with the ambitions of other countries except when real German interests or the peace of Eu-

rope were threatened. He sums this up in a phrase which constantly recurs, "Dans le doute, abstiens-toi".

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement. Written from his unpublished and personal material by RAY STANNARD BAKER. In three volumes. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1922. Pp. xxxvii, 432; xiii, 561; xvii, 508. Vols. I. and II., \$10.00 per set; vol. III., \$10.00.)

As Mr. Baker implies by his title, this book is concerned primarily with President Wilson, and despite the range of Wilsonian interests, it does not pretend to the comprehensive character of the monumental history edited by Mr. Temperley. Its importance, however, is equally great, because of the nature of the materials upon which it is based. Many of the confidential documents now published by Mr. Baker were doubtless known to the contributors to the Temperley volumes, and may have colored their conclusions; but they were prevented by the conventions of European diplomacy from using the text of the documents to enforce their contentions. Mr. Baker has been given a free hand. President Wilson turned over to him all of his papers relating to the Peace Conference, many of which, such as the minutes of the Council of Four and the Council of Ten, as well as various confidential British and French reports, would not in ordinary circumstances have been published for many decades. There is every indication that the author has undertaken his task in a fine scholarly spirit, anxious to eliminate political bias, determined to let the documents speak for themselves. It was inevitable, nevertheless, that his interpretation should be colored by his background, filled with personal associations with Wilson and marked by admiration for the President's ideals. This bias seems to the reviewer less obvious than in the case of some recent works written by scientifically trained historians; but it is sufficient to make of the book an American *apologia*, and raises the question as to whether European students will be content to accept Mr. Baker's conclusions. Those conclusions are, in general, condemnatory of the methods and principles of the European diplomats; in some chapters, notably that dealing with the alleged intrigue against the League of Nations, they seem to the reviewer based upon inadequate evidence.

Mr. Baker regards the Peace Conference, in essence, as a struggle between Mr. Wilson and the adherents of the old diplomatic system. This struggle was marked by certain definite crises: the winning of the League, an American victory; the contests with the French and Italians over territorial claims and the tentative settlement of reparations, all of which were compromised; the struggle with the Japanese, which is regarded by the author as a defeat for American principles. Mr. Baker uses the secret treaties to illustrate the aspirations of the anti-Wilson

côterie at Paris, and it is possible that he rather exaggerates their practical importance. The diplomatic contest which he underlines was inevitable; even had there been no secret treaties, the spirit which informed them would have come into conflict with Wilsonian ideals. The President might have lightened his task by insisting on Allied renunciation of the treaties in the summer of 1918, or later by standing firmly upon the principles of the pre-armistice agreement, which in effect abolished the treaties so far as they contravened the Fourteen Points. Wilson's failure to meet his opponents squarely on such lines, before he became involved in detailed negotiations, is not discussed by the author, nor does he settle definitely the question of Wilson's knowledge of the secret treaties. It is perhaps unnecessary that he should have done so, since Mr. Lippmann, Lord Balfour, and Mr. Hendrick bear indubitable witness to the fact that the President had been informed of their existence. That Wilson, in his conversation with Senator Borah, should have forgotten this is less surprising than might appear at first thought; in view of the mass of information that came to the President, his memory may well have been at fault when he attempted to recall the exact moment that this particular news was brought to his attention. The important matter was not the treaties themselves so much as the aspirations which lay behind them, and these the President appreciated at all times.

Volume III. is a documentary history of the first importance, which even better, perhaps, than the author's text, exposes the attitude and convictions of the different statesmen and their advisers, as well as the secret processes of the Peace Conference. It is a collection of sixty-nine documents, divided into nine main groups corresponding to the chief divisions of the narrative, most of which are now published for the first time. Especially noteworthy are the Inquiry report to President Wilson drafted in December, 1917, and evidently utilized by him in the preparation of the Fourteen Points speech; a memorandum of Admiral Benson upon United States naval policy; General Bliss's letter of March 28, 1919, exposing French manoeuvres in Hungary; a memorandum by Balfour, April 24, 1919, upon the Italian problem, which largely justifies Wilsonian policy. For many reasons the most illuminating document of the collection is the stenographic report of the only general meeting of the American Peace Commission, held June 3, 1919, when British demands for alleviations in the German treaty were discussed. This shows clearly the belief of the American technical advisers that the great danger of the treaty lay in the reparations clauses, and it emphasizes the fruitlessness of the efforts made to secure a definite settlement. It shows also the confusion caused by the mercurial policy of Lloyd George, who at the last moment proved so insistent upon concessions to Germany. "It makes me a little tired", said Wilson, "for people to come and say now that they are afraid the Germans won't sign, and their fear is based upon things that they insisted upon at the time of the writing of the treaty; . . . They ought to have been rational to begin with and then they would

not have needed to have funk'd at the end"; and as an important indication of the President's final attitude toward the treaty: "Though we did not keep them from putting irrational things in the treaty, we got very serious modifications out of them. If we had written the treaty the way they wanted it the Germans would have gone home the minute they read it. Well, the Lord be with us", and so the meeting adjourned.

CHARLES SEYMOUR.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Our Republic: a Brief History of the American People. By S. E. FORMAN. (New York: Century Company. 1922. Pp. xvii, 852. \$5.00.)

THIS volume may serve as a text-book for college classes or as a work for the general reader. It sums up in its 800 pages the outline of American history from Columbus to Harding. In its proportions it emphasizes the national period, giving the larger part of its attention to the growth and development of America as a national people. Fifty pages are devoted to the discoveries and settlements, and to colonial times. These parts are properly struck off in a broad general way with an intelligent and informing treatment. One chapter on Spain in America, one on the coming of the French, English, and Dutch, and one on the colonies at the opening of the eighteenth century, suffice to bring the reader down to the opening of the Revolution. Forty pages are given to the struggle for independence, and then comes a Survey of the Nation in 1783, which means not that there was a "nation" but that the geographical, racial, industrial, educational, and social conditions are brought under review. Such a review of social conditions is made from time to time throughout the volume, as in the chapters on Industrial and Social Progress, 1820-1840, and Prosperity and Progress, 1877-1885. Certain popular and catchy chapter-titles are used for sober themes, such as Building a New Roof (for the Constitutional Convention of 1787), the Roaring Forties, Filling up the West, Five Bleeding Wounds (of 1850), a Raid and a Book (for Brown and Helper), etc. The volume may be said to cover the essential features of our national development, and it is written in a clear and compact style. It is not too wordy or redundant for the information afforded. "Drum and trumpet" history and the history of politics are subordinated to the story of pioneer life, education, invention, labor, farming, and the organization of industry and capital.

In such a volume so compact with facts and with a necessarily brief treatment of large subjects the critical and well-informed student will find many things to which he may take exception. With so much need of space, why, it may be asked, should the author devote a whole paragraph to exchange of telegrams between Bryan and McKinley following the election results of 1896? Or to the lurid and partizan bigotry of the *New York Tribune* in its denunciation of W. J. Bryan? That passage hardly

shows historic poise, though it may be interesting in showing the limits of partizan abuse and blindness. On some controversial subjects the author seems to accept certain traditional views as sound and conclusive. For instance, in showing up the fallacy and danger of free silver coinage, he says: "If a man owed \$100 he could take \$69 in gold, buy silver with it, get it coined into \$100 of silver and pay his debt." This assumes that the man with the silver was a dolt, else why should he sell his silver for \$69 when he could himself have it coined into \$100? The reviewer recalls many silly arguments in that campaign but none quite so silly as this. The author calls the contest of 1896 a "campaign of argument" in which "argument won". There are still doubting Thomases on that point, in view of the large amount of partizan misrepresentation in that campaign and of Mark Hanna's corruption fund. Perhaps a true history, even so short as this, should carry more of an exposé of the political methods of the time as brought to light in subsequent revelations bearing on that notable political combat.

Exception will be taken to accounting for the panic of 1873, and the hard times following, by "over-production", "too much railroad building", and the Chicago and Boston fires. The relation of this panic to the money question and to the Greenback party is not touched upon, and that party itself is mentioned only in a chronological recapitulation. The author speaks of the demand for silver coinage as merely a demand for "doing something for silver", which is hardly an adequate view of the merits of the silver question.

The author seems to make New England resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act spring from the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. He puts Seward's "irrepressible conflict" speech (at Rochester) in 1856, two years too soon. Following the Missouri Compromise the "slavery question slumbered for nearly thirty years", but in ten years the slumber is broken by Garrison and the Abolitionists. Distinctions are not kept clear between different classes of anti-slavery men. The author speaks of all classes of Abolitionists as if they were all Garrisonians, and as "animated with a spirit of lawlessness". They were, rather, the victims of lawlessness; it was not the spirit of lawlessness that led men to resist the Fugitive Slave Act, or that led Garrison and a few of the extremists to repudiate the Constitution and refuse to vote or hold office under it. Many good law-abiding men do that now, for conscience' sake.

It is always possible to point out errors or to say that some other view should be taken or other dispositions should be made of various topics. But a volume is to be judged by its value as a whole. There is a demand for such one-volume histories of the United States. The preparation of one is not an easy task. Facing a thousand topics for treatment, there is chance for many a slip. On the whole, Mr. Forman has executed his difficult task well; and he has given to teachers, students, and the general reader a very useful volume. The volume has a good and extensive series of maps, a good reading list in the appendix, limited references and ex-

tensive notes and chronology at the chapter endings. It is interestingly illustrated, and the index, so far as tested, is adequate and accurate.

JAMES A. WOODBURN.

The Planters of Colonial Virginia. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1922. Pp. 260. \$2.50.)

A SERIOUS defect of this valuable and suggestive book lies in its deductive treatment of its subject. Its thesis in a nutshell is, that seventeenth-century Virginia was not a "baronial community"—no trustworthy historian has ever so described it—but a community in which the yeoman was economically, politically, and socially "the most important factor", to quote the author's words. Which is the more incorrect, the baronial theory, or the yeoman theory? Let us test this yeoman theory economically. The seventeenth-century Virginia studied in this volume embraced the narrow area bounded on the north by the lower Rappahannock River; on the west, by a line drawn from Fredericksburg to Richmond, to Petersburg, to Suffolk, to Norfolk; and on the south, by the Carolina line of Princess Anne County. There are to-day hardly twenty small counties and half counties in this area. A view of the whole of it could almost be got from the top of another Washington Monument placed in Richmond; and a fast motor car could traverse it from north to south in five hours, and from west to east in three. And yet in this very small compass, the rent roll of 1704, the basis of Professor Wertenbaker's economic calculations, shows that there were at least 450 families who owned from one thousand acres to ten thousand or more, and 750 families who owned from five hundred acres to one thousand. In each of these small counties, there was an average of twenty families that owned from one thousand acres to ten thousand acres or more, and forty families who owned from five hundred to one thousand. There are very many estates in the roll of 1704 that run from eight thousand acres to fifteen thousand and even to twenty thousand, such, for instance, as the estates of the Byrds, Ludwells, Epeses, Randolphs, Beverleys, Armisteads, Allens, Harrisons, Pages, Bassetts, and others too numerous to mention. One in every four landowners owned estates that ran all the way from five hundred acres to twenty thousand acres. It should be remembered that this estimate does not embrace the large estates of the Washingtons, Lees, Spencers, Carters, and the like in the Northern Neck. Was the proportion of considerable and large landowners to small landowners (who have always been the most numerous everywhere and in every age) greater in the aristocratic England of that day than it was in the seventeenth-century Virginia? Did these Virginian yeomen's small estates as a whole produce more in bulk than the large landowners' estates as a whole?

Professor Wertenbaker rejects the average patent of the later seventeenth century, which was for 675 acres, as less indicative of the extent

of the land holdings than the county conveyances, which were for small areas. But was not the small county conveyance, in numberless instances, made merely to the large landowner who was buying out his yeomen neighbors in order to secure a wider range for cattle and virgin soil for his tobacco crop, as there were no artificial manures in that day?

As to the yeomen being the most important factor politically, the records prove that it was the gentry who filled the council, the general court, the county courts, the vestries, the pulpits, the clerkships, and every other public office of influence. It was the representatives of the gentry who expelled Harvey, supported Berkeley against Parliament, formed the Long Assembly, and in the person of Bacon led the rebellion of 1676, and after his death suppressed it, who opposed Culpeper's and Effingham's encroachments, and subscribed a fund for the erection of William and Mary College. The roll of the general assembly bristles with the names of all the large seventeenth-century landowners. If any yeoman was conspicuous in any important political movement of that century, his name is not known to us.

The social importance of the yeoman, like his economic, was altogether numerical. He had none in the ordinary sense of the word.

In conclusion, it may be said that, in spite of the slave's substitution for the indentured servant in the eighteenth century, the seventeenth was, in general spirit at least, the eighteenth in embryo. The plantation framework and the economic production were the same, only on a greater scale. The political organization was the same—only distinguished public men were more numerous. The social system was the same—only it was more opulent and brilliant. It is even questionable whether the small landowners were not to the large landowners proportionately as great in number in the eighteenth century as in the seventeenth. Not until the county records of the eighteenth century are fully explored can this question be satisfactorily answered.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

The Evening Post: a Century of Journalism. By ALLAN NEVINS.
(New York: Boni and Liveright. 1922. Pp. 590. \$5.00.)

A NEWSPAPER, like a ship, acquires personality from those who build it and constantly direct and use it as a vehicle; it speaks, it serves, it fights as of itself, and its story is therefore much like biography. But since it touches life more broadly than an individual and perhaps for a much longer span of time, this story may be still more valuable in yielding data to the historian. We are now in the second stage of the historiography of journalism. For many years we were content with general accounts like those of Thomas, of Hudson, and, more recently, of Payne and of Lee. Stimulated by such fare, perhaps, enthusiastic writers have now taken up the stories of the papers one by one, so that for New York alone within the last few years there have appeared as quite separate ventures

histories of the *Sun*, the *World*, the *Times*, and now, best of all, Allan Nevins's *Evening Post*. Soon it will be time to generalize again.

Mr. Nevins properly begins with the political necessities of Alexander Hamilton in 1801, since it was these, and not the cultural or commercial needs of the town, that brought forth the *Evening Post*. But he follows with a chapter on the paper's place in the city of a hundred years ago, which is excellent social history seen through advertisement and editorial comment, for the news columns could almost be neglected, and then one on literature and drama in that period when Halleck and Drake mysteriously supplied Editor Coleman with the papers of "Croaker and Co.", and when the *Post* began serious dramatic criticism in New York. Coleman's successors were Bryant and Leggett. The latter, an earnest, fiery spirit, in his few remaining years made it a crusading paper, but it was the former who gave it balance, dignity, and power for half a century, a remarkable poet who accumulated half a million dollars as a fair and fearless editor. He brought the paper to oppose protection and the national bank, but somewhat later broke with his Democratic party leaders and preached Free Soil and moderate Republicanism until his death in 1878. He and his associate John Bigelow gave the paper a literary and scholarly flavor, as evidenced, for example, by its famous controversy on the editorial misdemeanors of President Jared Sparks; the historian often finds him pioneering in some cause of merit, like those of Central Park, of the modern apartment house, and of international copyright; and "he redeemed as far as one man could do so, the journalism of his early days from the offensive practice of personal discussion".

There is a vivid account of that remote but powerful mugwump, E. L. Godkin, with his deadly parallels, his catechisms, and his vigorous fights against Tammany government, free silver, and imperialism. And there is careful but appreciative mention of the special contributions of many others who as editors of one sort or another have made the *Post* so significant in American journalism. Mr. Nevins is often the historian of the metropolitan press as well as his own paper, especially in dealing with the beginnings of the penny sheets and with the exciting controversies of Civil War days. It is a work notable for good judgment in arrangement and emphasis; it avoids too much quotation, and will be welcomed by every reader for its clear and easy style. It seems in most respects cautious and accurate, though it is not correct to call Charles Pinckney a leader of the South Carolina Federalists in the early years of the nineteenth century (p. 30), or to say that "Until the close of the second war with England, a majority of the people of the city held Hamiltonian views" (p. 33), or to speak of "Tom Paine, dividing his last days, in debt, dirt, and dissipation" (p. 97), as if Dr. Conway had never written his chapter on Paine's personal traits, or to refer to Venezuela as a little republic (p. 473) when it is about three times the size of France, or to claim that in the Guiana boundary contest "the British obtained practically all the territory for which they contended" (p. 474). There are about a

dozen typographical errors, most of which are negligible, though it seems ungracious to represent Coleman and Godkin as both going through life "snuffing new frays from afar" (p. 47).

DIXON RYAN FOX.

John Motley Morehead and the Development of North Carolina, 1796-1866. By BURTON ALVA KONKLE. (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell. 1922. Pp. 15, 437. \$5.00.)

JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD, governor of North Carolina from 1841 to 1845, occupies a deservedly prominent place in the history of his state. An eminently practical man, yet possessed of vision, he was a leader in the industrial development of North Carolina which began in the 40's and continued unbroken until the commencement of the Civil War. He was also a firm friend of education and took an active part in the movement which promised so much for the state until it was interrupted by war.

In politics, Governor Morehead was a staunch Whig and an active party man. He was frequently a member of the state legislature, was a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1835, and was enough of a national figure to be chosen to preside over the National Whig Convention of 1848. Up to President Lincoln's call for troops he was a firm Union man and as such was sent as a delegate to the Peace Conference in 1861 but, having followed his state, he was elected a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy.

It was, however, chiefly as an industrial figure—a builder of railroads and factories—rather than in politics that Governor Morehead won an enduring reputation. If he can be said to have possessed statesmanship it was in this field. He caught early the vision of Murphey and Caldwell of a commonwealth rebuilt through improved methods of communication and transportation, through widely diffused prosperity based on industrial development and improved agricultural methods, and through education, and he devoted himself to its practical achievement with so much earnestness that he became easily the most influential single leader in the development of the new system.

The present volume, as indicated by its title, undertakes to tell the story of that development woven around the life of Morehead. Since no exhaustive biography of Governor Morehead has been hitherto prepared, and since that period of the state's history is none too generally known, the opportunity for a real contribution was great. It can scarcely be said that the opportunity has been grasped. The chief value of the volume lies in its gathering together of a great mass of material concerning Morehead's career, including speeches, letters, reports, messages, and newspaper comments. But they are, on the whole, rather poorly digested. The study is in no sense critical biography, but is highly eulogistic and loses strength by its consistent attempt to prove its subject a

greater man and a greater influence than he really was. It is further marred by numerous errors. They are to be found most frequently, perhaps, in the case of names, but they occur as well in the case of inferences and of direct statements. Many of them betray unpardonable carelessness, and there are enough of these to cast suspicion on the accuracy of other statements concerning matters less familiar. The style is singularly turgid and is notable for the frequent employment of awkward phrases, and for the original theory of language structure which it exemplifies. Consequently, it is exceedingly difficult reading and will doubtless serve more as a reference book for the student than as entertainment for the general reader.

J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON.

Life of Roger Brooke Taney, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. By BERNARD C. STEINER. (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Company. 1922. Pp. 553. \$6.00.)

THIS biography offers something of a paradox. Undertaken as a work of piety (see preface), its chief contribution consists in stripping the eulogistic varnish from the most authentic of the earlier portraits of its hero, and in touching the picture up with a number of unflattering details. Nor was the subject of the work himself without an element of paradox. A valetudinarian from early years, Roger Brooke Taney yet managed, by hard work and excessive tobacco smoking, to keep the spark of life flickering some eighty-seven years—his birth having occurred within a few months after the Declaration of Independence and his death within a few months of Lee's surrender. More interesting still is the apparent contradiction between his infinite taste for the nicest punctilios of official behavior and the charge of official brutality which rests against his name in connection with the two most conspicuous acts of his life, the removal of the deposits in September, 1833, and the Dred Scott decision.

Here is a puzzle not without interest, and Professor Steiner makes considerable progress toward clearing it up. Neither of the famous episodes referred to was a bolt from the clear sky. Though so decorous, Taney nevertheless inherited from his father a streak of wild Irish fanaticism, and this had already been enlisted on the side of the state banks before he entered Jackson's Cabinet; and the germ of the famous dictum in *Scott v. Sanford*, that the negro had "no rights which the white man was bound to respect", is to be found in a decision which he had rendered on circuit seventeen years earlier (p. 455). Even so, one concludes with the feeling that ambition and intellect overmatched moral energy in Taney's make-up, and that he may not be altogether relieved of an odious suspicion of serviceability at times to men of more resolute purpose than himself.

Notwithstanding the intrinsic interest of most of its content, Professor Steiner's volume is far too long. The pages bristle with details which

reveal little or nothing of Taney's character, his point of view, or the real measure of his public services. On the other hand, the task of interpretation and synthesis has been oftentimes quite neglected, or still more often thrust upon the shoulders of others. Indeed, the work is less a biography than a somewhat orderly collection of materials for one.

Of minor criticisms the following may be noted. The view adopted on page 131 that, in case of irreconcilable difference of opinion between the President and a Cabinet officer, "the will of the President must prevail" is much too sweeping (see *Kendall v. U. S.*, 12 Peters 524; also pp. 119 and 153 of present volume). Taney did not, in his opinion in the *Wheeling Bridge* case, push "the doctrine of the silence of Congress to a dangerous excess" (p. 306), but declined to give that doctrine its due effect. The statement on page 342, made on the authority of Rhodes, that "the characters of Buchanan and Taney are proofs that 'the import of the decision' [in the *Dred Scott* Case] was not communicated by the Chief Justice to the President elect" is misleading. While Taney did not communicate with the President elect on this subject, Catron and Grier both did (pp. 338, 340). Taney's statement in his opinion in *Scott v. Sanford* that a non-naturalized foreigner may vote in a state by virtue of its law, so far from being "remarkable" (p. 352; see also pp. 373-374), asserts what is still the fact (*Minneapolis v. Reum*, 56 Fed. 576). Justice Curtis's position on the question of jurisdiction in this case is stated erroneously on pages 361 to 363, but the error is apparently corrected a page later. The question of the right of Virginia and Maryland to forbid the importation of slaves did not arise under the Constitution of the United States but under their own constitutions (p. 370). Six justices, not four, held the Missouri Compromise void, Campbell and Daniel being the names omitted from the list on page 372. Taney's opinion in *Ableman v. Booth* is not irrefragable proof that he was not "a States rights man" (p. 428), the opinion having been concurred in by justices of the extremest sect of this school. Not Grier but Nelson wrote the dissenting opinion in the *Prize Cases*, Grier indeed being the spokesman for the majority on this occasion.

Of Taney's outstanding decisions, those in the *Charles River Bridge* case, the case of the *Genesee Chief*, *Ableman v. Booth*, and *ex parte Merryman* deservedly receive Professor Steiner's warmest commendation. The praise, however, which he awards to Taney's protest of February, 1863, against the taxation of judicial salaries by a general income tax is excessive (pp. 508, 509). There is no good reason why a judge should not pay the same taxes as other people. However, it is to be noted that the scruple which Taney entertained against a judicial proceeding to determine the question has since been got comfortably over, and in consequence of the recent decision in *Evans v. Gore* (253 U. S. 245), federal judges are exempted from some of the pecuniary burdens of citizenship.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The Party Battles of the Jackson Period. By CLAUDE G. BOWERS.
(Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922.
Pp. xxi, 506. \$6.00.)

THE purpose of the author has been to deal "with the brilliant, dramatic, and epochal party battles and the fascinating personalities" of the Jackson period. Party battles are to him the struggle of leaders, and they usually partake of the character of personal encounters. Votes, either in Congress or at the polls, are relatively unimportant. So also, public debate and private utterance, except as they serve to reveal personalities. Naturally, then, policies involving the public lands, the removal of Indians, and expenditures upon internal improvements are subordinated. Even the tariff issue appears as primarily a struggle for power, and the nullification controversy almost wholly so. Best of all, the attempted renewal of the charter of the United States Bank and the subsequent removal of the government deposits from that bank enable the author to develop his theme; it is, for this portion of the story, "*Jackson v. Biddle*". But such an emphasis upon leaders does not prevent him from asserting that the parties of the period were actuated by "well defined antagonistic principles and policies". Nor does he mean thereby the parties as they appear in the official record of the votes or in campaign platforms. He refers rather to the cleavage in the electorate between the men who had "the interests and prejudices and hero-worship of the voters of the cornfield and the village" and those who were primarily interested in an efficient government, as judged by its relation to the private business of the country, and its appeal to the "aristocracy of intellect and culture".

This suggests the flavor of the writing, and the trend of the book. It is written with a favoring eye upon Isaac Hill, Amos Kendall, and Thomas Hart Benton, indeed upon all of those who identified their cause with that of the "sons of toil". Jackson is the hero of the tale, although Mr. Bowers is not blind to the prejudices and shortcomings of either the President or his subordinates. Great weight is given to the account of Benton and the explanations of Van Buren; considerable reliance is put upon the records kept by Tyler and J. A. Hamilton; far less regard is paid to the materials of Clay, Calhoun, Webster, and Adams, although great use is made of them, as also of the diary of Philip Hone, and the letters of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith. It is by his selection of materials that Mr. Bowers has presented a view of the period that differs at many points from the previous accounts. The book is distinguished also by its selection of dramatic incident, and the great space given to pen-pictures of the less well-known leaders, including John Forsyth and John M. Clayton. Yet despite the very modern chapter-titles, for example, the Rising of the Masses, the Red Terror and the White, the Battle of the Gods, and Political Hydrophobia, the story of these eight years is of course the familiar one, and the outstanding episodes are those appearing in all accounts.

It is from the widely known printed materials, including the *Autobiography* of Martin Van Buren, but not including monographs such as Cole's *The Whig Party in the South*, and McCarthy's *The Anti-Masonic Party*, that the author has taken his information. He has not used the manuscripts in the Library of Congress. He refers only twice to manuscripts, in both cases to letters of John Forsyth. He has used extensively the *Washington Globe* and the *National Intelligencer*, but not the *United States Telegraph*. Apparently he did not know of the *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*. He has drawn most often upon printed autobiography, memoir, diary, and correspondence. His choice of biography is marked. He cites Jenkins's *Calhoun*, and also Von Holst's, but not Hunt's. He has not drawn greatly upon the resources of the historical societies, nor consulted the historical reviews. There are instances where he gives greater weight to a memoir than he does to a contemporary account. His foot-notes are frequently incomplete.

Mr. Bowers did not undertake to add to our knowledge of the Jackson period by the presentation of new materials. He proposed to present his own interpretation of events and of persons that fascinated him. His book will interest and fascinate many readers. Those who wish to go deeper will go to the monographs and manuscripts, and will themselves wish to evaluate the contemporary gossip which has given so much color to this account.

EDGAR E. ROBINSON.

History of Oregon. By CHARLES HENRY CAREY. (Chicago and Portland: the Pioneer Historical Publishing Company. 1922. Pp. 1016.)

THE author of this book is a learned lawyer of scholarly tastes and literary accomplishments. The portion of the book which is marked most unmistakably by the characteristics of his own pen is in a style not always simple but invariably dignified and often distinguished.

The work may be divided into two unequal and dissimilar parts. First, we have the early romantic period of Northwestern history terminated by the organization of the territory of Oregon. Second, the—as here conceived—more pedestrian or commonplace history of the development of the state of Oregon down to present times. Thirty-one chapters are assigned to the first part, thirteen to the second; and, while on the basis of the relative number of pages, 496 and 400 respectively, the disparity of interest does not seem so great, still a reading of the book will show, I think, that at least three-fourths of the author's personal interest was lavished upon the early period. That part was actually *written*, while much of the balance bears indubitable evidence of having been *compiled* by other hands, and some of the compilation gives an impression of the materials having been considerably diluted to fill a prescribed amount of space. Yet, much of the material thus assembled is both interesting and valuable.

Thus the real contribution to Oregon history is found in the first part. Mr. Carey has been a discriminating student of the dramatic episodes and mooted questions with which early Northwestern history fairly bristles. About these he writes with a firm, clear hand, as one who has been not merely a critical reader of other men's conclusions, but also as to some features a genuine investigator. And he gives us a well-rounded story. Beginning with a somewhat concise description of the land itself, he presents next a sympathetic account of the original inhabitants and then plunges into the history of discovery. The era of the fur-trader, the Nootka Sound controversy, the voyage of Captain Vancouver, the Boston Men, Gray's discovery, and John Ledyard constitute the themes of a second distinctive group of chapters. A third deals with Jefferson, the Lewis and Clark expedition, and Astoria. The fourth group of chapters deals with the British fur companies, the reign of Dr. McLoughlin, also American fur-traders and mountain men. The fifth group notes pre-missionary influences, the missionary settlement, the Whitman martyrs. The concluding cycle of chapters is on the beginnings of government and the determination of the boundaries, the last chapter being a compendious essay of forty-four pages.

In the portion of the book just described, Judge Carey has demonstrated his right to be counted among the historians. His plan is comprehensive, his research apparently adequate. The treatment accorded diverse topics discloses a good sense of perspective and a discriminating historical judgment.

Slight errors could no doubt be found, were that type of criticism deemed worth while. But, on the whole, considering its extent, the volume (in the portion under review) seems singularly free from such blemishes. One must, however, query the statement (p. 357), that Whitman's "choice of the southern route alone had made his trip at that season possible". Also, I am aware of no evidence to support the observation (p. 364) that Whitman announced his intention to return in the spring and aid in piloting the immigration. The author cites no evidence for this statement; and some other statements likely to cause comment are left unsupported. Yet, the book is far more carefully documented than is usual with works of this nature. Herein the author reveals his legal and juristic habit of mind.

Mr. Carey declines responsibility for certain volumes of biographies which are to be published in conjunction with this book, the whole to be sold apparently on the subscription plan.

The Bozeman Trail: Historical Accounts of the Blazing of the Overland Routes into the Northwest, and the Fights with Red Cloud's Warriors. By GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD and E. A. BRININSTOOL, with Introduction by General CHARLES KING, U. S. V. In two volumes. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1922. Pp. 346; 306. \$12.50.)

THESE two sizable volumes have more antiquarian than historical value. Perhaps as a consequence of joint authorship the book contains an odd mixture of blood-and-thunder scenario stuff and commonplace history, interspersed with the *membra disjecta* of a charming diary, and topped off with a series of rather verbose pioneer reminiscences.

The first half of volume I. is devoted to retelling the story of the discovery and use of those portions of the Oregon and Overland trails within Wyoming. In preparing this the authors have drawn heavily on such books as Root and Connelley, *The Overland Stage*, and Forsyth, *The Story of the Soldier*, making random acknowledgment in the foot-notes. More emphasis is laid on the early history of the central trails than on the years immediately preceding the opening of the Bozeman route. In fact the entire period from 1846 to 1860 is given very scant consideration. After a chapter on Fort Laramie, made up of descriptive excerpts culled from the best-known Western narratives, the authors proceed to a somewhat confused discussion of the Indian wars of 1863 to 1865. There is a rather loose regard for chronology, and through considerable backing and filling the reader is informed on page 132, on page 137, and again on page 142, that "these were the conditions" that prevailed when General Dodge assumed command. The difficulties encountered during these years in keeping the telegraph lines in repair are well illustrated in the extracts from Sergeant Pennick's diary. It is a pity that this interesting document is not printed as a unit instead of being chopped into fragments to substantiate the authors' points. Volume I. concludes with an account of the Powder River Expedition, the construction of Fort Phil Kearny, and the Fetterman disaster. A rather close reliance on the Carrington narratives results in a somewhat myopic view of the Sioux campaigns. There is a failure to grasp the real significance of the Indian fights of the 'sixties, or to appraise the Connor campaign and its contribution to Carrington's difficulties.

An interesting and useful account of the economic and strategic reasons that led to the survey and construction of the Bozeman Trail, begun in volume I., is continued in volume II. To those with a penchant for the purely antiquarian side of such matters, the itinerary worked out with the assistance of Mrs. Garber of Big Horn, Wyoming, ought to prove interesting. The remainder of the second volume is devoted to incidents in the struggle to maintain communication between Fort Laramie and the Montana gold-fields over the Bozeman route. There is an account of John Phillips's ride and several pioneer reminiscences of the wagon-box fight and of events at Forts Phil Kearny, Reno, and C. F. Smith. To the reviewer the advisability of publishing at such length and in book form this series of reminiscences, most of which cover pretty much the same ground, seems questionable. Rather, they are the sort of narratives that seem to belong more properly in the *Collections* of state historical societies. The second volume concludes with chapters on Red Cloud and Jim Bridger. There is an Afterword which scores the government for its

alleged abandonment of the Bozeman Trail by the treaty of 1868. An understanding of the real significance of the transcontinental railroad, however, and of the influences at work to hasten the completion of the Union Pacific, might have modified the judgment expressed on this point.

Unfortunately, the book contains some misleading and inaccurate statements. The leaders of the Sioux and the Arapahoe did not accept a "proposition of a united war" in December, 1864 (I. 129-130). The Blackfoot Indians were not annually driven north from the Missouri River to beyond the Yellowstone (I. 155). Speaking of the mining rush to Montana, it is more courteous than correct to say "the class of people who came to Montana were respectable and law-abiding, the usual rough and tumble population incident to the finding of gold was not conspicuous" (I. 206). Old Fort Bridger was not on the Union Pacific Railroad (I. 94). The South Pass is referred to as a "rift" in the Rocky Mountains (I. 32) and as a "wide passageway" (I. 37). The failure of the Indians to attack Fort Phil Kearny after the Fetterman massacre is attributed (I. 343) to the character of Indian warfare, which avoided direct assault on fortifications, but later (II. 15) to the severity of the weather which thwarted the Sioux, who, according to the authors, "felt that it would be a matter of hours only before the balance of the already-depleted force behind the log stockade would be in their power". There are a number of inaccurate quotations, especially from Carrington's *Army Life on the Plains*, page 148 of which is misquoted in volume I., page 308, and page 153 in volume I., page 311. Proper names are frequently misspelled: Charbouneau for Charbonneau (I. 31, note); Villiard for Villard (I. 67); Mullen for Mullan (I. 209 and *passim*); Virginia River for Virgin River (I. 29). On page 34 of volume I. a foot-note seems to have been lifted bodily from another book and to have been given a curious misinterpretation. Perhaps the most striking shortcoming is the deplorable English that characterizes those portions of the volumes contributed by the authors. The book is full of such passages as the following: "To the southwest the company headed itself . . ." (I. 31). "Hiding in ravines, secreted in depressions, concealed behind trees in the heavy timber in the mountains to the west of the fort, prowling around partially-constructed buildings, killing both the guarded and unguarded soldier, scalping the more venturesome civilian, and slaughtering the careless emigrant, were the red man's daily programs, making difficult and dangerous the protection of the men in occupations necessary for the construction of fortifications, not to mention the lives of the women and children, who were hard to teach of the dangers for those who dared to go beyond the stockade" (I. 291, 292). "Constant attempts were made by the Indians to capture the supply wagons, and heroism was constantly alert . . ." (II. 143).

The volumes are pleasingly illustrated with original contemporary drawings, many of them hitherto unpublished. The most interesting are those of the overland telegraph stations by Bugler Moellman. One of the

authors contributed several ground plans of forts and two maps. There is an introduction by General Charles King and an excellent index.

The high traditions of a distinguished press are well maintained in the physical make-up of the volumes.

H. C. DALE.

Americans in Eastern Asia: a Critical Study of the Policy of the United States with reference to China, Japan, and Korea in the 19th Century. By TYLER DENNETT. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xvi, 725. \$5.00.)

THIS book serves as a supplement to Hosea Morse's *International Relations of China* and a companion volume to Professor Treat's *Japan and the United States*, but in its fresh and human point of view and its consideration of facts studied anew from the sources it commands attention as a work of the first importance. Mr. Dennett's main contention is that of the new school of writers who find that the states of Asia have been mistreated alike by all Western nations, that something in the nature of atonement is demanded from the conscientious historian. "The exultant, complacent boaster of his nation's virtue," he declares, "whatever the nation, will not find this a satisfying source-book, not if he reads it through to the end. Each nation, the United States not excepted, has made its contribution to the welter of evil which now comprises the Far Eastern Question."

In this garb of penitential gray he proceeds to unfold the whole story of American intercourse with China and Japan. Fairness in estimating the value of his strictures upon the "ineptitude" of certain periods of American diplomacy in the Far East is primarily a matter of scale. We have to remember that the United States of 1800 to 1840 was about as important in the family of nations as the Chile of to-day, that her valid resources and her training in the conduct of international relations were relatively even less. There was nothing ignoble in her merchants' accepting the customary privileges wrung from Chinese authorities by the British, nor does Mr. Dennett censure American conduct under these circumstances. His perfectly justified condemnation is reserved for the alacrity with which American ships seized the opportunity for smuggling after the English had been put out of action by Lin's destruction of the opium and stoppage of their trade. His chapter on the American share in the opium scandal is a mortifying revelation of cupidity under the lure of the tempter, candidly set forth.

So far as the American government was concerned its attitude was honorably defined in the Cushing treaty of 1844, which forbade opium carrying, though "it never assumed any responsibility to prevent or punish such violations unless complaint was brought by the Chinese, and such action the Chinese were very reluctant to take". The obvious reason, if not excuse, for this discrepancy between principle and enforce-

ment is to be sought in the absorption of all Americans during this half-century in affairs at home. Where the support of popular concern is wanting it is idle to expect prosperous issues in the conduct of any democracy. The real weakness of this predicament is manifest, as the author points out, not so much in policy as in the selection of representatives abroad fit to maintain and develop it. The exigencies of American politics bring incompetent secretaries to the State Department and ministers to their legations, with results prejudicial to national dignity and interests. Mr. Dennett's disclosure of the effect in one part of the world of our haphazard system of diplomatic appointments is helpful, if only as a concrete exhibition of the futility of our methods in diplomacy everywhere. But, apart from the ills inherent in the employment of inexperienced agents, it does not appear that the United States merits all the odium implied in his accounts of our dealings with China and Japan. American disinterestedness has been fairly maintained in many occasions besides those he mentions. Our willingness to credit the good faith of a hostile and defeated court in sending an unguarded legation to Peking in 1859 for the exchange of treaty ratifications was at once more reasonable and more courageous than is commonly understood; it is an instance of our living up to our convictions; another is Burlingame's rebuke to a missionary who suggested that advantage be taken of the T'ai-p'ing strangle-hold on the town of Ningpo; still another is seen in the tone of Gresham's reply to Prince Kung's appeal for intervention during the war with Japan—that it could only be offered if acceptable to both parties—which might be contrasted with the note of Russia, Germany, and France to Japan six months later. Other illustrations come to mind, not to confute the author's wholesome proposal to declare the truth, however unpalatable, but to indicate that the evidence in the case is incomplete until blame and praise have both been computed.

Mr. Dennett's major premise holds that America's policy in Asia, unlike that of other powers, has been an accretion built up by its representatives there, by its Secretaries of State, and by Congress. Far from degenerating into opportunism this policy has in general been consistently maintained, by insisting upon most-favored-nation treatment from both Asiatic and Western governments, and irregular only in the adoption of methods for its execution. Of two practicable means for advancing this purpose, seizing territory or co-operating with others to preserve treaty privileges, the latter inevitably commends itself to a people that virtually control a continent. So Burlingame's device of working in harmony with the major powers of Europe for sharing the economic development of backward Asia without destroying its autonomy became the safeguard procedure of seventy years. Whether Mr. Dennett makes good his point that this policy is the direct outgrowth of Cushing's most-favored-nation doctrine admits of some disputation, but he is right in holding that it led to the more famous open-door proposal of Hay and that the corollary of this was "the policy of promoting an Asia strong enough to be its

own door-keeper". There have been bad moments and ministers inadequate to the task of supporting this doctrine against indifference at home and jealousies abroad, but we may conclude without self-righteousness that in attitude and action the record of the United States in the Far East, whether it be called benevolent or only beneficent, compares favorably with that of any nation.

The book is provided with competent references to source-materials and is remarkably free from errors. A few statements occur that might be disputed, such as the contention that Ward was "clearly outside his rights in his intentions to go to Peking", and the credit given to Rock-hill's assertion that carts supplied to the Americans on this journey floated pennants with the words "Tribute Bearers" over them. The two interpreters of the expedition were entirely competent to see that no such humiliating flags were in evidence.

F. W. WILLIAMS.

The McKinley and Roosevelt Administrations, 1897-1909. By JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., D.Litt. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. x, 418. \$4.00.)

THIS is a political history. The interest that Mr. Rhodes in his earlier writings showed in economic and social matters, an interest that was always kept under excellent control, is here suppressed. Politics and diplomacy form his theme, and though the coal strikes, free silver, and railroad control are conceded by him to be causes of political action, they are not treated as interesting and instructive on their own account. One looks in vain for recognition of the revolution in habit of life that has taken place in the United States since 1895.

It is political history of a high order. Connected by marriage with Mr. Hanna, and by literary reputation with everyone else worth knowing, Mr. Rhodes has had personal acquaintance with most of the characters of his period. Throughout the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations he was a national figure among historians. Never quite so venerable and imposing as Bancroft was in Washington society during the 'seventies and 'eighties, he was none the less properly famous for his accomplishment. The first three volumes of his *History of the United States since the Compromise of 1850* were out before McKinley was inaugurated, and were written with such moderation and wealth of understanding that none hesitated to trust him, or to inform him upon matters closed to the ordinary run of men. His judgment, trained in the sound discipline of unremitting labor, kept him always in the cooler realms of thought. We should be well served if every distinguished man were thus to write a history of his own times.

There is no visible purpose in this new volume but to show the facts and judge them. Less than in his earlier volumes does he let the facts tell their own story. He continually turns aside from the facts them-

selves to let some distinguished participant, or brother historian, give the gloss upon them. No simple theme, like that which dominated his great work, is apparent here. Mr. Rhodes has not seen any constructive unity in the years he covers. Instead of making a synthesis that would of itself lead the reader to a clearer understanding of American history since the first Bryan campaign, he has developed his topics paragraph by paragraph, with often abrupt transition from theme to theme. He is in a way sorting the materials that some future historian will need to use.

Few of his paragraphs are based upon the serious investigations that enrich his larger book. The *Nation* remains his guide, though its historical value diminished rapidly after 1895. He has read with discrimination the unusual list of biographies and autobiographies now available for his years, but he does not seem to have inquired why these have been written, or to have suspected that a flood of autobiography may mean one generation that fears to be misjudged by the next. We have had a revolution in ethics as well as in manners, but he does not show it. He has checked the biographies often with personal knowledge, but less frequently with the official documents. His debt to Thayer, Bishop, and Olcott is very great.

This volume appears as an independent work, with no reference to indicate that a monument of eight great volumes precedes it. It thus evades the comment that it is not drawn to the same scale, or built with the same tools.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page. By BURTON J. HENDRICK.

In two volumes. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1922. Pp. x, 436; viii, 437. \$10.00 for set.)

WALTER HINES PAGE was a North Carolinian, a Southerner who felt in his boyhood the blight of Sherman's sword, a nationalist greatly stirred in early middle life by the issues and campaigns of Grover Cleveland, and a man of letters who proved to be one of the keenest and most thoughtful of editors. Disappointed in the failures of Grover Cleveland, he turned to Roosevelt during that leader's presidency and became one of the enthusiastic "big Americans" as against the idea of "little Americans" involved in the Democratic agitation against imperialism. Page thought the United States might properly "clean up" large parts of the barbaric world and annex backward peoples for the good of backward peoples. He was enthusiastic, self-confident, and ambitious, but perhaps not what men call a wise man.

As editor of the *Forum*, Page induced Professor Woodrow Wilson to write for its pages as early as 1893; as editor of the *Atlantic* he again gave Wilson plenty of space, and Wilson made use of it in several notable articles. When Bryce's *American Commonwealth* came out, Page became

an enthusiastic friend and admirer of that gifted Englishman. With Cleveland for a friend, Wilson an intimate, on the best of terms with Bryce and ever close to Roosevelt, Walter Page had many chances to see the world in the making and he doubtless received many of those letters which it delights the historian to see in print. But this series does not include any letters from Cleveland or Roosevelt. It fails also to offer many of the letters written to him by North Carolina friends to whom he probably poured out his heart from time to time as to no others. Aside from a remarkable group of letters from President E. A. Alderman of the University of Virginia, these volumes give almost exclusively the correspondence of Page, President Wilson, and Colonel House. The fullest and frankest of these are from Page himself. Colonel House wrote many characteristic and confidential accounts of diplomatic relations; and Wilson wrote now and then rather more fully than presidents are wont to write. There are some valuable letters to Arthur Page, the ambassador's son, and some to Frank H. Doubleday, his business associate; but it is plain that the purpose of the editor of these volumes was to treat rather exhaustively the one great diplomatic problem of Wilson's administration—the treatment of the Great War and finally American participation in that struggle.

There was probably no abler diplomatic representative of the United States in Europe during the whole period than the ambassador to Great Britain. And it happened that he was the intimate personal friend, as I have indicated, of the President. But long before the outbreak of the German war, Page had strained the relations of many years by his impetuous and ambitious recommendations about Mexico and Latin America in general. Before Wilson indicated what his attitude toward Mexico would finally be, Page wrote that he would outdo the British in their diplomatic courtesy, engage them in an ambitious scheme to clean up backward countries and make use of "the British fleet, the British empire and the English race for the betterment of mankind"—"and you know", he wrote to House, "that would mean *the leadership of the world*" (I. 190-191), *i.e.*, American leadership.

Not to allow the least doubt of his attitude in the President's mind, Page soon gave formal expression to his purpose in a memorandum which Colonel House laid before his chief. It runs in part: "It's mere police duty that all great nations have to do—as they did in the case of the Boxer riots in China. . . . Investments would be safer, governments [in the backward parts of the world] more careful and orderly. . . . It's merely using the English fleets and ours to make the world understand that the time has come for orderliness and peace and for the honest development of backward and turbulent lands and peoples" (I. 195). This plan had apparently become Page's passion before the end of 1913, and there is evidence that tends to show that the British government was backing the ambassador. There was in fact a campaign conducted from London, and strongly supported in the industrial cities of the United States, to compel

Wilson to intervene in Mexico. A philosophic American might ask how did this differ from the German *Drang nach Osten*.

On October 27, 1913, Wilson made an abrupt end to the campaign in his famous Mobile address in which he said that economic exploitation of weaker peoples, in so far as he was concerned, was at an end. He told Latin Americans that he hoped they would maintain order and meet their honest obligations, but he would not be a party to any ignoring of governments and courts in contests about loans and interest. And he then proposed his Pan-American association, which quickly came to be an entente between the United States and the so-called A B C powers. To Page he wrote from Pass Christian on January 6, 1914: "I long, as you do, for an opportunity to do constructive work all along the line in our foreign relations, particularly with Great Britain and the Latin American states." The letter went on in the most friendly but positive way to inform the ambassador that he, Wilson, must initiate policies and make decisions. In this respect the letter reminds one of Lincoln's famous note to Secretary Seward at the beginning of the Civil War. Page had complained bitterly of Mr. Bryan, the secretary of state. Wilson merely replied that he would try to see that Page should be better informed of events in the future. But the President wrote in the most affectionate terms. Only Page was possessed of the Roosevelt doctrine known as the "big stick" diplomacy, while Wilson was enunciating the ideal of self-determination of peoples, which was to give the world a new inspiration a few years later.

In line with the Wilson ideal, Colonel House and Page next busied themselves with a scheme to persuade Germany to abandon her warlike purposes, her *Drang nach Osten*. It was May and June, 1914. After proper preliminaries House went to Berlin. He heard much of war and the shining sword. He went to Paris, where he said there was apparently no thought of war. Then he spent a week in London where neither he nor Page could interest the Asquith government in the venture, a sort of American, English, French, and German entente on the subject of war and economic imperialism. House thought a little later that he might have brought the four great countries to abandon their military-naval rivalries. Perhaps Wilson received the impression that the English thwarted House. At any rate the letters present the case admirably; and the fact that Wilson and his agents were doing what they could and that the United States had definitely refused to enter upon schemes of Mexican exploitation certainly gave the country a fine record and ample reason to upbraid Germany when the terrible day came.

The great struggle of Page with Wilson came in 1915-1916, when he devoted himself heart and soul to leading Wilson to adopt the cause of the Allies in the Great War. The major part of the second volume of letters treats of this struggle and its aftermath, the intense and exhausting work of Page at the British capital during the years of German air-raids and submarine attacks. In the end Page lost his life in the cause, broken

and absolutely worn out before the armistice. There are few more sorrowful cases in American history than just this long campaign of the ardent ambassador to convert his chief and his country to the point of view he held so firmly. But Page showed himself in this, as he had done in the case of Mexico in 1913, less of a diplomat than a great and ardent soul, wholly converted to the cause he had espoused. Wilson on his side showed a Roman virtue in refusing to follow the lead of his fine friend until he felt that every peaceful means had been tried and his country politically made ready for the great departure.

In spite of the facts in the case, the divided character of the American people, the general popular opposition to war, and the delicacies of a national political campaign, Page visited Wilson late in the summer of 1916, intending perhaps to resign, if he failed to win the President to his view. Page went to Washington at the request of the President; the President did not mention the London problem. He visited the State Department; the State Department was silent. He talked to members of the Cabinet; but they gave him no hint. Washington was as still as one of Cooper's forest scenes. Page wrote of his visit: "the great lesson in this is the lamentable failure of the President really to lead the nation. . . . The President dominates the whole show in a most extraordinary way. The men about him are very nearly all very, very small fry, or worse—the narrowest twopenny lot I've ever come across. He has no real companions. Nobody talks to him freely and frankly. I've never known quite such a condition in American life."

In spite of it all, the ambassador was asked to visit Wilson at Shadow Lawn late in September. He presented a formal appeal for American intervention on behalf of the Allies. He showed the President the German medal struck in commemoration of the sinking of the *Lusitania*. "But that did not impress him. . . . He [Wilson] described the war as a result of many causes, some of long origin. He spoke of England's having the earth and of Germany wanting it. Of course, he said, the German system is directly opposed to everything American." The editor of the *Letters* says: "It was an exceedingly trying experience for both men. . . . As he rose to say good-by to the President, he put his hand upon his shoulder. At this Mr. Wilson's eyes filled with tears and he gave Page an affectionate good-by. The two men never met again" (II. 188).

Another diplomat might have grasped the full meaning of this interview. Not so Page, who never could hold the great problems involved in the President's policy in proper and objective balance. To him, living in London and wholly converted to the idea that no blame attached to the French or the English policies that had led to the war, there was no proper weighing of the case. In view of the differences of the two men, it is highly honorable in both that there was no break and that they parted with moistened eyes and hearty handshakes. Moreover a public breach might have been a most grave matter.

These volumes are filled with descriptions of this sort. They are written as only Walter Page could write. And they are well edited. One cannot but lament that there are so few letters; and it is clear all through the context that there is a vast Page correspondence awaiting the historian.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. By OSCAR DOUGLAS SKELTON. In two volumes. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1921. New York: Century Company. 1922. Pp. 485, 576. \$8.00 for the two.)

Laurier: a Study in Canadian Politics. By J. W. DAFOE. (Toronto: Thomas Allen. 1922. Pp. 182. \$1.25.)

DURING the lifetime of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir John Willison published in 1903 a well-written biography in two volumes, *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party*. More than one collection of his speeches was published, but all of them are incomplete. Before he died in 1919 he placed his papers in the custody of Professor O. D. Skelton. The resultant biography is in a clear and pleasant, if rather rigid, style, and is an excellent piece of work. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Skelton sees events wholly from Laurier's point of view and forgets the historian in the partizan. This onesidedness is found especially when he touches political issues in the Canadian West and in the latter days of the Great War. Mr. Skelton's defects are corrected by Mr. Dafoe. He is the editor of the *Manitoba Free Press* of Winnipeg, one of the two or three most influential daily newspapers in Canada, a Liberal, long a follower of Laurier, and one who moved in the inner circles of Canadian politics. His little volume is really a review of the larger work and contains its needed corrective. Those who read both will get an adequate view of the work of the Liberal leader.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was leader of the Liberal party for the unbroken period of thirty-one years. He was wholly French, of ancestry native to Canada for the previous two hundred years. The lad, born in 1841, in the obscure village of St. Lin, near Montreal, was trained largely by priests in an atmosphere completely French. English he learned chiefly from books and he always spoke it with a slight foreign accent. He read the Latin classics, and in after years Horace and Catullus were often his holiday companions. Laurier had the finished manners of the grand seigneur. In the rough and tumble of a long political life, no one ever saw him lack dignity or heard from him an unworthy utterance. After a short career as a lawyer in Montreal, struggling not only with poverty but with ill-health, he settled in the country at Arthabaska, content with an income which in his best days hardly reached five thousand dollars a year. The lure of letters and of politics divided his mind, but politics won. In 1874 he became a member of the federal Parliament at Ottawa, where he remained for the rest of his life. During the last forty years

he sat for one constituency, Quebec East. After 1878 the Liberal party was in opposition, and in 1887 Laurier succeeded Mr. Edward Blake as leader. His subsequent career is divided into three periods: the struggle during nine years to defeat the Conservatives, a contest successful in 1896; then for fifteen years in power as prime minister of Canada; and then eight years more in opposition. Mr. Skelton's first volume is wholly given to the first period.

In the background of Laurier's problems was always the jealous sense of nationality on the part of the French element in Canada. They are a stiff-necked people. It is doubtful if as many as ten thousand ever crossed the sea to Canada, but to-day their descendants number three million and those in the province of Quebec remain as distinctly French as were their ancestors three centuries ago. Proud members of a race which they believe has first place in the culture of the world, they deride the idea that they will abandon their cherished traditions to become a pallid copy of an English-speaking society, and they take quick alarm at any seeming design to achieve this end. This outlook Laurier had always to watch and humor. His own political thought was essentially English in type. He was a master of English political philosophy. But beneath this lay the racial passion of a Frenchman. He confessed that he followed the disasters of the last days of French rule in Canada with bitter sorrow.

The French Canadian does not like clerical dictation in politics. The two most successful leaders in French Canada, Papineau and Laurier, have been at heart anti-clerical. Neither of them attacked the dogmas of the Church, but both were resolved to keep it from political domination. Laurier's first fights were anti-clerical. In early manhood he stoutly resisted the efforts of the bishops in Quebec to coerce the Liberal elector and he won. What preserved Laurier's hold on Quebec was that he echoed the cries of French Canadian nationalism. His sympathies were with the French settlers in the Canadian West who, in 1869, and again in 1885, took up arms to defend their claims. When, in 1885, the Conservative government hanged Louis Riel, the leader in both revolts, Laurier regarded this as an outrage directed against his race. In 1896 came his chance to prove that among his countrymen, racial feeling was stronger than the authority of the bishops. The Canadian bishops forced the federal government of Canada to try to exercise its undoubted legal right to coerce the province of Manitoba to re-establish Roman Catholic, state-supported, separate schools, which it had abolished in defiance of written guarantees in the constitution. In the election which followed, Quebec went with Laurier against its bishops, and it was really the habitant, turning to a racial leader against clerical dictation, who kept Laurier in the office of prime minister during fifteen years.

As prime minister he did some notable things. Many of his followers clamored for free trade. He gave instead a reduction of one-third of the tariff to British imports, but still left the Protectionists protected.

He stood firmly against the centralization of authority in the British Empire; his French supporters, as he well knew, had no imperial instincts; he fought and worsted so doughty an opponent as Joseph Chamberlain and paved the way for the existing view of a British Commonwealth of free and equal nations. Laurier's immigration policy made the West a peopled country, but this very success nearly wrecked his administration. When, in 1905, he made Saskatchewan and Alberta self-governing provinces, he yielded to episcopal pressure so much as to propose to guarantee to minorities for all time state-supported separate schools in which church dogmas might be taught. In face of a Liberal revolt, he had to draw back, and this rebuff shook his hold on his own province. A former follower, M. Bourassa, attacked him as a traitor to the French race and made a real impression. The end of his rule was drawing near. One phase of his later policy was disastrous. He had no keen financial insight and, rather indolent in temper, he disliked details. Two new transcontinental railways were projected, when one would have been perhaps more than enough. Instead of forcing the rivals to unite, he aided both. In time both went bankrupt and to-day Canada is struggling under the heavy load involved in keeping up thousands of miles of unprofitable lines.

In 1911 Laurier was beaten honorably on a great issue, that of reciprocity in trade with the United States in natural products. He was then seventy, and it was fitting that he should have given up the leadership of the Liberal party. But his supremacy was so complete that no one was obviously his successor, and he was not unwilling to be coerced into remaining. It was a mistake. The war came in 1914. His attitude in supporting the existing government was irreproachable, but now he was haunted by a great fear. M. Bourassa was appealing to French nationalism against him, was reviling British imperialism, and blaming it for the war. Laurier knew that if he had any secure hold it was on Quebec, and now this was threatened; Quebec gone, nothing was left. Meanwhile English-speaking Liberals were growing restive. They wished to unite the country in one supreme effort to win the war. In 1917 Laurier definitely refused to support in Canada conscription, which had been adopted both in Great Britain and in the United States, and to join a coalition government. His English-speaking followers broke away, and an election left him with almost none but French followers. He had beaten Bourassa, Quebec was his, but farther west his party was wrecked.

Clearly there were marked limitations and defects in Laurier's great career, and Mr. Skelton's note of indiscriminating praise jars a little. To-day the Liberal party is in power in Canada, but it has a bare majority and its strength is almost wholly in the racial unity of the Quebec held by Laurier. In antagonism are Ontario largely and the West entirely. The solidarity of Quebec has created that of the rest of Canada in opposition, and this is Laurier's ominous achievement. He could have di-

vided Quebec. Many of its people were of one mind with the other elements in Canada in respect to the war. Probably half of Quebec would have supported him in a coalition. But he chose to go, as he said, with his people, and the bad legacy of racial cleavage endures. Mr. Dafoe makes these things clear with brilliant phrasing, and his one little volume gives a clearer view of Laurier as a whole than the two of Mr. Skelton. Official biography has its drawbacks. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a high-minded gentleman and his character would have suffered nothing from perfect candor and detachment.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

MINOR NOTICES

A Short History of the World. By H. G. Wells. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xvi, 455, \$4.00.) Mr. H. G. Wells has prepared a *Short History of the World* which is "meant to be read straightforwardly almost as a novel is read. It gives in a most general way an account of our present knowledge of history, shorn of elaborations and complications." It is not an abstract or condensation of the author's *Outline of History*, but "a much more generalized History, planned and written afresh". Necessarily the broad topics treated are much the same, and the point of view and interpretation are much the same; but the briefer work is on the whole written in a more impersonal way, the note of irritation and the denunciatory method are less obtrusive, the interesting if sometimes ridiculous foot-note squabbles between Mr. Wells and his editors are omitted. Relatively little space is given to modern history; only 109 pages out of a total of 427 are devoted to the period since 1555, only 79 pages to the period since 1815. As a result the knowledge of modern history to be obtained from this volume will be fragmentary in the extreme. This book, like many others, raises the question of how far the rich complexity of history may be generalized and simplified without ceasing to be history.

C. B.

Social Work in the Light of History. By Stuart Alfred Queen, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Kansas. [Lippincott's Sociological Series, edited by Edward Cary Hayes, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Sociology in the University of Illinois.] (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1922, pp. 327, \$2.00.) This suggestive volume has beyond doubt been evolved from the note-book of a teacher. Its unique contribution is not so much the convenience of a handbook into which are concisely gathered accounts of various forms of humanitarian effort, though this has been done with care and a sense of proportion, but rather the exposition of the modern method of "studying history backward". The present methods of dealing with such problems as labor, housing, and child welfare are presented as forms of social behavior under

familiar conditions. Gradually the author leads the way back through the nineteenth-century humanitarianism to the study of social motives in the administration of English poor relief, in ecclesiastical philanthropy, and in the charities of manor, gild, and town.

Meanwhile social work itself is regarded as part of a general social and economic development. For instance, modern social work, it is explained, necessarily had its origin in England because it was a response to the maladjustments of the Industrial Revolution which began in that country. The background of economic change is supplied with skill for the reader who must have an explanation of terms which are commonplace to the student of economic history. Only at one or two points do the interpretations appear a little forced, as when the sentimentalism of the nineteenth-century Lady Bountiful is explained by the "forcing of charity outside the ordinary relationships of the business world" and as a result of removing the women folk of the bourgeoisie "from the vital relations of the economic system". There have been Lady Bountifuls through a longer course of history and they have usually been sentimental.

With greater clearness and definiteness than can be found in any previous attempt to justify the professional claims of social work, Dr. Queen rests them on the necessities which have grown out of our increased dependence on the specialized services of trades and professions. He finds the legitimate clients of social work no longer limited to the poor, as in times past, but drawn from the whole population for whom the new public service should now be available.

The selected readings are in some instances surprisingly out of date. Excellent and easily available books on such subjects as labor legislation, co-operation, and housing have almost entirely supplanted those listed on pages 71 and 128.

AMY HEWES.

The Art of Biography. By William R. Thayer. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, pp. ix, 155, \$1.50.) This little volume, dedicated to President Alderman of the University of Virginia, embodies the Barbour-Page lectures at that institution. As biographer of Cavour, John Hay, Theodore Roosevelt, and George Washington, the author is peculiarly fitted to speak to the theme. Beginning with the dawn of history, when the monarch became the subject of the early chronicle because of his social dominance, the author traces the art of biography down to the present time. The first consecutive and genuine biography he finds in the story of Joseph in the book of Genesis; and the uniformity with which Joseph always acts in character inclines him to the belief that Joseph was a real person—although he might quite as well have "acted in character" had he been a fictive personage. Other Biblical stories, such as those of David and Joshua, present rather a mixture of history and biography; and it is not until we come to Plutarch that we find a real master of biography. In his allusiveness, his familiarity with tradition, popular

sayings, and gossip, he is unmatched by any modern biographer. Plutarch defined each individual clearly, and wrote by topics—in contrast with the modern biographer who is a slave to chronology and sequence, seeking an “explanation” of the biographed in time and in place. Indeed the modern biographer has to take account of all the results of the science of psychology, the new theories of the unconscious self, the intermixture of motives which go to the inspiration of an act or course of procedure. To-day we approach personality as a problem to be solved rather than as a life to be exhibited.

The thesis of this little book may be found in these words: “The constant direction in the evolution of Biography has been from the outward to the inward.” Mr. Thayer does not believe—and says so flatfootedly—that man is to be “explained” materialistically as a mere product of his environment. But he does insist that we should know with precision “whether a great man was original, how much he borrowed either through inheritance or through contact with his fellows”. The best biography, the best history, he defines as “that which comes as near as possible to reproducing the event or the person as in life”.

In the transition from medieval to modern biography, Mr. Thayer discovers no conspicuous advance in the art of biography—although he singles out and happily describes a small number of outstanding works. After citing a number of notable modern biographies, Mr. Thayer announces as if this were the contribution of modern biography: “The essential subject of the biographer is the soul of man”; and finds the virtue of Boswell chiefly in the fact that he acted, not as a prism of temperament for reflecting a Boswellian Johnson, but as a highly sensitized plate for catching the image of the “real” Johnson. And with this, too, went sympathy, and the artist’s gift of selection. “Multiplicity”, we are told, seems to be the “foremost trait” of contemporary biography; whereas the true aim of the biographer should be “totality”.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Hebrew Tribal Economy and the Jubilee, as illustrated in Semitic and Indo-European Village Communities. By Henry Schaeffer, Ph.D., S.T.M., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Chicago, Illinois. (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1922, pp. viii, 198, \$1.30.) This book has grown out of the same writer’s earlier volume, *Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites*, and is a book after the same order. It is intended to be a refutation of the critical theory that the Hebrew law of jubilee is the product of a post-exilic school of priestly writers. The author has shown tremendous industry and has brought together a wealth of material to show that the early life of the Hebrews was tribal in its religious expression, its political organization, its social morality, and its economic constitution. Only gradually was the sense of tribal solidarity broken down by contact with the Amorites, and in some of its forms it persisted to the end. Moreover, there was a conscious effort

on the part of many to maintain the old order against the inroads of the new, and the law of jubilee is one expression of this effort. In course of time personal property rights came to be recognized to some degree; lands were sold and thus alienated from their original holders; and the purpose of the jubilee was to correct this by enacting that all alienated property should revert in the jubilee-year to the original holders, free of all encumbrance. The sharp distinction between village and city property in the law is a compromise measure intended "to keep intact the economic system of the Hebrew peasantry without unduly trenching upon the rights of the commercial classes residing in the fortified cities, where the conception of individual ownership would be more fully developed than in the rural districts" (p. 91).

With much that the author has said all will agree. There is no question that the Hebrews long maintained something of their earlier tribal organization. Villages doubtless held tracts of land in common and there was probably a periodic redistribution of the land among the villagers. Schaeffer has accumulated much evidence for this and has shown many parallels among other Semitic and Indo-European village communities. Modern scholars do not deny the historicity of the law of jubilee in its entirety, but only those features of it that are manifestly artificial and unworkable. The number 50 is clearly artificial and two fallow years (the forty-ninth and fiftieth), followed by a lean year (the fifty-first), sowing being prohibited in the fiftieth, would be quite impossible. Schaeffer has adduced nothing to counterbalance the evidence of literature and history, and the unanimous belief of the Talmudists and Rabbis, that the jubilee-year was never observed.

The book is not particularly well written. The language in places is obscure. There are many typographical errors. There is no index.

THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fourth Series, volume V. (London, the Society, 1922, pp. iii, 258.) Seven papers are included in this volume. In the first Mr. H. G. Rawlinson gives the history of the Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-1588, from the ambassador's original letters and memoranda preserved in the Public Record Office and elsewhere. The relation of the embassy to the founding of the Levant Company is important. By an unfortunate slip, the date of Harborne's birth (which seems not to have been known to previous writers) is given as 1572. Mr. H. G. Richardson compares Year Books and Plea Rolls as Sources of Historical Information, giving the preference to the plea rolls, or official records, presenting interesting examples, and ending with a valuable bibliographical note on both series. Mr. F. W. Buckler discusses the Political Theory of the Indian Mutiny, in the light of the proceedings in the *Trial of the King of Delhi*, and shows the diametrical difference between the British and the native Indian view of the relations between the Mughal Empire and the British government and company.

Miss Gwendolen Whale describes the Influence of the Industrial Revolution on the Demand for Parliamentary Reform. Sir Francis Piggott presents some Practical Notes on Historical Research, Miss Gladys Thompson a brief paper on the Origin and Growth of the Office of Deputy-Lieutenant, *temp.* Eliz. The most substantial study in the volume is Miss Eveline C. Martin's thorough account of the English Establishments on the Gold Coast in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century, confined to matters of government, and accompanied by a useful note on the original sources (manuscript papers of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa, etc.) and the bibliography of the subject.

English and French in England, 1066-1100. By Percy Van Dyke Shelly. (Philadelphia, Pa., University of Pennsylvania, 1921, pp. 97.) It is a useful service to bring together the passages in the sources showing the feeling between English and Normans in England immediately after the Conquest. Mr. Shelly can hardly be said to do more than this. He adds nothing to our knowledge; his own knowledge is hardly abreast of the present day; and his criticism of the sources is not keen. Some of his evidence in favor of his thesis is no better than evidence against it which he rejects. That there was contempt felt and shown by the Normans for the Saxons in some cases is certain; that there was much kindly feeling between the two races is also certain. To estimate the relative amount of these inconsistent feelings is something impossible for us and not really necessary. All that we need to know is that the popular idea of general Norman contempt, for which Sir Walter Scott is no doubt chiefly responsible, is an exaggeration. A few specific notes may be permitted. (P. 51) Witnesses to a charter cannot be trusted to show the membership of the court. (P. 52) *Consuetudines* in the passage cited means not "laws of the land" but customary payments. (P. 53) The juries of the preamble of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* are an invention of the writer. (P. 54) Meeting together in local courts does not imply union of the races. They could not do otherwise. (P. 71) *Milites* is a technical term of landholding, not "soldiers" in the sense supposed. (P. 79) The inferences concerning the judicial activities of the abbot Aethelwig are hardly justified by the source used. (P. 89) Of the *Leges Willelmi* the French is certainly the original, not the Latin, and both are of the twelfth century. It is surprising to find no use made of Liebermann's *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. It would have saved the writer some mistakes and given him some additional facts.

Vitae Paparum Avenionensium. Stephanus Baluzius edidit. Nouvelle Édition revue d'après les Manuscrits, par G. Mollat, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg. Tome IV. (Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1922, pp. 468, 100 fr. for the four volumes.) The third and fourth volumes of the new edition of Baluze contain the documents on which the notes of the original second volume were based. The fourth volume, here

mentioned, begins at page 605 of the old edition and covers the remainder of that volume. The work has been done with the same scholarly care as in the earlier portions (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 605). M. Mollat has been at great pains to consult all known manuscripts of the original documents and has been able to make certain corrections in Baluze's text and to supply or correct various dates, though it is surprising how few changes are demanded in a new edition of this material appearing after the lapse of more than two hundred years. A particularly valuable feature of the modern edition is the index of forty-five pages covering the third and fourth volumes, which will be found of great assistance especially for its geographical information. Place-names have been identified with great care and there are comparatively few instances even of obscure churches or parishes whose location has not been indicated.

Weltgeschichte in Gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von Ludo Moritz Hartmann. Band VI., Erste Hälfte. *Das Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation, von 1517-1660.* Von Kurt Kaser. (Stuttgart-Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1922, pp. 222.) The reviewer must consider not only the aim of a given author, but also the needs of the special audience for which he (the reviewer) writes. According to this principle it may be said at once that, whereas Herr Kaser has written acceptably for the German reading public to which he appeals, he has contributed little or nothing to the understanding of the period which the scholar cannot well afford to miss. Undiscouraged by hardship, a brilliant band of German scholars—Pastor, Berger, Kalkoff, Fueter, Burdach, G. Wolf, R. Wolff, Lenz, Below, and Holl—have fruitfully studied and powerfully analyzed the history of the Reformation. Amid this company the present author will distinctly not take a place.

Nor will this volume bear comparison with the corresponding volume in Pflugk-Harttung's *Weltgeschichte*, published in 1907. Not only was the earlier work enriched with many pictures and facsimiles, but it was written by specialists who could speak with authority. Herr Kaser seems to content himself with condensation of the standard authorities, among whom Ranke takes the first place. His field is narrowed by the plan of the work. He passes by, as already known, the formation of the principles of international policy, the consolidation of the Western states, the decentralization of Germany and Italy, the decay of monarchical power and the creation of an oligarchical government in Eastern Europe, the connection of early capitalism with a policy of expansion conditioned by dynastic purposes. His primary interest lies in the tale of the political and ecclesiastical history of the period. Though he does not entirely neglect economics, he says nothing about intellectual history. He throws into the deepest shadow the financial collapse of Spain, and by way of contrast paints in brilliant colors the prosperity and wealth

of the Netherlands. In the marts of Amsterdam, he believes, our modern economic life evolved, with both its good and its bad features, and the driving force of the great new expansion was capitalism, and its instrument the stock company.

The author's sympathies are with Luther and the Germanic peoples. The Saxon reformer is contrasted favorably with Wycliffe's fugitive and academic retirement, with Huss's chauvinism, and with Calvin's narrow intolerance. The Counter-reformation is understood primarily as the war of Romanism against Teutonism. Cromwell's ruling idea is found in the belief that the English were the chosen people, destined to conquer the world in order to erect in it the kingdom of God. The causes of the Reformation are found in the moral revolt against religious abuses and in the lay revolt against ecclesiastical impositions. The Renaissance, though theoretically opposed to the ideals of the Church, was unable to cope with it because of lack of moral earnestness. While the reviewer cannot agree fully with any of the statements quoted in this paragraph, he can safely endorse the greater part of the positions taken by the author.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Macbeth, King Lear, and Contemporary History: being a Study of the Relations of the Play of Macbeth to the Personal History of James I., the Darnley Murder, and the St. Bartholomew Massacre and also of King Lear as Symbolic Mythology. By Lilian Winstanley, M.A. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. 5, 228, 15 s.) This book is dedicated to the proposition that Shakespeare's plays are "of an age". Miss Winstanley would, naturally, not deny that they may also be "for all time"; what she challenges is the disposition of A. C. Bradley and his school to discuss them as literature in the abstract. "They were written", she insists, "by an Englishman in the early seventeenth century", whose outlook, whose whole working psychology was different from ours, and they are to be understood only in relation to his time. Her own concern with them is to trace their rendering of contemporary history, of which, she is convinced, they are full. In this volume she investigates *Macbeth* and *King Lear*; in an earlier she investigated *Hamlet*.

There was doubtless need for a shifting of the point of view; others than Miss Winstanley have been helping to shift it. But after all, a new perspective ought not to distort one's vision of essentials, and in the case of Miss Winstanley it too often does. She believes that *Macbeth* and *King Lear* are not the mere plays they have been held to be, but complexes of dramatic symbolism, crammed with references to the Darnley murder and the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. That the Gunpowder Plot should have turned men's minds in that direction may be conceded. For one thing, however, Miss Winstanley's very elaborateness of theorizing discredits her theory; no Elizabethan audience could or

would have followed these plays into the dark corners into which she tracks them. For another, her whole scheme of interpretation ignores the faculty that made Shakespeare Shakespeare. "I simply cannot conceive", she insists, "of dramas of such intensity written about early Scotland or the remote bronze age." To which one can only answer that if Shakespeare had been unable to vivify such rudiments of story, neither she nor any of the rest of us would still be reading him.

R. E. NEIL DODGE.

The Jacobites and the Union: being a Narrative of the Movements of 1708, 1715, 1719 by Several Contemporary Hands. Edited by Charles Sanford Terry, Litt.D., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 274, 10s. 6d.)

The Forty-Five: a Narrative of the last Jacobite Rising by Several Contemporary Hands. Edited by Charles Sanford Terry, Litt.D., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 208, 8s. 6d.) Those familiar with the product of the previous studies of Professor Terry will, as they might naturally expect, find the work in the present volumes to be marked by scholarly thoroughness. "I have set myself", he tells us, "to construct out of contemporary materials a full narrative of Jacobite effort at the four periods of its activity—in 1708, 1715, 1719, and 1745." One volume deals with the first three movements, and the other with the fourth—the Forty-Five. As he very convincingly remarks: "Only in the language and from the outlook of those who took part in it or watched its unfolding is it possible to recover the romantic atmosphere which irradiates the story. With only a connecting word here and there I have let the actors in it tell its incidents in their own way, piecing their prose so that it reads as a consecutive narrative. I venture to think it the fullest and most vivid of the events it records." From his knowledge of the materials and the period the editor has been able to select cunningly of the best and to weave the fragments together with unusual skill, correcting a detail, now and again, wherever necessary. Moreover, at the beginning of each volume he has provided a list of authorities—practically all in print—indicating briefly the scope and value of each, while at the end he appends, in each case, lists of the participants in the risings with concise but adequate comments on their respective activities. Some twenty years ago Professor Terry published, in the *Scottish History from Contemporary Writers* series, a couple of works covering approximately the same ground, but neither one is any longer generally accessible, while the appearance of much new material, relating particularly to the Forty-Five, has resulted in a considerable recasting of the narrative.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Weltgeschichte in gemeinverständlicher Darstellung. In Verbindung mit . . . herausgegeben von Ludo Moritz Hartmann. Band VII., Hälfte I. *Die Französische Revolution.* Von G. Bourgin. (Stuttgart and Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1922, pp. viii, 267.) The manuscript of this half-volume was prepared by Bourgin and translated by Dr. L. Singer. The editors and publishers may be commended for the excellence of their work. The volume is in good literary form. It contains no newly established facts. Its value must be judged by the choice of material, the historical synthesis, the accuracy of statement of facts, and the merits of the series of which it is a part. In an introduction of twenty-one pages Bourgin leads up to revolutionary thought with a study of modern philosophy, dealing with Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Bacon, and other philosophers and writers on political, industrial, and social questions. Pages 22-45 deal with the more immediate causes of the Revolution; pages 45-133 contain a general account of the revolutionary movement up to 1799; pages 133-267, chapters VII.-XI., deal with the internal, the industrial and social, the legal and governmental, and the ecclesiastical changes and the spread of the Revolution beyond France.

It is difficult to write the history of the Revolution in 267 pages. Bourgin is more superficial than is necessary. He skips too lightly from point to point. His synthesis is faulty. He deals, for example, with the October days before he takes up the peasant disorders of July and the decrees of August 4. It is the mission of history to deal with related events in their causal connection. The events of October were the natural sequence and the result of the events of the preceding months. There are some serious omissions as well as a number of minor inaccuracies, a few of which may be due to faulty translation. The period from May 5 to June 27 is covered in one and a half pages. May 5 is merely referred to as the opening day of the States General. Necker did not speak at the royal session. It is precisely his absence that is remarkable. It helped to encourage the people in their opposition to the king's orders. It is incorrect to state that the assembly was on August 4 "still quite ready" to stop the disorders in the provinces by force. Such a motion was made as early as July 20 and repeated afterwards and failed.

CARL CHRISTOL.

The Making of Australasia: a Brief History of the Origin and Development of the British Dominions in the South Pacific. By Thomas Dunbabin, M.A. [The Making of the British Empire, edited by H. Clive Barnard.] (London, A. and C. Black, 1922, pp. xii, 258, 10 s. 6 d.) "This book", as described in the introduction, "is an effort to give a brief but accurate account of the winning and making of Australasia. It may seem that a disproportionate amount of space has been given to the earlier history of Australia. For this there are several good reasons. . . . What may be called the middle period of Australian history is comparatively featureless except to the specialist." Thus, of the 254 pages, 148

are devoted to a brief account of the discovery and occupation of the continent to 1850, fifty-three pages carry the story to 1914, twenty-eight are given to New Zealand, and twenty-two pages cover the participation of Australia in the Great War. It goes without saying that within such space-limitations only very brief, and at times superficial, treatment can be accorded to events of considerable importance, and it is doubtful if, from this book alone, a reader could obtain a very helpful knowledge of present-day Australia. It probably would have been better to have devoted the whole book to a more careful examination of the period before 1850 instead of trying to survey the whole period at the expense of proper proportions. The space devoted to New Zealand is absolutely inadequate from any point of view.

The reviewer is not inclined to agree with the statement that "the middle period of Australian history is comparatively featureless except to the specialist". It has, to be sure, been very much neglected by Australian historians, but it offers a field for the same kind of investigation which has made the westward movement so vital a subject of historical study in America. The history of Australia is economic, political, and social, rather than military or diplomatic. The settlement of the interior, the land systems, the problems of labor and of immigration, and political development, are important subjects for investigation, and they cannot be neglected by the historian simply because Australia has not been the scene of military exploits. On these matters very little will be found in Mr. Dunbabin's work.

As the book is designed for the general reader, it contains neither bibliography nor citations. The style is pleasing, but aside from the chapter on the Great War the work cannot supersede the existing brief histories of Jenks and Scott. Although a corrigenda slip has been inserted, it does not include all the typographical errors, while one of the corrections is itself wrongly located.

P. J. T.

The Evolution of People's Banks. By Donald S. Tucker, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CII., no. 1, whole no. 231.] (New York, Columbia University, 1922, pp. 272, \$2.75.) A very excellent study is Dr. Donald S. Tucker's *The Evolution of People's Banks*. He has summed up for us, more carefully than any other has done, the real facts in the development of the co-operative idea as represented by banks and allied institutions, such as building and loan associations. He has followed successfully the evolutionary processes at work in the matter of banks, particularly in Germany.

At the outset it is interesting to discover that he really gave credit where credit was deserved—to Victor Aimé Huber, who was possibly the foremost thinker and organizer prior to the development of the Raiffeisen, Schulze-Delitzsch, and Luzzatti banks.

A very commendable feature of Dr. Tucker's discussion is chapter II., which turns on the Structure of the People's Bank. His analysis of the machine and dissection of the manner of its functioning is praiseworthy. The extent to which he goes into detail is fairly astonishing. Another illuminating chapter is entitled, the People's Bank in Many Lands. Here he gives a brief survey of the world movement. He discusses the credit union development in America and Canada—the credit union being a type of small savings bank, patterned after the Schulze-Delitzsch and Raiffeisen systems. The points which favor the development of the credit union are that it offers the readiest avenue for the escape of the small borrower, and further, it makes possible the development of credits where no credits existed and the setting in motion of a new scheme of banking machinery.

If Dr. Tucker's book can be subjected to any particular criticism, it is because of the fact that he has failed to take notice of the development in this country of so-called co-operative banks, a development begun in 1920. Already there are about a dozen institutions of this type and vast interest is being shown in the so-called experiment, the chief fundamentals of which lie in stockholders agreeing to limit the returns on the investment, together with profit-sharing with depositors. The most striking example of this type of bank is represented by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers Cooperative National Bank of Cleveland, which in little more than two years has come to control approximately twenty millions of credits. The fairly rapid growth of these co-operative institutions augurs the advent of a period in which we shall develop new banking mechanisms based on limiting dividends and profit-sharing; or who can say we shall not build a distinctly new co-operative bank where to be a depositor one must be a shareholder also?

An excellent bibliography and index accompany the volume.

WALTER F. MCCAULEY.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LV., October, 1921–June, 1922. (Boston, the Society, 1923, pp. xvi, 387.) The chief commemorative notices in this volume are of Melville M. Bigelow, Viscount Bryce, Edward Everett Hale, and Barrett Wendell. Several brief documents of curious interest are published in the volume, among them two from Mary Storer, of Wells, Maine, who was carried away from that place as a captive by the Indians in 1703 to Canada, where she became Sister Mary St. Germaine. All the important historical articles in the volume relate to the Revolutionary period. Dr. Edward Waldo Emerson commemorates Rev. William Emerson, a chaplain of the Revolution, and minister of Concord from 1766 to 1776. Mr. G. G. Wolkins relates with a substantial body of documents the story of the seizure of John Hancock's sloop *Liberty*. Dr. Gardner W. Allen presents a collection of letters and papers of Captain Hector McNeill of the Continental Navy, filling a hundred pages, and derived from a letter-book of that officer lately presented to the Society, from other family papers, and from documents in

the Massachusetts archives and the Library of Congress. Mr. Jonathan Smith concludes the volume with a valuable article on the question, "How Massachusetts raised her Troops in the Revolution".

Broadsides, Ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800. [Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, vol. LXXV.] (Boston, the Society, 1922, pp. xvi, 482, with facsimiles, \$5.00.) This volume is an important addition to American bibliography. The historian is slowly awakening to the informative and illustrative value of the broadside, and this list should stimulate other states to similar publications.

Mr. Ford's introductory note is an entertaining presentation of historical and bibliographic facts as to Massachusetts printing, but exception may be taken to his statement "that the broadside practically ceases to have historical interest after 1800". The Embargo excitement, the War of 1812, the political enthusiasms of the 'twenties, 'thirties, and 'forties, the annexation of Texas, "Bleeding Kansas", and the anti-slavery propaganda are represented by scores of broadside issues fully as important historically as the large number of fast and thanksgiving day proclamations noted in this list. Binn's Jackson Coffin broadside, the No-Annexation of Texas, signed in manuscript by Gallatin, Bryant, Field, and others, Gerrit Smith's fulminations, the New England Loyal Publication Society series, and other early Civil War issues make the year 1800 at least a doubtful stopping-place.

The editing is done with discrimination, and a nice sense of values, but consistency is lacking in the use of bracket, parenthesis, and foot-note type, which is, at times, confusing (*cf.* nos. 43, 44, 62, 68 and the "tax warrants" parentheses in nos. 1250, 1251, 1304 *et al.*). Note of the size of the imprints would have been helpful and one or two of the items, inferentially claimed as Massachusetts imprints by inclusion in this list, will probably be subjects of controversy.

There are some few typographical slips, the worst of which are the failures to include the British Museum in the Key, and the unexplained mystery of the sinister daggers. The index is good but troublesome. Arrangement of references alphabetically under the rubric would be more helpful than the old-fashioned method of page sequence and a closer cross-referencing is needed, *e.g.* under "Sons of Liberty" are seven references not noted under "Liberty" and "Married Women's Lamentation" is not noted under "Women". But these are minor points; the volume is a safe model of high excellence for similar publications.

J. C. FITZPATRICK.

Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century, as revealed in the German Newspapers published in America. By James Owen Knauss, jr. (Lancaster, Pa., Pennsylvania-German Society, 1922, pp. x, 217.) This monograph has the merit of being an original and an honest piece of work. The title would, however, more

accurately have described its contents if it had been reversed with the emphasis upon newspapers rather than upon social conditions. Of the eight chapters all but the first and the greater part of the last deal, it is true, with social conditions, but the very fact that the information is drawn almost exclusively from German newspapers makes the book a study of newspapers rather than a study of social conditions. One may ask, moreover, if a description of social conditions is the dominant purpose, why write it from German newspapers rather than from every conceivable and available source? However, this is not intended as a criticism of the contents, and attention is called to it merely to direct the reader of this review to the chief value of the volume.

The social conditions of the Pennsylvania Germans are of course treated incidentally, if not directly, in every chapter and include such subjects as religion, charities, education, language, traits of character, vocations, and political ideals; but there is little new light shed upon this phase of the subject; nor does the author claim that there is. It confirms rather what we already know: that the great body of Pennsylvania Germans came from the peasant class; that they were frugal, industrious, law-abiding, liberty-loving, and intensely religious; that in spite of the initial stages of pioneer hardship and poverty they prospered as a class; that in many cases they rose to prominence industrially and socially and, in some cases, politically, the most conspicuous example of the latter being that of Friederich A. Mühlenberg, who was elected speaker of the first national House of Representatives. "Their most striking characteristic as citizens was their intense love of liberty, the expression of which ran like a golden thread through almost all their newspapers" (p. 141).

On the whole the author does not overestimate the contribution made by the Pennsylvania Germans to 'state and nation; he rather underestimates their influence, in failing at times to link up properly their local activities with the currents that were making national history; for example, the part they played in the suppression of the slave trade and in laying the social foundations which later gave to the commonwealth of Pennsylvania its unique character.

That the author has written from original sources is evident on every page by numerous foot-note references and frequent quotations (in German) from the newspaper files in various public libraries and in private and antiquarian collections. The first chapter (36 pages), dealing exclusively with the history of German newspapers and their publishers, forms not only an introduction to the whole subject, but also, apart from the rest of the volume, a background to the last 46 pages which are devoted to a complete statistical presentation of the German newspapers in Pennsylvania from 1732 to 1801. The research student will find at the end of the work the most complete and up-to-date German newspaper bibliography that has thus far been published, and it is the only one that states what papers and issues are still extant and where they can be found. But there is no index.

KARL F. GEISER.

The Journal and Essays of John Woolman. Edited from the Original Manuscripts with a Biographical Introduction by Amelia Mott Gummere. [Rancocas Edition.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xxii, 643, \$5.00.) This is a large and welcome addition to our previous knowledge of John Woolman, which was very meagre. Having access to various sources of information hitherto but partially, if at all, explored, the editor has brought together much interesting and valuable material. There is also, among other illustrations, a portrait of Woolman reproduced from a sepia drawing, of which the editor says "the erratic background is omitted". We should have been glad to see it, precisely as we should have been grateful had the editor given us more of a background for the literary portrait of her subject. From the notes and appendix, as well as from her chapters in *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, it is possible to supply the omission and build up a background bit by bit, but it now remains for some biographer to do better what W. Teignmouth Shore did well a decade ago and give us a Life of John Woolman which will enable us to look not only into his eyes but also out through them, and see what he saw as well as what he was. Like most Friends of his time, Woolman had scant interest in contemporary history: indeed, as a class, Quakers have always cared less for temporal events than for eternal principles, but the editor has cleverly suggested that one of his dreams may have been due in part to contemporary occurrences.

Speaking of dreams, we are grateful to the editor for restoring these striking experiences to their proper places in the *Journal*. Is it quite correct to say, however, that in the first edition "the dreams are all wanting" (p. xvi)? Unfortunately, also, two references to dreams in the text are not noted in the index (pp. 308, 322). There is also a slight inaccuracy on page 287 where the reference should be not to the "introduction", but to page 115 of the text. This is due to the fact that on the title-page the "Biographical Sketch" (pp. 1-150) is called a "biographical introduction", while in the book itself the introduction covers pp. ix-xviii.

There seems to be a regrettable slip in the designation of the manuscripts of the *Journal*. On page xviii it is stated that "Throughout this volume the folio MS. . . is termed MS. A. The first small quarto, ending 1747, is MS. B., and the similar quarto, ending 1770, is MS. C." Yet in the foot-note on page 170, under the year 1747, we read "MS. C. ends at this point. It contains forty-eight quarto pages" (47 according to p. xi), and from this point on variant readings are assigned to B. It would seem, therefore, that in the notes the earlier of the two quartos is referred to not as B. but as C. This may be confusing to those who are interested in tracing the development of Woolman's literary style.

W. W. FENN.

Peter Hasenclever aus Remscheid-Ehringhausen: ein Deutscher Kaufmann des 18. Jahrhunderts. Seine Biographie, Briefe, und Denkschriften im Auftrage der Familie Hasenclever herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Adolf Hasenclever in Halle a.S. (Gotha, Perthes, 1922, pp. viii, 252.) Peter Hasenclever was a German merchant, born in 1716, who after learning the iron and the linen business in Silesia journeyed while still a youth over the greater part of Europe as a commercial traveller, established a mercantile house in Cadiz, where he made a fortune in the South American trade, moved to London and became a British subject, organized a large company to erect and operate iron-works and other industrial enterprises in North America, spent some five years in the colonies in connection with these undertakings, returned to London bankrupt mainly on account of the dishonesty of certain of his British associates, and eventually restored his fortunes as a linen manufacturer and merchant in Silesia, where he acquired a prominent position in the politico-commercial life of Prussia under Frederick the Great. Undoubtedly Hasenclever was a remarkable man. His cosmopolitan experience and practical contact with business conditions and economic grievances in the colonies lend unusual weight to his account of the causes of the Revolution. His travels embraced the country from Boston and Detroit in the North to Charleston in the South. Some of his letters are addressed to high court personages and were evidently intended for the eye of the Hanoverian king himself. Although several have been printed or cited at length in American historical collections and others were published more or less obscurely in contemporary German periodicals, these communications, which often assume the character of informal reports, have never been collected in a single body, and it is safe to say that several of them are unknown to our historians. Together with the biography, which has considerable interpretative value, they afford a very important contribution to the accessible source-literature of the period of pre-Revolutionary agitation in America, a picture of colonial manners and customs of more than usual interest, and a very readable description of certain aspects of industrial and commercial life in Europe during the eighteenth century.

VICTOR S. CLARK.

A Study of "Monarchical" Tendencies in the United States, from 1776 to 1801. By Louise Burnham Dunbar. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. X., no. 1.] (Urbana, University of Illinois, 1922, pp. 164, \$2.25.) Miss Dunbar expresses modest views respecting her dissertation: "By its relative completeness and by its arrangement of the facts, for the most part, in chronological order, this study should afford an account somewhat clearer and more comprehensive than those attempted in preceding treatments." There is no doubt that she has achieved this. She has done it with thorough, and apparently exhaustive, research, with industry, with intelligence and good

judgment. After an introductory chapter on the attitude of the Americans toward kingship in the days just before the Revolution, she treats of the plan of the Count de Broglie, of that of Colonel Lewis Nicola, of the episode respecting Prince Henry of Prussia, and of the more important question of the monarchical tendencies alleged to exist among the Federalists by their contemporary opponents. She treats this latter matter with good common sense, and shows just about the amount of solid matter that was enveloped in the nebulous accusations of partizan democrats. The subject will need no further treatment by anyone. At points, indeed, Miss Dunbar has rather overdone it; that in every year from the Stamp Act "till after the bloodshed of Lexington and Concord there were expressions by Americans of loyalty to the King", is too well known, or too easily imagined, a proposition to require in its support thirty-seven citations from newspapers and other writings of the time; but such is the habit of the writers of dissertations. It is also their habit to make their "bibliographies" needlessly formidable by inserting titles of encyclopaedias, catalogues, and books which were consulted but yielded nothing of value.

The Land of the Miamis: an Account of the Struggle to secure Possession of the North-West from the End of the Revolution until 1812. By Elmore Barce. (Fowler, Ind., Benton Review Shop, 1922, pp. xiii, 422, \$3.00.) The subtitle *An Account of the Struggle to Secure Possession of the North-West from the End of the Revolution until 1812* states more adequately than does the principal title the subject and scope of the volume. In twenty-five chapters and 422 pages the author has undertaken to describe this momentous struggle. It would be difficult to find a theme more instinct with human interest and dramatic qualities, and the author has permitted himself ample room to develop it with sufficient thoroughness and detail. Moreover (we are informed on the publisher's jacket) he has devoted five years of labor to the task.

The result, as it lies before us, is a substantial and readable volume. Its scope may best be indicated by noting some of the chapter contents. The first ten chapters give the general background responsible for the struggle between the two races. The remaining fifteen trace the course of the struggle itself, from the first invasion of the Northwest by Harmer in 1790 to the battle of Tippecanoe twenty-one years later. Included in the first division are chapters on the topography of the Northwest, the beaver trade, the prairie and the buffalo, the seven principal Indian tribes, the frontiersman's view of the Indian, the Indian policy of the United States, and the policies of the British.

There is space to call attention to but a few of the more obvious characteristics of the volume under review. Those who, under the influence of recent world events, would like to forget that America once had a quarrel with England had best omit this book from their reading list: for Mr. Barce's unflinching pen portrays the agents of Great Britain in

a rôle distinctly hostile throughout to the United States. At the best it is an unpleasant tale for the adherents of England to contemplate, and the author's presentation will undoubtedly be sharply called in question by them. The fundamental contentions of Mr. Barce are in close agreement with the views which the reviewer has himself heretofore expressed in a book covering the same general field. Presumably, therefore, they are correct. But Mr. Barce's demonstration of them is less conclusive than it might have been had he chosen to pay more regard to the commonly accepted canons of historical scholarship. The book abounds in statements and quotations for which no reference is given. Where the general source is indicated, it is commonly done in such fashion that one cannot hope to check up the given statement. In dealing with so controversial a subject as this it is highly important that the author put the reader in touch with the authorities from whom he has drawn his narrative.

As a final observation, the unvarying admiration of the author for the policies and deeds of General Harrison seems worthy of comment. That Harrison filled a difficult station with, on the whole, a high measure of ability and success may be conceded. That his policies were invariably wisely taken and his deeds beyond the reach of criticism the reviewer is disposed to doubt.

M. M. QUAIFFE.

State Government. By Walter F. Dodd. (New York, Century Company, 1922, pp. xiii, 578, \$3.75.) This is the fifth volume to appear in the Century Political Science series.

While the details of the governmental machinery in the states of the United States do vary, yet in fundamentals they are very similar. Their variations and peculiarities form an interesting study. This book presents and analyzes all the important problems of state government, and for illustrative purposes specific instances and conditions are cited. The author's discussion raises the question whether the time has not come to disregard the old doctrine of the division of powers and deal with each as a part of a great single organization for the conduct of governmental business. Dr. Dodd's thesis in the volume seems to be that the state government is but a major link in the whole chain of government. Sufficient historical background of facts has been given to provide the general reader and the student of state government a foundation for the political theory presented.

Beginning with chapters on the Work of the State and the Nation and the States, a discussion is given to government and the state. While well presented there may be a question as to whether the terms government and state are sufficiently differentiated to be clear to all readers.

The constitutional basis of state government, the framework of state government, and the limits upon state governmental power are presented in a clear and logical manner. The development and reorganiza-

tion of the state executive and the judicial organization are well discussed. The treatment of the judiciary from the political and legislative viewpoints is well done. The work explains how the original forms of government have developed in response to changing conditions, how the present state governments are meeting present needs, and concludes with a brief consideration of some of the present-day plans for further reforms. Few men have had as good training for making such a contribution to this important field of study as Dr. Dodd. He has taken an active share in many of the governmental problems which he has discussed. As a student, teacher, and expert adviser and specialist on these problems, the author has presented an arrangement of material in a way which will appeal to both the general reader and the advanced student. The book will be useful for reference purposes and forms perhaps the most important contribution to this subject thus far made.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

Governors' Messages and Letters: Messages and Letters of William Henry Harrison. Volume I., 1800-1811. Edited by Logan Esarey. [Indiana Historical Collections, vol. VII.] (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Commission, 1922, pp. xxxii, 744, \$1.50.) This book is the initial volume of a series of *Governors' Messages and Letters* projected by the Indiana Historical Commission. It covers the administration of William Henry Harrison as governor of Indiana Territory during the eleven years following the division of the Northwest Territory in 1800. The documents begin with a letter from Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, to Harrison, the delegate in Congress, advocating St. Clair's favorite scheme of tripartite division of the Northwest at the Scioto and meridian of the mouth of the Kentucky; and conclude with those relating to the Tippecanoe campaign, after which Harrison's attention was diverted from civil to military affairs by the approach of the War of 1812. Dr. Esarey, the editor, has spent much of his time for six years in collecting from a wide variety of sources the material contained in this work. His labors have brought together nearly 450 documents, the great majority from Harrison's hand, although there is a liberal number by other federal and territorial officials. The result is not only a notable addition to the brief list of published Harrisoniana, but virtually a documentary source-book for the history of Indiana Territory and the Old Northwest, which forms in a sense a companion and sequel to the *St. Clair Papers*.

The editorial work seems to be well done. The source from which each document was obtained is indicated, and a twenty-four page calendar precedes the collection. The volume is well printed, on good paper, and does not exhibit an undue number of typographical errors. The editorial notes are commendable in quantity and quality. The document is the unit in numbering notes, with the odd result sometimes that two notes appear in sequence on the same page, each numbered (1). The index is only semi-analytical, and leaves somewhat to be desired.

HOMER C. HOCKETT.

Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society. Volume XX. Edited by Albert Watkins, Historian of the Society. (Lincoln, the Society, 1922, pp. xiii, 400, map, \$2.50.) In no way confining its scope to the present-day boundaries of the state of Nebraska, this book "consists largely of accounts of the adventures of the fur-trade founders of St. Louis on the great plains of the Missouri Valley and in the adjacent mountain region, as related consecutively and contemporaneously in the *Missouri Republican* from 1808 to 1861" and other pioneer papers.

Of particular value is the large amount of information regarding the traffic along the trails to the Oregon Country and California, really a finding and establishing of the old Oregon Trail which was opened and used by William Ashley and his group of furmen, special mention being made of Andrew Henry, Jedediah S. Smith, William and Milton Sublette, David Jackson, Robert Campbell, James Bridger, Étienne Provost, and many others who wrote their names large in the early history of the West, as evidenced by the lakes, streams, mountain passes, peaks, forts, and cities bearing their names. Coupled with the accounts of these "earliest" men, of the twenties of the last century, is information on the beginning of traffic along the historic highway to the South, the Santa Fé Trail. Ending with a comprehensive index and a workable map the publication cannot help being a source-book for the many who are not able to spend a long period, as did the author, in the newspaper files of St. Louis.

The story of the Nebraska Country commences with the early fur-trader Manuel Lisa, in 1807, and ends with the gold excitement of Pike's Peak. It includes the adventures of the various fur companies having their origin in St. Louis, or in Franklin, Westport, and Independence, all of them on the water highway to the South and to the West, and the Santa Fé Trail; on the home seekers' route over the Oregon Trail; on the gold seekers' line to Eldorado in California, Idaho, Montana, and Colorado; or the religious flight of the followers of Brigham Young. Also we are given the history of the traffic for the fur trade by rowboats, saddle-horses and mules, steamboats, and by wagons as introduced by Ashley and Bonneville and their grizzly trappers over the Oregon Trail. To protect these furmen, explorers, emigrants, gold seekers, upon the urgent recommendation of General John C. Fremont, the United States government established military forts along the Oregon Trail, Fort Kearny in Nebraska, Forts Laramie and Bridger in Wyoming, and Fort Hall in Idaho.

There follows information as to the cholera, the smallpox, the management of the Indians and their segregation by the government, the characteristics of the pioneer people. Lastly came the period when the mail, express, and freight were transported over the trail to the West, and the railroad was built, with the Indian stubbornly and at times successfully holding back the invasion of the white man and his family.

Writers of history covering the period described in this book will have constant occasion to consult a reference-book that accurately and in detail

tells a story of conquest of the territory traversed by the western tributaries of the Missouri.

GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD.

Charles Sealsfield: Ethnic Elements and National Problems in his Works. By B. A. Uhlendorf, Ph.D. (Chicago, German-American Historical Society of Illinois, 1922, pp. viii, 242.) American life in the earlier years of the nineteenth century was painted by several German men of letters. These pictures were sometimes not flattering, as in the case of Lenau and Kürnberger. Other men showed sympathy and understanding for the new institutions which grew up before their observing eyes. To the latter group belongs the Austrian Karl Postl, who wrote, under the name of Charles Sealsfield, a number of novels and sketches. These were based upon observations made during his travels in the United States, which covered several extended periods between 1823 and 1830.

Sealsfield had run away from oppression at home and immensely enjoyed the free institutions of America. He brings home a message of American liberty and independence to his German readers, who were passing at that time through a period of intense and narrow conservatism. Sealsfield's presentation of American life has largely contributed to the great interest in the United States and the often exaggerated hopes which lured many Germans in the following decades to American shores.

But his great importance for the American historian does not so much lie in Sealsfield's grip on German imagination. It rests upon the historical truth of his presentation of early American life and institutions. Uhlendorf has analyzed these aspects of Sealsfield's writings and shows how they reflect political, economic, and social conditions in America, like colonization, relations of Indians to the white race, great historical events, and the national types. Like all foreign observers, Sealsfield was much interested in the national character of the Americans and such types as the Kentuckian, the backwood settler, the Frenchman in Louisiana, the negro, the Yankee, and the German.

Since Sealsfield was an Austrian he was naturally much interested in the German element in America, and his writings form a valuable source for the history of the Germans in America. This point of view is duly emphasized in Uhlendorf's treatment of the author.

A. C. Noé.

The Presidential Campaign of 1832. By Samuel Rhea Gammon, jr., Ph.D., Professor of History in Austin College. [Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XL., no. 1.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1922, pp. 180, \$1.50.) This monograph covers a longer period than is indicated by the title, for the opening of the campaign is located in midsummer of 1830, and much attention is given to the events of the first year of Jackson's presidency. Moreover the first chapter is given over to a consideration of party reorganization, 1824-1828. Such a broad inter-

pretation of the title was made necessary, if for no other reason, because of the avowed objectives of the author. He has undertaken to show the party development and manoeuvres which brought about the alignment of leaders and voters in 1832. He has given special attention to the use of the nominating convention, emphasizing its part in party formation. A separate chapter is devoted to party nomenclature, 1824-1832.

In the matter of the use of party names, as far as it may be judged by what men said of themselves and of each other, the author has added materially to our knowledge. Particularly is this true of the data taken from the contemporary newspapers. But on the more difficult questions involved in the determination of the personnel of party groups, and the identity of party leadership, Mr. Gammon has, because of his acceptance of an all-inclusive meaning of party, told a story which is on the whole familiar to all who know the Jackson period. He has told it interestingly and well. An examination of the votes in Congress, particularly in the Senate, would have added. For example, it would have given earlier date to the formation of an opposition platform, it would have brought out more clearly the party aspect of the debate on the Foot Resolution, and it would have shown just how the various elements of the Jackson party held together on matters of patronage. It is difficult to see how such groupings can be ignored in telling of the party manoeuvres of these years.

A limitation of objective may well help to explain the omission from the bibliography of certain monographs, particularly those of more recent date. Eight groups of papers in the Library of Congress have been used, particularly the Jackson and Van Buren papers. The papers of Duff Green are not included, and they would have been found to contain some material. Stanwood's *Presidential Elections* (edition of 1892), rather than the later work, is cited. The table of votes for the election of 1832 is compiled from *Niles' Register*.

EDGAR E. ROBINSON.

History of Banking in Iowa. By Howard H. Preston. [Iowa Economic History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922, pp. xv, 458, \$2.00.) The publications of the State Historical Society of Iowa, all carefully written and competently edited, comprise sets or series devoted to themes social, political, biographical, and economic.

The volume at hand belongs to the series on economics, and is the result of intelligent and exhaustive research. It traces the growth of banking in Iowa from the time (1846) when banks were definitely forbidden there as "a set of swindling machines" to the time (1919) when the state, though ranking but tenth in banking resources or just under a billion dollars, contained more banking institutions than any other state in the Union.

Our author treats his subject under such headings as Frontier Banking in Iowa, the State Bank of Iowa, the Present Banking System, the Fed-

eral Reserve System, Building and Loan Associations, Farm Mortgage Banking, etc. Of the Federal Reserve System as seen in Iowa, it is our author's opinion that, despite a certain dislike of it at the start, "it has so amply justified its place as the centralizing factor in banking as to warrant all state banks in entering". Much attention (and properly) is bestowed upon Farm Mortgage Banking. The state, it is shown, stands (1916) "at the head of the corn-belt states, based on land value per acre". Therefore, since 1919, it may be said to cost, to buy an average Iowa farm (156 acres), about \$50,000. So stable are Iowa farm values that of the total sums invested by insurance companies, throughout the country, in farm mortgages, fully one-fourth are in Iowa. In 1921 the total of all Iowa farm mortgages was perhaps from \$800,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000, yielding to the investor from 5 to 5½ per cent. interest, annually; yet, observes our author, "farm mortgages have generally proved the foundation of prosperity for Iowa farmers".

On the other hand, the fact is noted that in the supervision of banking, Iowa "ranks [only] fairly well". "The supervision of private banks even yet continues to be lax and wholly inadequate."

The volume ends with a highly useful chapter—a chapter in which the varied functions of banking are briefly yet clearly expounded for the benefit of the general reader.

IRVING B. RICHMAN.

The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. By Charles C. Tansill, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the American University, Washington, D. C. [Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XL., no. 2.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1922, pp. 96. \$1.00.) This monograph, of about seventy pages, is one chapter of the author's forthcoming life of William L. Marcy. In it Professor Tansill has not attempted to deal with the Canadian reciprocity treaty as an economic experiment. Its operation and its results do not concern him; possibly because they both, in a measure, lie outside the lifetime of Marcy, who died in 1857. What he has given is the history of the project—the familiar narrative of the events which preceded the drawing-up of the reciprocity agreement and a discussion of the diplomatic and legislative bargainings which led to its adoption.

As an incident in the public life of President Pierce's Secretary of State a presentation of this kind finds a proper place in his biography. But as an account of the treaty of 1854 with Canada it is not new and it is not complete. This statement, however, should be taken as a comment rather than a criticism of the limitations of this chapter.

Professor Tansill has done his work of consulting the public archives with great patience and his method displays thoroughgoing scholarship. He makes use of two sources of information not found in other accounts. One is the hitherto unpublished Marcy papers. These, while

supplying nothing of great historical value, throw an interesting light on the workings of the practical, political mind of Marcy, and indicate his part in shaping the details of the treaty. The other is a document which the author has found in the State Department at Washington. This is an official statement by Israel D. Andrews, Marcy's agent in Canada, accounting for the manner in which he spent nearly \$19,000 of United States government money in his effort to "silence opposition" and to "promote a more favorable attitude" toward the treaty in the Canadian maritime provinces. His vouchers and explanations are the most interesting part of the whole narrative, and Professor Tansill makes effective use of them.

Whether these questionable disbursements reflect any discredit upon Andrews's chief the author does not say. They are certainly suggestive, and, although they do not modify the story in any significant way, they furnish an original element in the diplomatic history of the treaty.

CHALFANT ROBINSON.

The Story of the Santa Fe. By Glenn Danford Bradley, Associate Professor of History, Toledo University. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1920, pp. 288, \$3.00.) The author's first-hand investigation covers the period from the railroad booms of the late 'fifties in Kansas down to 1887, when the Santa Fé built into Chicago and became a transcontinental system with terminals on the Great Lakes, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Pacific Ocean. His accounts of the beginnings of the Santa Fé, its colonizing enterprises, its contest with the Denver and Rio Grande for control of the Royal Gorge or Grand Canyon of the Arkansas and the Raton Pass into New Mexico, and its struggle with the Southern Pacific for an outlet on the California coast are solid and informing. Graphic accounts of the building of the lines to the Gulf and to Chicago round out the book. Financial and engineering problems receive adequate treatment.

But the introductory survey on the Spanish Southwest (ch. I.) is quite unhistorical. There is no reason for saying (p. 20) that Cabeza de Vaca came up the Arkansas and followed the Santa Fé trail into New Mexico: his northern limit was on the Rio Grande near El Paso. No caravan of 1500 Spaniards went from Santa Fé to settle in the Upper Mississippi Valley in 1716 (p. 20): there were not 1500 in Santa Fé, and Villasur's expedition to the Platte in 1720 contained only 110 men. It is inaccurate to say (p. 20) that after this "it appears that no white men attempted to cross the prairies until the nineteenth century": the Mallet party came from the Missouri River to Santa Fé in 1739 and returned the following year; the Satren party came from Louisiana in 1749; Chapuis came from Illinois in 1752; and Vial's expedition went from Santa Fé to St. Louis in 1792 and returned the following spring. Santa Fé was not founded by Oñate in 1598 (p. 21), nor until beyond midsummer, 1609, after Oñate's retirement. Becknell's first trading ex-

pedition to Santa Fé (p. 26) was in 1822 (not 1812) and had twenty-one men instead of five. Wagons were first used that year (not in 1824). There was no overland trade to Santa Fé (p. 28) prior to 1822. The stage-coach (p. 28) did not run until 1849. The Confederates entered New Mexico in 1861, not 1862 (p. 48).

JOHN H. VAUGHAN.

Lincoln: an Account of his Personal Life, especially of its Springs of Action as revealed and deepened by the Ordeal of War. By Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1922, pp. x, 474, \$3.00.) Here is a volume quite without a parallel in the long list of Lincolniana. The author has attempted not a mere biography but, what is more difficult, a progressive character study of one of the most complex figures of history. In dealing with motives, with the well-springs of thought and action, he has undertaken probably the most difficult kind of task in historical criticism. It is a pleasure to be able to state that he has discharged the task with quite conspicuous success. The result is a picture more nearly like the original than any so far offered by biographers of Lincoln.

Mr. Stephenson threads his way through Lincoln's early years with discrimination and judgment. There is a bit of impressionism about his art. He lingers over certain early influences, but readily discards the obviously apocryphal legends. Then he hastens on, unfortunately ignoring the Mexican War stand and the rôle played in helping to bring out the candidacy of General Taylor—this, in order to point out the failure of the Congressional career. Everything works toward "the literary statesman", first clearly revealed in the campaign of 1858—for Lincoln was fundamentally an "artist in politics", says our author.

The bulk of the volume is given over to the struggle between President Lincoln and "the Jacobin club", as he calls the Republican "vindictives", after John Hay. It is skillfully and dramatically portrayed. One sees, perhaps, too much of the hero in Lincoln and the villain in his critics; at such times the narrative is hardly fair to the radical Republicans, hardly even to "Zach" Chandler *et al.*—there is little suggestion of the pressure of public opinion behind them. One gets, too, the impression that Lincoln was putting all his energies into efforts to thwart the "Jacobins". But the breadth and depth of Lincoln's soul come out effectively; if he becomes less the "great Emancipator", he becomes more the "great Conciliator".

Mr. Stephenson writes easily and interestingly. Now and then he wears threadbare by constant repetition a pet word like "basal" and at times his narrative is obscure. The bibliography, without pretending to be complete, has a few conspicuous omissions; the index is perfunctory. But these are minor matters. If the author has not given us the "great Life" of Lincoln for which we have been waiting, he has ushered in a new epoch in historical biography.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

The Real Lincoln: a Portrait. By Jesse W. Weik. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xx, 323, \$4.00.) This valuable contribution to the data of Lincoln's life is frankly marginalia. In the thirty years since the appearance of Herndon's *Lincoln*, Mr. Weik, with inexhaustible patience, has gone over the trails mapped by his famous collaborator and has minutely re-examined their way-marks. The result is a general reassertion of the conclusions reached so long ago. Incidentally, much minor evidence has been accumulated; but it is fair to say that the new matter does not alter any of the main lines of the old portrait. Herndon's Lincoln, for Mr. Weik, is still the real Lincoln.

As might be expected in a work of marginalia, it is with regard to the obscure, or the incidental, matters that the search of the collector has been most laborious. For example, there is a bit of rather telling confirmation of Herndon's story, so much debated, that Lincoln failed to appear on the date set for his wedding. An entry in Mr. Weik's diary records a conversation with Mrs. N. W. Edwards, Mary Lincoln's elder sister, reaffirming the Herndon story. However, the date of the entry is more than forty years subsequent to the event. Though Mr. Weik asserts his own impartiality as to this classical bit of gossip, if he does not mean to clinch the Herndon story for good and all the reviewer has missed his guess. As to Mrs. Lincoln's character, Mr. Weik is plainly in the Herndon camp, holding that she was a good deal of a Tartar. He introduces a quotation from David Davis—"Lincoln was not happy domestically"—in a way that gives it almost, if not quite, the force of an authoritative statement.

Among the oddities of the volume are some lists of Mrs. Lincoln's purchases from a Springfield merchant. The most costly item is a mantle at \$18. The account-book in which these entries occur was hastily reclaimed by its owner when Mr. Weik discovered the entry, "1 Bottle Brandy", charged to Lincoln, himself. Nevertheless, Mr. Weik has no hesitation in reaffirming the tradition—which John Hay seems to question—that Lincoln, in his maturity, never used either spirits or tobacco. He preserves a confidence reposed in him by "a gentleman who was living in Springfield", who said that Lincoln had consulted him upon offering wine to the Notification Committee in 1860. Lincoln appears to have been uncertain for a moment what to do, but to have decided definitely in advance upon the course he is known to have followed, offering the committee cold water.

Mr. Weik champions stoutly Herndon's theory that Lincoln was a poor judge of men. He goes further and makes much of the fact, obvious enough, that Lincoln was often indifferent to the quality of the human tools with which he worked. Very significant in Mr. Weik's eyes are such views as those of Horace White, with his insistence that Lincoln in distributing patronage often went against his own conscience simply because the line of least resistance led that way. He seems to

agree with Mr. White, in a passage which he quotes, to the effect that Lincoln was injured seriously in the minds of honest people by his dealings with Cameron after the latter returned from Russia. All very true in a way, and yet—one may be an excellent investigator, or even a conscientious publicist, and not have precisely the endowment necessary to gauge with psychological accuracy so strange a character as Lincoln.

N. W. S.

The Disruption of Virginia. By James C. McGregor, Ph.D. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1922, pp. xiv, 328, \$2.00.) This book is a doctor's thesis of 1913 plus several supplementary chapters, done under the supervision of Professor McMaster. The author is now professor of history and political science in Washington and Jefferson College. Its aim is to present "an unbiased account" of the "strange course of events in the history of Virginia" from Lincoln's election to the admission of West Virginia. The "Bibliographical Note" mentions specifically only Ambler's *Sectionalism in Virginia* and Hall's *The Rending of Virginia* (the latter "misleading and harmful") and the Carlile papers. The source-material, however, while not evaluated or even listed, seems to be adequate and honestly used. Particularly emphasized is the "original manuscript of the first constitutional convention" of West Virginia "heretofore never used" and "soon to be printed as a state document"; this, however, appears to be the "Hall manuscript" used by Callahan in *The Evolution of the Constitution of West Virginia*. There is an undated map of Virginia and an index containing chiefly proper names.

Seventy-five pages paralleling but not duplicating Ambler's *Sectionalism* and a hundred covering the Virginia Secession Convention and its immediate preliminaries constitute a background that is readable but entirely too long. The main subject is the "disruption". This the author flatly declares "was not desired by more than a small minority". True there had been very serious sectional controversies. But after 1851 political quiet prevailed. In 1861 the western counties were anti-Secession but not pro-Union. The division was accomplished in the interest of the valleys of the Monongahela and the upper Ohio by the activity of Wheeling and the neighboring counties, urged on by Republican leaders in Congress. In proof the author analyzes the popular votes and the membership of conventions, mentions the farcical irregularity of elections, cites opinion after opinion expressed in newspapers and debates, and urges the constitutional convention's refusal to permit a vote by counties or even to publish its debates. He thus establishes that a minority controlled, with the majority inactive and probably hostile. Unfortunately he compiles without analyzing and argues instead of summarizing. Moreover, could he not have described the engineers of "disruption" and the interests they subserved or told the decision of debates on such matters as the oath and the inclusion of counties (chs. XVI. and XVII.)?

But defects should not be pressed unduly. The subject is interesting, the main contention important, and the contribution worth while.

C. C. PEARSON.

The Populist Movement in Georgia: a View of the "Agrarian Crusade" in the Light of Solid-South Politics. By Alex Mathews Arnett, Ph.D., Professor of History in Furman University. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CIV., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. 239, \$2.50.) Though the author, to quote his own words, was "more intent upon illustrating some of the main currents of American life in the past fifty years than upon presenting a fragment of state history", and has carefully correlated the local history of Populism with the movement in the nation at large, he has yet produced a fairly satisfactory political history of Georgia covering the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

Populism in Georgia is shown to have been a revolt of the small farmer element against the political control of the business man in politics. The bases of this revolt were the wretched crop-lien system, which had enabled the town supply merchants practically to enslave the farming element; and the hard times of the period. Low prices of farm products in the 'nineties led to the demand for cheap money, the silver agitation now superseding the greenback craze.

The Populist party in Georgia never succeeded in capturing the state government. It did, however, force the Democratic organization to embrace most of its reform demands. An interesting by-product of the Populist movement was the disfranchisement of the negro. It is well known that the movement died out in the 'nineties, largely on account of the gradual return of prosperity.

Arnett is generally sympathetic to the attitude of the farmers. Their grievances are considered real and capable of governmental relief. He is not so sure but that there was virtue in the silverite demand for more money, and the best he can say for Cleveland in his courageous fight to maintain the gold standard is: "In the sober light of history one is inclined to exonerate him from moral culpability. In a very trying situation, he acted, no doubt, according to his own best judgment, but he saw the question from one angle only" (p. 174).

The author has surpassed any other student of the period in the thoroughness with which he has canvassed all the existing and available sources of state history. He has used a number of first-hand sources not hitherto used by anyone, such as the papers of Thomas E. Watson and Governor Northen. The services of the public men of the period are well and fairly appraised, except in the case of Watson. Arnett missed an excellent opportunity to point out the lasting evil effects of this man's remarkable hold on his following.

The proof-reading of the volume is not well done. More than a score of errors were allowed to pass undetected—typographical errors, misuse

of words, misspellings, and bad punctuation. The date of Cobb's death is given as 1870 (p. 23) instead of 1868, and that of the Tax Equalization Act as 1910 (p. 226) instead of 1913.

R. P. BROOKS.

The British in Iowa. By Jacob Van der Zee. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1922, pp. 340, \$2.50.) The British in Iowa, as the subject is set forth by Jacob Van der Zee, is almost a romance. "In Iowa," says our author, "long called the garden spot of the Mississippi Valley, historians have not yet followed all the streams of native-born Americans and of foreigners that have poured into its fertile fields. . . . Much remains to be done before the Iowa chapter in that remarkable romance of immigration and settlement, begun less than ninety years ago, can be called complete."

On first taking up Dr. Van der Zee's book, one might surmise it to be an account from original sources of British fur-traders in the Iowa country, from the period of the War of 1812; but it is not that at all. It relates wholly to quiet times to the west of the Mississippi. Indeed so quiet are the times of which it treats that they seem well-nigh pastoral and Arcadian.

Thus runs the tale. About fifty years ago, three brothers—John, James, and William Close—were all members of the varsity crew of Cambridge University, England, and rowed eight times against Oxford on the Thames. This showed their mettle. In 1876 one of the brothers, William, persuaded some Trinity College men to come to Philadelphia and take part in the races held there in connection with the Centennial Exposition. As a result of it all, William married an American girl, became deeply interested in American farming, and established an English colony in Iowa near Le Mars. The colony flourished to such a degree that, later, it was said that Le Mars "was a centre for 500 wealthy Englishmen, many of them of noble blood". There were games and sports—cricket and horse-racing—and a club was founded, the Prairie Club. But by degrees it began to become evident that the colony was not to be a permanent success. The disappearance of free range for cattle and sheep, labor scarcity, and a certain extravagance on the part of the younger unmarried element, bred discouragement and homesickness, until, in our author's words, "not many can be found living there to-day".

Of the members of the Prairie Club, it is interesting to note that one became Earl St. Vincent; another, Earl of Buckinghamshire; and another, Lord Queensborough.

Dr. Van der Zee's book contains useful statistics on the British elements contributed to the population of Iowa—some 150,000 perhaps, between 1885 and 1915.

I. B. R.

Welfare Work in Iowa. By Marcus L. Hansen. (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1921, pp. xv, 321, \$2.00.) The present volume of the

Iowa Chronicles of the World War is of general interest not only as a careful account of what was done by civilians of one state for military forces quartered within its borders, but also because it is in a large degree typical of work done by the same national societies, or by local organizations, in every state which housed such camps. In its review of criticisms of war welfare work chapter XI. recalls an attitude of mind that will be familiar to those who worked on either side of the Atlantic. The account of activities at Camp Dodge, at Fort Des Moines, in Des Moines city, and wherever called for throughout the state, includes much detail in small space and recounts the services of organizations large and small, of men and of women, with impartiality and understanding. The practical idealism of those years is shown by the preliminary statement of the general purposes of such work. The chapters on social, recreational, religious, athletic, and educational work each record the larger intent of its particular phase as well as the number of dances given, hymns sung, or ball games played.

The frequent references to official documents or current publications are gathered at the end of the book, leaving the text unencumbered. There is a good index of sixteen pages.

S. F.

Under Four Administrations: from Cleveland to Taft. Recollections of Oscar S. Straus, Litt.D., LL.D., Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague, three times Minister and Ambassador to Turkey, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xiii, 456, \$4.00.) In August, 1854, a Jewish woman started for America from a small village in Rhenish Bavaria. She had suffered a paralytic stroke three years before and, moreover, she had to take with her four children, of whom the oldest was only nine. The courage and ambition which the mother possessed were apparently inherited by the children. At any rate, the youngest, who at that time was only three and a half, became three times minister and ambassador from his adopted country to Turkey, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and all that Oscar S. Straus as a publicist has been. Perhaps these facts alone would justify an autobiography.

Mr. Straus devotes little time in the account of his life to anecdotes and gossip, which form such a fraction of the autobiographies of Andrew Carnegie and Chauncey M. Depew. It more nearly resembles the serious and fact-giving autobiography of his hero, Theodore Roosevelt.

The greater part of the book is an account of the problems which Mr. Straus met in his three terms at Constantinople beginning in 1887, 1898, and 1909. These chapters are of more interest, naturally, to the diplomat and student of international relations than to the general student of American history. If Mr. Straus's experience is typical, a successful ambassador should be politic, hospitable, resourceful, persistent in a quiet way, and have the digestive powers of an ostrich. Mr. Straus attended

diplomatic dinners as frequently as the characters in *The Pickwick Papers* refreshed themselves with the cup that cheers.

To the general historian some of the most interesting portions of the book are the following: the light thrown on the characteristics of Cleveland and Roosevelt; the contrast between the attitude toward the labor problem shown at the time of the Pullman strike and during Roosevelt's administration (pp. 194-196); Straus's slight contact with "dollar diplomacy" (p. 297); his guess that Roosevelt would have been elected in 1912 had it not been for the plank on the recall of judicial decisions (p. 311); his quick-witted attempt to take advantage of Bernstorff's claim that Germany would welcome American mediation in 1914 (pp. 378 ff.); and the statement that Roosevelt believed as late as February 2, 1917, that the United States would not become involved in the European crisis (p. 387).

On the whole, Mr. Straus's autobiography is substantial, serious, and worth while. It was good for America that the Bavarian mother emigrated with her children in 1854.

C. R. L.

The Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Personal and Political. Edited by Anne Wintermute Lane and Louise Herrick Wall. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922, pp. xxiv, 473, \$5.00.) In judging men who have held high public office one must ask what they have done and how they have done it, but frequently the question arises as to what they would have done had their initiative been unlimited, had they had an opportunity to choose their occasions, and to be inventors as well as routineers. With statesmen who have been at the head of things, this last question is all important: they must be judged not only by what they did but by what they chose to do, by the responsibilities they were willing to assume, and the policies they selected to sponsor. In the case of Franklin K. Lane, however, this last consideration does not figure. Only in early life, in California politics, could he be an inventor. Later, as Interstate Commerce Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior, he did much and did it well, but one wonders what he could have done if he had had a real chance in politics as well as in administration. His career gave evidence of much greater ability than he had a chance to display; his letters and memoranda, more revealing of the man than of events, suggest a putative statecraft that the country could have made good use of.

The letters, which are edited by his widow, cover the period of Lane's active life: politics and journalism, 1884-1894; law and politics, 1894-1906; the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Wilson Cabinets. The early letters are the more interesting, while those dealing with the later period are more important. They throw some light on the workings of the group of chief clerks which we call a "Cabinet", but there are no startling disclosures. There are some minutes of Cabinet meetings, but it is astonishing that, being at the centre of things, Lane kept so few records, although this may have been due to President Wilson's failure

to confide, as much as to Lane's inclination. It is regrettable that the letters and memoranda are given with little explanatory account of what was happening at the time and even, in some cases, with no identification of the people with whom Lane corresponded.

In one of his letters Lane describes himself as "a wild cross between a crazy Irishman with dreams, desires, fancies—and a dour Scot with his conscience and his logical bitterness against himself—and his eternal drive". Again, he tells an editor that he must go elsewhere for his "uplift stuff" on the "moral benefits" of the war, which is certain to make "sheer brutes" out of us. Flashes of honesty, political imagination, and poetical feeling run through the letters and make the reader regret that Lane's niche was a minor Cabinet post. That he was compelled to retire from office for financial reasons was a grievous loss and is a sad commentary on the conditions of public service in the United States.

LINDSAY ROGERS.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Committee on Programme for the Columbus meeting, December, 1923, invites the members of the American Historical Association to send it the description of papers they would be ready to prepare or information regarding possible papers of other members. Brief technical papers for the special conferences and more elaborate ones for the general sessions will be desired. From the suggestions of the members the committee will select those which promise to make the programme attractive. Communications of this kind should be sent to the chairman, Professor Elbert J. Benton, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, before May 1.

The American Council of Learned Societies held its annual meeting in New York on January 27. Nearly all the constituent societies devoted to humanistic studies were represented, the American Historical Association by its two delegates, Messrs. Haskins (chairman of the Council) and Jameson. Among the matters dealt with, two may be mentioned as of especial interest to members of the Historical Association. One was the report of the committee on a dictionary of medieval Latin, an international enterprise which, under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale, is being considered by the academies affiliated in that Union. The Council (representative of the United States in the Union) has had a committee on the subject. The plan finally concerted by the UAI, however, contemplates the preparation, first, by international effort, in which the United States is prepared to take a substantial part, of a dictionary of the Latin of the period from about A. D. 500 to the middle of the eleventh century, and then the possibility that the later medieval periods will be covered by special dictionaries prepared for each nation of western Europe. Accordingly the Council, at the January meeting, established two committees, one, for aid in the international undertaking covering the earlier period, to consist of Professors C. H. Beeson of Chicago (chairman), W. A. Oldfather, L. J. Paetow, E. K. Rand, and F. N. Robinson, the other, for co-operation with the English scholars in work on the medieval Latin terms used in English writings after the Conquest, to consist of Professors George B. Adams (chairman), J. G. Gerould, Nellie Neilson, and J. S. P. Tatlock. Secondly, it was reported, from the Committee on a Dictionary of American Biography, that means had been obtained for holding meetings of the committee this spring for careful consideration of the whole project and the framing of estimates of cost, after which efforts will be made to raise the necessary means for execution of this highly important enterprise. This committee consists of J. F. Jameson, chairman, John Erskine of Columbia University, Thomas W.

Page of the Institute of Economics, Frederic L. Paxson of Wisconsin, Frederick J. Turner of Harvard, and Robert S. Woodward, ex-president of the Carnegie Institution. It holds its first meeting on April 6.

At the instance of the Association, the Library of Congress is revising its information as to the location of important collections of papers of Americans prominent in civil, religious, military, and business life. It desires this particularly for the purpose of widening the scope of the compilation issued by it in 1918, and of bringing the list up to date. The co-operation of libraries and other possessors is desired, and should be given.

PERSONAL

Mason W. Tyler, associate professor of history in the University of Minnesota, died on March 15, at the early age of 38. He had a part, jointly with Professor W. S. Davis, in the book called *The Roots of the War* (1918), and had finished before his death a volume on *The European Powers and the Near East*. He was a young man of brilliant promise, with clear and rapid insight into historical matters, a cultivated mind, high character, and most engaging personal qualities.

Frédéric Masson, perpetual secretary of the French Academy, died on February 19, at the age of seventy-five. In early life he was in close relations to Prince Napoleon, and for a number of years librarian to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was the author of a long series of most interesting volumes on the personal aspects of Napoleon's history and on the biography of various members of his family.

Roland Delachenal, author of the standard *Histoire de Charles V.* (3 vols., 1909, 1916), died on January 30. The two remaining volumes of his book were completed before his death, and will be published before long.

Professor John S. Bassett of Smith College will teach in the University of Chicago during the approaching summer.

Professor Charles M. Andrews has leave of absence from Yale University during the next academic year, and will spend it in Europe.

Professors Theodore C. Smith of Williams College and Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois have leave of absence for the second semester of the present academic year.

Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, has accepted election as professor of American history in Columbia University, Baron Serge Korff, of Washington, as professor of the history of Eastern Europe, Professor W. L. Westermann, of Cornell University, as professor of ancient history—all to begin their service next autumn.

Associate Professors Percy A. Martin and Edgar E. Robinson have been given the full rank of professors in Leland Stanford University.

GENERAL

The Sixty-seventh Congress came to the end of its term on March 4 without making any provision for a National Archive Building. The Treasury inserted such an appropriation in its estimates, but unfortunately the Director of the Budget cut it out, and the House Committee on Appropriations made no provision for the matter in any of its appropriation bills. The Senate attached to the Independent Offices Appropriation Bill two amendments, one coming from Senator Smoot, the Public Buildings Commission, and the Senate Committee on Appropriations, providing \$1,000,000 for the purchase of filing stacks and their installation in the interior court of the Pension Office Building, and the other offered by Senator Poindexter, providing \$500,000 for the beginning of construction of the building on land owned by the government. The first of these two amendments would have made a makeshift provision, unsafe and unsatisfactory. Both amendments were lost in conference, the House conferees objecting to the procedure by which the proposal came to them, and especially to the erection of any government building in Washington until a general Public Buildings Bill has been prepared, providing relief in respect to postal and other offices in many congressional districts.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Historical Outlook* are: Some Aspects of the Problem of China, by Professor G. M. Dutcher; Personal Traits of President Andrew Jackson, by F. J. Klingberg and Andrew Jackson; Fields for Research in Southern History after Reconstruction, by Professor Ella Lonn; and Possibilities for Historical Research in New Orleans, by Julie Koch. The February number is devoted largely to news of associations and committees. The March number contains a study, by Professor W. E. Tilberg, of the Responsibility for the Failure of Compromise in 1860, a paper by Harriet E. Tull on History as a Social Study, and the papers of Professors Beverley W. Bond, jr., Arthur M. Schlesinger, and Ralph H. Gabriel presented in the conference at New Haven, December 28, on the college course in American history.

History for January has an article on Rumanian Origins by Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, and an interesting brief discussion of the Navigation Act of 1651, by Mr. G. N. Clark, who concludes "that the Act was the work of a small body of interested persons, that it did little or no good to English and no fatal harm to Dutch commerce, and that it was not the most important among the several causes of the first Dutch war".

In the *Journal of Negro History* for January there are two articles of importance, one on the educational efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau and Freedmen's Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862-1872, by Luther P. Jackson, and one on the Religion of the American Negro Slave, by G. R. Wilson; also a brief account of Prudence Crandall, by G. S. Wormley.

Editors and others interested in the putting of historical manuscripts into print will find in the Belgian *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'His-*

toire, LXXXVI. 2, a fresh issue of the Belgian code prepared for that purpose in 1896.

Professor W. Bauer of the University of Vienna, in his *Einführung in das Studium der Geschichte* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1921), discusses the definition of history, and analyzes the points of view of the different schools of thought in historical writing, and the several methods of historical exposition, besides furnishing a considerable amount of methodological material.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, has brought out *Military Industries of Japan*, by Ushisaburo Kobayashi, D. C. L., who states in his preface that the investigation has been accomplished chiefly by Mr. Norimoto Masuda. The work is in two parts, the one an historical survey of the military industries, the other discussions of the economic effects of the military industries on industrial policy, manufacturing industry, primitive industry, commerce, communication, and on various social aspects of national life (New York, Oxford University Press). The Endowment has also published *Monetary and Banking Policy of Chile*, by Guillermo Subercaseaux, professor of political economy in the University of Chile, an historical survey of the monetary history of Chile, from the colonial period to 1919, with discussions of various aspects of the Chilean system and policy; *Recent Economic Developments in Russia*, by K. Leites, edited by Professor Harald Westergaard of Copenhagen (New York, Oxford University Press); *The Co-operative Movement in Jugoslavia, Rumania, and North Italy during and after the World War*, by Diarmid Coffey (New York, Oxford University Press); and *Food Production in War*, by Sir Thomas H. Middleton, deputy director-general of the British Food Production Department.

For the benefit of the Survey of English Place-Names, in which many English historical and philological scholars have engaged under the auspices of the British Academy, Professor Allen Mawer of Newcastle-on-Tyne has printed a most interesting lecture on *Place-Names and History* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, pp. 38), delivered by him last autumn before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. C. Dowdall, *The Word "State"* (Law Quarterly Review, January); W. A. Dunning, *Liberty and Equality in International Relations* (American Political Science Review, February); Julius Goebel, jr., *The Equality of States*, I., II. (Columbia Law Review, January, February); W. Barbour (with preface by Sir P. Vinogradoff), *The Meaning of Legal History* (Columbia Law Review, December).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: G. Contenau, *Les Résultats des Études Assyriennes* (Revue Historique, November); M. Besnier, *Histoire Ancienne*, 1921,

II. *Rome et le Monde Romain* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January).

The first volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge University Press) includes chapters on primitive man, on discoveries respecting early archaeology in the Near East, on the earlier portions of Egyptian and Babylonian history, on prehistoric Greece, and on early civilizations in the Aegean.

One of the chief international enterprises of scholarship undertaken by the Union Académique Internationale is that of an elaborately illustrated *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, embracing all the antique vases of the Mediterranean and the Near East. The scholars of each country—thus far, France, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Italy—will prepare and publish its own section, but the procedure and format will be uniform. The general editor is M. Edmond Pottier, director of the Musée du Louvre. The French part, of which the first fascicle has lately been published, will consist of 50 such parts, each composed of 48 photo-type plates and 50 or 60 quarto pages of text. This first fascicle (Paris, Champion) makes a beginning of a *Recueil Général des Vases du Louvre*. Parts for the museums of Compiègne and Copenhagen, and for the collection of Mr. Lunsingh-Scheurleer at the Hague, are in press.

The first edition of the English translation of the late Gaston Maspero's *The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldaea* (S. P. C. K.) appeared in 1894, the fourth in 1904. Reprinted once already in 1910, this standard work has been issued again, unchanged, with the imprint of 1922.

Mr. Arthur Weigall, formerly inspector general of antiquities to the Egyptian government, has lately issued through Messrs. Thornton Butterworth a volume on excavations and various other subjects in Egyptology entitled *The Glory of the Pharaohs*.

A doctoral monograph by C. A. Lazzaridès bears the promising title of *De l'Évolution des Relations Internationales de l'Égypte Pharaonique* (Paris, Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1922, pp. x, 280).

The Clarendon Press has published volume II. of Sir Paul Vinogradoff's *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, dealing with the jurisprudence of the Greek city.

Sir Thomas Heath, controller-general of the National Debt Office, after a variety of lesser contributions to the subject, has published through the Clarendon Press a *History of Greek Mathematics*, in two volumes, which is apparently destined to be regarded as a standard work on that interesting subject.

Messrs. Dent of London have in preparation another new series entitled *The Library of Greek Thought*, edited by Principal Ernest Barker of King's College, small volumes presenting translations of selected passages from the chief works of Greek thinkers bearing on a given theme. Two

of the volumes, *Greek Religious Thought*, by F. M. Cornford, and *The Foundation of Economics*, by M. W. Laistner, are ready this spring.

In the *Loeb Classical Library* (Putnam) the first two volumes of six devoted to Polybius have been published, with translation by W. A. Paton, the third of four volumes of Herodotus, the second of thirteen volumes of Livy, and the second of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, together with the *Symposium* and *Apology*.

The Pontifical Roman Academy of Archaeology proposes to publish, by subscription, an important work on the history of Latium in the earliest period (stone age and part of the iron age) by Signor Giovanni Pinza, *Storia della Civiltà Latina dalle Origine al V. Sec. a. C.*, printed in some 600 pages, with 150 photozincographic plates and three maps in colors.

Professor E. Täubler's *Die Vorgeschichte des Zweiten Punischen Krieges* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1921, pp. 121) presents certain aspects of Roman political and constitutional history in the latter half of the third century B. C., with some critical discussion of the sources.

A most important contribution to the ancient history of North Africa, of which the first volume (Paris, Champion, pp. xvi, 458) has already been published, is the series of *Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie*, prepared under the auspices of the general government of Algeria by Professor Stéphane Gsell of the Collège de France. There will be four folio volumes, the first for the proconsular province of Africa, the second for the Cirtan confederation, the third for military Numidia, and the fourth for Mauretania Sitifensis and Caesariensis.

In *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* (London, Benn, pp. 201), Mr. Harold Peake, lately president of the anthropological section of the British Association, prints the substance of six lectures given by him in the University College of Wales at Aberystwyth.

The *Megillat Taanit* is an Aramaic tract presenting a calendar of festal days commemorating various events in Hebrew history between the rebuilding of the Second Temple and its destruction by Titus. In *Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Philadelphia, Dropsie College dissertation, pp. 120) Dr. Solomon Zeitlin endeavors with its aid to reconcile the chronology of 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees, and Josephus.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Sethe, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Amenophis' IV.* (Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, ph.-hist. Kl., 1921, 2); M. W. Hauschild, *Die Kleinasiatischen Völker und ihre Beziehungen zu den Juden* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, LII. 6); P. Graindor, *Études sur l'Éphébie Attique sous l'Empire* (Musée Belge, July-October); P. Waltz, *Les Artisans et leur Vie en Grèce, des Temps Homériques à l'Époque Classique; VII^e et VI^e Siècles; les Corps des Métiers*, I. (Revue Historique, November); M.

Holleaux, *L'Alliance de Rome et de l'Achaïe* (Revue des Études Grecques, October–December, 1921); L. Joulin, *La Protohistoire de la France du Sud et de la Péninsule Hispanique d'après les Découvertes Archéologiques Récentes* (Revue Archéologique, July–October).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Jésus Historique (Strasbourg, 1922), by C. Piepenbring, is based primarily upon the theories of New Testament criticism of Loisy. While emphasizing the personality of Jesus, he attributes the moulding of the character of the Church primarily to the apostles, especially Saint Paul.

A History of the Church to A. D. 461, by Dr. B. J. Kidd, warden of Keble College (Clarendon Press, 3 vols., pp. 558, 472, 448), is a work of great learning of which the most prominent special feature is the great abundance of references, to both sources and modern authorities.

The first volume of *Saint Jérôme, sa Vie et son Oeuvre* (Paris, Champion, 1922), by F. Cavallera, contains an exhaustive biographical account.

In *Analecta Bollandiana*, XL. 3, 4, is an article by Father Paul Peeters on "Traduction et Traducteurs dans l'Hagiographie Orientale à l'Époque Byzantine", which may be read with profit by students nowise concerned with hagiography, treating of translations and translators, mostly from the Greek, into Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Georgian. In the same number Father Hippolyte Delehaye finishes his study of Egyptian martyrs.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. R. Knipfing, *The Edict of Galerius, 311 A. D., Reconsidered* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, July); G. Beyerhaus, *Neuere Augustinprobleme* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVII. 2.).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Macmillan Company published at the end of January a *History of Magic and Experimental Science during the First Thirteen Centuries of our Era*, by Professor Lynn Thorndike of Western Reserve University, in two large volumes (pp. xl, 835; vi, 1036), the fruit of long-continued researches.

L'Imperatrice Angelberga, 850–890 (Milan, Lombardo, 1921), by G. Pochettino, is valuable not so much as a biographical account of the wife of Emperor Louis II. as for the information upon conditions and events in North Italy in the second half of the ninth century. The essay is based upon careful study of the sources.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Ambrogio Contarini Politico e Viaggiatore Veneziano del Secolo XV. (Padua, Penada, 1921), by M. Di Leana, is a monograph study of a

Venetian ambassador to Persia at the close of the fifteenth century, whose travels and adventures took him to various parts of eastern Europe, as well as through the Near East.

The intervention of the diplomatic agents of the court of Naples in the negotiation of the Treaty of Jassy is described in *La Mediazione Napoletana nelle Trattative di Pace fra Russia e Turchia nel 1790-91* (Naples, 1921), by N. Cortese, who includes some letters of the Tsaritsa Catherine and Queen Maria Carolina.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has published, through the Oxford University Press, *The Continental System: an Economic Interpretation*, by Dr. Eli F. Heckscher, professor of political economy in the University College of Commerce at Stockholm.

The Clarendon Press has lately published the sixth volume of Sir Charles Oman's *History of the Peninsular War*, running from Sept. 1, 1812, to Aug., 1813, and thus including the siege of Burgos, the Vittoria campaign, and the battles of the Pyrenees.

The *Souvenirs de la Princesse Pauline de Metternich, 1859-1871* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xxxiv, 250) have been edited by M. Dunan.

Forty Years of Diplomacy, by Baron Rosen (London, Allen and Unwin; New York, Knopf, 2 vols.), is a record, by an intelligent and humane observer, of service to the Russian Foreign Office in Japan, Mexico, Serbia, and Munich, and especially in Tokyo in the period before the Russo-Japanese war, at Washington after it, and later in the Council of the Empire.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume by the well-known financier and economist, Gustave Cassel, entitled *Money and Foreign Exchange after 1914*, being a history of the world's monetary system from the outbreak of the war to the present time.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. de Landosle, *Le Congrès de Bade en Suisse, 1714*, II. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); E. Bourgeois, *L'Alliance de Bonaparte et de Paul Ier, 1800-1801* (*Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, May-June); Michael Gavrilović, *The Early Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and Serbia*, II. (*Slavonic Review*, December); F. Masson, *Lettres et Dépêches du Roi Victor Emmanuel II. et du Comte de Cavour au Prince Napoléon* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 1); P. Wentzcke, *Zur Luxemburger Frage von 1867* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, December); A. Savinsky, *Guillaume II. et la Russie—Ses Lettres et Dépêches à Nicolas II.* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 15); A. J. Grant, *The League of Nations and the Holy Alliance* (*Congregational Quarterly*, I. 1); Sir J. Rennell Rodd, *The Old and the New Diplomacy* (*Quarterly Review*, January); G. Ador, *L'Effort Financier de la Société des Nations* (*Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, March-April).

THE WORLD WAR

In Professor Shotwell's series of volumes of the *Economic and Social History of the World War*, the Oxford University Press has recently issued *A Bibliographical Survey of Contemporary Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War* (pp. xx, 334), by M. E. Bulkley.

In *Die Fälschungen des Russischen Orangebuches* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1922) G. von Romberg adduces somewhat meticulous and unconvincing evidence based very largely upon the differences which appear in a later edition of the Orange Book.

With his characteristic ability, Gabriel Hanotaux has written a two-volume work on *La Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Plon, 1922), which readily takes rank as the standard historical study of the famous struggle.

General Ernst von Wrisberg, director from 1914 to 1918 of the General War Department of the Prussian Ministry of War, concludes his series of books on what may be called the relations of military to civil effort during the World War by a third volume, exceedingly instructive, on the history of war material, *Wehr und Waffen, 1914-1918* (Leipzig, Koehler).

The German Reichsarchiv has added to its series of *Schlachten des Weltkrieges* the first part of a study of *Die Schlacht bei St. Quentin*, prepared by Major Kurt Heydemann.

It appears that the late Sir Julian Corbett had practically completed before his death the third volume of the *Official Naval History of the Great War*, including the story of the Battle of Jutland. This volume Messrs. Longman expect to publish during the present season.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: General d'Amade, *Constantinople et les Dardanelles; l'Expédition de 1915*, I. (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, January); Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, *The Evolution of the Unified Command* (*Foreign Affairs*, December).

GREAT BRITAIN

Messrs. Dutton have included in *Everyman's Library* a volume of selections edited by Ernest Rhys, entitled *The Growth of Political Liberty: a Source Book of English History*.

The Oxford University Press has in preparation a volume containing the six Ford lectures on *Roman Britain* delivered at Oxford by the late Professor F. J. Haverfield.

Messrs. MacLehose, Jackson, and Company of Glasgow have lately published, under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, an elaborate illustrated account of *The Treasure of Traprain: a Scottish Hoard of Roman Silver Plate*, by Mr. Alexander O. Curle, under whose

direction the excavations consequent upon the wonderful discovery of 1914 were carried out.

Professor Baldwin Brown and Mr. Bruce Dickins have prepared for publication by the Cambridge University Press a *Corpus* of the runic inscriptions of Great Britain.

The Bedfordshire Historical Records Society has presented the most elaborate treatment thus far made of any portion of Domesday, in a volume edited by Mr. G. H. Fowler, entitled *Bedfordshire in 1086: an Analysis and Synthesis of Domesday Book*.

The Southampton Record Society has published, from the archives of that town, a volume of interesting and varied *Letters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Southampton, Cox and Sharland, pp. xvi, 231).

Part I. of *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, the monumental work compiled by Dr. John Venn and J. A. Venn and extending from the earliest times to 1751, comprises, we are told, about 76,000 names, and is already complete in four volumes, while part II., which is in progress, will contain about 60,000 names of men who matriculated between 1752 and 1900. Volume I., A-C, and volume II., D-J, have already been issued (Cambridge University Press), books of about 500 pages of small print in double columns, conveying a most enormous amount of detailed information respecting Cambridge men.

A paper by Professor James Tait on *The Study of Early Municipal History in England*, read before the British Academy, has been published as a pamphlet by Humphrey Milford in advance of its appearance in volume X. of the Academy's *Proceedings*.

Father J. Hungerford Pollen, S.J., has edited for the Scottish History Society, with a careful introduction, in general defending Queen Mary, a volume of documents on *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot*.

The important *Memoirs of his Own Life*, by Sir James Melville of Halhill, last published in 1827, in a very limited edition, by the Bannatyne Club, has now been brought out (London, Chapman and Dodd) in a new edition, with an introduction by W. Mackay Mackenzie.

The *Baptist Quarterly* (incorporating the transactions of the Baptist Historical Society of London) has in the January number an article on Early Baptists in Hampshire, by Dr. W. T. Whitley, and an anonymous one on Welsh Baptists till 1653.

A further addition to the University of London's intermediate source-books of history is *England under the Restoration, 1660-1688*, by Miss Thora G. Stone.

Mrs. Elizabeth Braithwaite Emmott, sister of the late William C. Braithwaite, has prepared in one volume *A Short History of Quakerism* (London, Allen and Unwin), an excellent abridgment of the series of

seven volumes on the history of the Friends which have been in recent years put forth by that writer and Professor Rufus M. Jones (reviewed in this journal, XXV. 487, XXVIII. 309).

The house of John Murray has issued the second volume of C. Ernest Fayle's *Seaborne Trade*, in the series of war histories published under the auspices of the Committee of Imperial Defence; it extends from the opening of the submarine campaign to the appointment of the shipping controller, at the end of 1916.

The latest publication of the Scottish History Society, *Diary of George Ridpath, Minister of Stitchel, 1755-1761* (Edinburgh, Constable, pp. xxii, 410), edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, is a valuable contribution to the social history of the eighteenth century in Scotland; the writer, a country clergyman dwelling near Kelso, was a friend of Carlyle of Inveresk, Robertson, Hume, and others.

The January number of the *Scottish Historical Review* has an article, of much importance to Scottish constitutional history, on General Council and Convention of Estates, by Professor R. K. Hannay, one by Sir Bruce Seton on the Vice-Admiral of Scotland, and one by C. A. Malcolm on the Office of Sheriff in Scotland: its Origin and Early Development.

British government publications: *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Edward III., years 26-34.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Helena M. Chew, *Scutage in the Fourteenth Century* (English Historical Review, January); J. de Ghellinck, S.J., *Un Évêque Bibliophile au XIV^e Siècle: Richard Aungerville de Bury* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July, October, January); E. S. Roscoe, *The Early History of the English Prize Court* (Edinburgh Review); A. F. Pollard, *Council, Star Chamber, and Privy Council under the Tudors*, III. (English Historical Review, January); Herman Cohen, *The Inns of Court and the Inns of Chancery* (Juridical Review, December); William Roughead, *The Overbury Murder Case* (*ibid.*, September); W. T. Morgan, *An Eighteenth Century Election in England* (Political Science Quarterly, December); Clarence Perkins, *Electioneering in Eighteenth-Century England* (Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota, January); James Greig, ed., *The Diary of Joseph Farington: a Picture of the England of George III.* (Atlantic Monthly, January, February, March); anon., *The "Times" from Delane to Northcliffe* (Quarterly Review, January).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 636; for India, p. 621.)

In a previous issue it was intimated that the archives in the Public Record Office of Ireland were not entirely destroyed in the civil warfare which raged in Dublin; we are, however, now informed that the destruction of that priceless collection was practically complete.

The second volume of the survey of *The Empire at War*, edited for the Royal Colonial Institute by Sir Charles Lucas, is among the forthcoming books of the Oxford University Press. This volume embraces the record of Canada, Newfoundland, Bermuda, the West Indies, and the Falkland Islands.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. G. Bradley, *The Ulster Plantation* (Quarterly Review, January); Sir R. L. Borden, *Political Development and Relations among the English-Speaking Peoples* (Dalhousie Review, January); Philip Kerr, *From Empire to Commonwealth* (Foreign Affairs, December).

FRANCE

The Société d'Histoire Moderne, which was obliged to suspend its activities during the war, resumed them in 1919. The *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* has given place to the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire Moderne*, which is published monthly, except from July to October, and which contains the proceedings of the society's monthly meetings, the papers read at them, with an account of the ensuing discussions, and bibliographical bulletins in the various fields of modern history. The communications appearing in the recent numbers of the *Bulletin* are: (November) "L'Incident Hohenzollern", by M. Salomon; (December) "Dans une Division Territoriale au Début de la Campagne [1914]", by Lieut.-Col. Mayer, and "La Loi des Trois États d'Auguste Comte peut-elle servir de Base à une Philosophie de l'Histoire?" by M. Torau-Bayle; and (January) "La Population et la Vie Économique de Rennes vers le Milieu du Dix-Huitième Siècle, d'après les Rôles de la Capitation", by M. H. Sée. The society has just published, in its "Série des Instruments de Travail", *Les Ministères Français, Supplément (1912-1922)*.

A group of biographical studies of some importance for the period of the Bourbon monarchy are *Les Richelieu: Le Père du Cardinal* (Paris, Perrin, 1923) by M. Deloche, *Henri Arnauld, Évêque d'Angers, 1597-1692* (Paris, Picard, 1921, pp. 429) by C. Cochin, *Le Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, 1661-1741* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. xv, 408) by P. Paul, *Un Précurseur de la Révolution, l'Abbé Raynal, 1713-1796* (Angoulême, 1922, pp. vi, 459) by A. Feugère, and *Le Grand Conti* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1922, pp. 342) by the Duc de la Force, which is chiefly valuable in connection with the prince's candidacy for the Polish throne. In the second volume of his *Paris sous Louis XIV.* (Paris, Plon, 1923, pp. v, 507) P. de Crousaz-Crétet deals with aspects of the political and religious life of the city.

E. Le Parquier has edited *Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage d'Arques pour les États Généraux de 1789* (Lille, Robbe, 1922, pp. lxxviii, 332).

Les Bourbons et la Vendée (Paris, Perrin, 1922), by E. Gabory, is a companion volume to his *Napoléon et la Vendée*.

Count Boulay de la Meurthe has based his *Histoire de la Négociation du Concordat de 1801* (Tours, Mame, 1921) largely upon the collection of documents which he earlier published, as well as upon other documentary materials. The excellence of the work has been recognized by the Gobert prize of the French Academy. The subject of *La Résistance au Concordat de 1801* (Paris, Plon, 1922) is dealt with by R. de Chauvigny, who gives chief attention to the development of the so-called Petite Église. The book is well documented.

The Cambridge University Press is issuing this spring part I., 1813-1830, of a survey of *French Patriotism in the Nineteenth Century*, by H. F. Stewart and Paul Desjardins.

The career of an eminent soldier, to whom France is largely indebted for her African empire, is illustrated by the *Lettres Inédites du Maréchal Bugeaud, Duc d'Isly, 1808-1849* (Paris, Émile-Paul), edited by Captain Tattet and published by Mlle. Feray-Bugeaud d'Isly.

The *Mémoires* of the Baron de Damas, minister successively of war and of foreign affairs under the Restoration, with an introduction by his grandson the Comte de Damas, are being published in Paris (Plon); a portion, relating to the years 1823 and 1824, is printed in the January number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, pp. 65-103 and 169 to the end.

The *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, 1922, 4, contains a body of documents from the papers of Marshal Bourmont respecting the expedition of 1830 under his command which captured Algiers; it also contains the concluding installment of A. Martineau's articles on Dupleix and French India.

The firm of Putnam has brought out a clever volume bearing the composite title, *The Second Empire: Bonapartism, the Prince, the President, the Emperor*, by Philip Guedalla.

A most useful treasury of up-to-date information on conditions in France is furnished by E. Théry's *Conséquences Économiques de la Guerre pour la France* (Paris, Belin, 1922, pp. 350).

Despite its renown, the city of Carcassonne has hitherto lacked a suitable history. J. Poux promises satisfactorily to supply this deficiency in *La Cité de Carcassonne, Histoire et Description* (Toulouse, Privat, 1922, pp. xxi, 336), of which the first volume deals with events down to the middle of the eleventh century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Harmand, *L'Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, October); W. Mommsen, *Richelieu als Staatsmann* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXVII. 2); P. Bertrand, *Les Vrais et les Faux Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu*, II. (*Revue Historique*, November); H. Sée, *L'Industrie et le Commerce de la Bretagne dans la Première Moitié du XVIII^e Siècle*

(*Annales de Bretagne*, XXXV. 2); *id.*, *Les Classes Ouvrières et la Question Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution* (*Annales Révolutionnaires*, September); A. Mathiez, *Les Enseignements de la Révolution Française* (*ibid.*); F. Masson, *Correspondance d'Ernest Renan et du Prince Napoléon, 1861-1872* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, November 1, 15); H. de Lacombe, *Conversations avec M. Thiers, publiées par Bernard de Lacombe*, III. *Pendant la Guerre de 1870-1871* (*Correspondant*, November 25); F. Lion, *Frankreichs Aeussere Politik von 1870 bis 1914*, I. (*Die Neue Rundschau*, January); Othon Guerlac, *Ernest Lavisse, French Historian and Educator* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, January).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Of the numerous contributions to Dante literature produced on the occasion of the seven hundredth anniversary of the death of the great poet, the historian will find particular interest attached to the following series of studies dealing with his *De Monarchia*: L. Picece, *La Filosofia Politica di Dante nel De Monarchia* (Naples, 1921); S. Vento, *La Filosofia Politica di Dante nel De Monarchia* (Torino, Bocca, 1921); A. Nicastro, *Il De Monarchia di Dante: Nuova Versione con un Esame Esplicative* (Prato, La Tipografica, 1921); N. Vianello, *Il Trattato della Monarchia de Dante Alighieri* (Genoa, 1921).

In *La Repubblica di Venezia nei suoi Undici Secoli de Storia* (Venice, Ferrari, 1921), A. Battistella, who has written numerous monographs on Venetian and North Italian history, has surveyed the most important episodes of Venetian history in a pleasing and authoritative manner.

La Toscana alla Fine del Granducato (Florence, Barbera, pp. xvi, 356) is a collection of lectures by P. Barbera and other well-known Italian scholars, dealing with the history of Tuscany from 1801 to 1855. It is of especial importance for the events immediately preceding the unification of Italy. A good deal of light is also thrown on the same period in *Confessioni e Ricordi, Firenze Granducale* (vol. I., Florence, Bemporad, 1922, pp. vi, 262) by F. Martini, whose long public career gives added interest to his recollections and observations.

P. Matter, well known for his excellent life of Bismarck, has now undertaken a corresponding work on Cavour, entitled *Cavour et l'Unité Italienne* (Paris, Alcan, 1922, pp. vi, 364). The first volume deals with the period down to 1848.

Signor Alfredo Comandini, from Bonaparte archives at Prangins, has made a highly important contribution to the history of the Italian movement for independence and unification in *Il Principe Napoleone nel Risorgimento Italiano* (Milan, Treves, pp. xii, 360), including more than a hundred letters to the prince from Victor Emmanuel II., Cavour, Nigra, Manzoni, Mazzini, Minghetti, Kossuth, and others.

Discorsi per la Guerra (Foligno, Campitelli, 1922, pp. viii, 153), by S. Sonnino, and *I Discorsi della Guerra, con Alcune Note* (Milan, Treves, 1922, pp. xvi, 210), by A. Salandra, present selections from the public speeches of these two eminent Italian statesmen during the period of the war. Of much wider interest and of much greater historical importance is the *Memorie della mia Vita* (Milan, Treves, 2 vols., 1922) of G. Giolitti. While the memoirs cover at least the last thirty years, they are perhaps of greatest importance for the first decade of the twentieth century.

In 1917, upon orders from the King of Spain, Father J. M. Pou y Marti, O. F. M., published a list of documents in the archives of the Spanish embassy to the papal see, *Archivo de la Embajada de España cerca de la Santa Sede: Indice Analítico de los Documentos del Siglo XVII*. (pp. vi, 325). Recently he has published a third volume of this series, *Indice de los Documentos del Siglo XVIII*. (Rome, Palacio de España, 1921, pp. viii, 408).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. W. Previté-Orton, *Marsiglio of Padua*, II. (English Historical Review, January); G. Bertoni, *Muratoriana* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January); Rev. Dr. Charles L. Souvay, *The French Papal States during the Revolution* (Catholic Historical Review, January); P. Plakas, *Paralelismo entre las Instituciones Fundamentales de la Sociedad Céltica e Ibérica* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, July-September); A. González Palencia, *El Califato Occidental*, II. (*ibid.*).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

In the second volume (Paris, Plon, 1922) of his *Histoire de Prusse*, Professor Albert Waddington deals with the reigns of Frederick I. and Frederick William I., making a careful study of both domestic and foreign policy.

Die Preussische Handelspolitik vor dem Zollverein und der Wiederaufbau vor Hundert Jahren (Berlin, de Gruyter, 1922, pp. 242), by C. Brinkman, is a characteristically valuable monographic study of Prussian economic history from the school of Schmoller.

Critical discussions of the army of the German Empire are provided in *Die Alte Armee und ihre Verirrungen* (Leipzig, Kohler, 1922), by General von Gleich, and in *Die Deutsche Armee von 1871 bis 1914* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. 123), by L. R. von Collenberg.

Under the title *Generaloberst Helmuth von Moltke, Chef des Generalstabes der Armee, 1906-1914: Erinnerungen, Briefe, Dokumente, 1877-1916* (Stuttgart, Der Kommende Tag), the widow of the former chief of the German General Staff publishes a volume of great interest and considerable importance, mainly composed of letters, often brilliant, written by him to her.

Kaiser und Revolution, by Lieut.-Col. Alfred Niemann (Berlin, Scherl), has importance from the fact that the writer was representative of the Great General Staff at the Kaiser's headquarters from August 1, 1918, till the monarch's flight into Holland. A very intelligent officer, he not only records what he saw but gives full reports of many of the Kaiser's conversations.

Vol. I. of *Veröffentlichungen der Stadtbibliothek der Freien und Hansastadt Lübeck*, by W. Peith and P. Hagen (Lübeck, 1922, Max Schmidt, pp. vi, 26; viii, 101) contains a brief history of the municipal library of Lübeck, 1616-1922, and a catalogue of the 152 German theological manuscripts of that library, most of which belonged originally to the house of the Sisters of the Common Life at Lübeck. Dr. Hagen shows that "the Netherlands exercised a far-reaching influence on the religious and intellectual life of North Germany, especially through the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life, and the Congregation of Windesheim".

R. Montandon has compiled in very careful fashion the information available or deducible from the remains on the history of the region about Lake Geneva prior to Roman times. The book, *Genève des Origines aux Invasions Barbares* (Geneva, Georg, 1922, pp. 219), includes an exhaustive bibliography.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Doren, *Zur Reformatio Sigismundi* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, September); V. Heydemann, *Friedrichs des Grossen Antimachiavelli* (*ibid.*); J. Lepsius, *Bismarck als Pacifist* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, November); Th. von Sosnosky, *The German and Austrian Alliance* (Quarterly Review, January); Decize-Aiglat, *Qui a Voulu la Guerre? La Politique Autrichienne des Catastrophes, 1906-1913* (Correspondant, November 25); T. R. Dawes, *The Teaching of History in German Schools* (Contemporary Review, February).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Deel XLII. of the *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen* of the Dutch (Utrecht) Historical Society contains an interesting journal, by Groen van Prinsterer, of an archival journey to Paris, Besançon, Switzerland, and western Germany in 1836; a letter of Oldenbarneveld, 1590; and a muster of troops and weapons in the province of Holland in 1551. Deel XLIII. presents a group of eleven documents illustrating the political relations between Holland and Flanders in 1259-1299; a contemporary letter on the plundering of the Hague by Maarten van Rossem in 1528; fiscal reports of 1550 on the new land-tax; one of Frederick Henry's few letters written in Dutch, 1624; and a long series of reports by Richard Wolters, British agent at Rotterdam, on the troubles of 1747-1748. The society has lately published the second and concluding volume, 1660-1672, of the *Brieven aan Johan de Witt* (pp. xvii, 820), edited by Dr. N. Japikse, of great

importance for Dutch diplomatic and political history, and *Bepalingen en Instructiën voor het Bestuur van de Buitendistricten van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, 1805* (pp. 179), of interest to students of American colonization, with excellent introductions on the history of rural administration in the Netherlands, around Batavia, and at the Cape.

The library of Princeton University has recently acquired a valuable collection of manuscripts relating to the history of the Netherlands and particularly to the house of Orange-Nassau during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a collection of some 4000 or 5000 papers which seems to have been made by Jan Festus van Breugel (1702-1763), landsadvocaat and raadsadvocaat in Holland, or by one of his descendants. The collection contains many transcripts of records of the States General and other public papers, letters, deeds, contracts, memorials, petitions, privileges, letters patent, etc. The Princeton Library will be very glad to have the collection used by all interested scholars.

Leopold I. of Belgium: Secret Pages of European History (London, Fisher Unwin), by Dr. E. Casar Corti, is by one who has had access to a large collection of that king's unpublished letters to various monarchs and statesmen.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Léon Van der Essen, *Le Testament Politique d'Alexandre Farnèse* (Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire [Belge], LXXXVI. 2); H. D. Foster, *Liberal Calvinism: the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort in 1618* (Harvard Theological Review, January).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Messrs. Cassell, of London, are publishing this spring, in two illustrated volumes, *My Mission to Russia*, by Sir George Buchanan, who was British ambassador to Russia throughout the war and the revolution, and whose record of his experiences will be an interesting parallel to that of his colleague M. Paléologue.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Paléologue, *Le Roman Tragique de l'Empereur Alexandre II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Un Ministre d'Alexandre III. et de Nicolas II.: le Comte Witte* (Séances et Travaux de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, May-June); A. L. P. Dennis, *Russian Policy in the Far East* (North American Review, March); Basil Shulgin, *The Months before the Russian Revolution* (Slavonic Review, December); J. Delevsky, *Le Bolchevisme à la Lumière des Précédents Historiques* (Revue d'Économie Politique, September).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

A recent publication of the Institute of Politics, based on lectures given at Williamstown last summer, is Count Teleki's *The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History* (Macmillan, pp. xxiii, 312).

Baron Lecca, of Brussels, publishes a small book on the *Formation et Développement du Pays et des États Roumains* (Paris, Champion, pp. 79) in which he studies carefully the history of Wallachia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and of Moldavia in the fourteenth, and of their voivodes.

La Débâcle Bulgare (Paris, Lavauzelle, 1922), by Colonel de Drayer, is a history of the second Balkan war by a member of the Russian General Staff, based upon his notes as an observer.

The second edition of Lord Eversley's *The Turkish Empire: its Growth and Decay* (London, Fisher Unwin) is brought down from 1914 to 1922 in supplementary chapters prepared by the competent hands of Sir Valentine Chirol.

Mr. G. F. Abbott's *Greece and the Allies, 1914-1922* (London, Methuen) is a serious and important attempt, by a well-informed observer and student, to substitute fact for newspaper fiction in a melancholy portion of recent history.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. W. Seton-Watson, *Transylvania*, I. (Slavonic Review, December); Father Lambert McKenna, *The Bolshevik Revolution in Hungary* (Studies, December).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Royal Asiatic Society has lately published, by means of its Oriental Translation Fund, *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, translated by D. S. Margoliouth from the original Arabic of the *Nishwar al-Muhadarah* of Abu Ali al-Muhassin, a collection of stories of actual happenings in and around Baghdad in the early Mohammedan centuries, accompanied by the Arabic text, edited from the Paris manuscript.

K. J. Basmadjian has surveyed the history of his country in recent centuries in *Histoire Moderne des Arméniens depuis la Çhute du Royaume jusqu'au Traité de Sèvres, 1375-1920* (Paris, Gamber, 1922).

In the *Antiquaries Journal* for July, Sir Hercules Read presents a general account of the wonderful discoveries made during the last twenty years in Eastern Turkestan by Sir Aurel Stein.

Sibir, Soyuzniki, i Kolchak (Siberia, the Allies, and Kolchak), by George K. Guins (Harbin, League of Regeneration Press, 2 vols.), is described as a careful, valuable, and well-documented history, written by one who occupied several positions of importance in the Siberian conservative ministries at Ufa, and was in close personal contact with Admiral Kolchak.

The *History of Jahangir*, by Professor Beni Prasad of the University of Allahabad, of which the first volume has been published (London, Milford, pp. xx, 501), is based on a painstaking investigation of contemporary Persian chronicles, European letters and documents, and later records.

The Development of Self-Government in India, 1858-1914, by Cecil M. P. Cross, is from the University of Chicago Press.

The Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma, the most important of the native histories, based on a collection of earlier native chronicles and ancient inscriptions, will shortly be published by the Oxford University Press for the Burma Research Society, in an English translation.

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

The Yale University Press is publishing, in the Yale Oriental Series, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa, and Spain*, by Ibn Abd Al-Hakam, edited from the manuscripts in London, Paris, and Leyden, by Professor Charles C. Torrey. This work, known as the *Futūh Misr*, is the earliest surviving account, from Arab sources, of these Mohammedan conquests.

From the Ethiopic Chronicle in the British Museum Mr. H. Weld Blundell has extracted the portion relating to the eighteen kings of Abyssinia who reigned between 1769 and 1840, and has printed Ethiopic text, English translation, and learned appendixes in a volume entitled *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia* (Cambridge University Press).

The full story of *The Mad Mullah of Somaliland* is told for the first time, in an illustrated book (London, Herbert Jenkins), by Douglas J. Jardine, secretary from 1916 to 1921 to the administration in British Somaliland. The Mullah's letters to the British authorities are included.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: anon., *Les Intrigues Allemandes au Maroc, 1905-1914* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, January 15).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington expects that volume II. of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, extending to the end of 1777, will be published before the next issue of this journal. The first volume (of four) of *Historical Documents collected by the late Adolph F. Bandelier: New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Approaches Thereto* (Spanish texts and English translation), edited by Professor Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas, is in the printer's hands.

The papers of Salmon P. Chase, mentioned in our last number as recently acquired by the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, consist of some 500 letters to and from him, comprising the papers retained by his private secretary, J. W. Schuckers. Some letters of Chase's daughter, Mrs. Sprague, have also been received, and about 200 political letters of Schuckers. The miscellaneous records of the Department of Justice (Attorney General's office), from 1790 to 1870, have been

transferred to the Library. When bound they will make about 150 volumes; 98 volumes of letter-books, 1817-1886, have also been transferred. A collection of transcripts from Spanish archives relating to Florida, 1520-1620, has been received as a gift from Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor. Other accessions are: a manuscript autobiography of Governor and Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire; four volumes of letters received by William McLain while secretary of the American Colonization Society, 1831-1850; two volumes of stenographic notes of Major William G. Moore, private secretary to Andrew Johnson, 1866-1870; and about forty volumes of historical scrap-books, of news clippings, compiled by the late James R. Mann, of Illinois.

The Macmillan Company announces for early publication Professor Samuel F. Bemis's work, *Jay's Treaty: a Study in Commerce and Diplomacy*, to which was awarded the chief prize offered by the Historical Commission of the Knights of Columbus; also *The Merchant Marine*, by Rear-Admiral William S. Benson, and *The Open Door Doctrine*, by Mingghien Joshua Bau, both volumes published under the auspices of the commission named.

Tome XIV. of the *Journal* of the Société des Americanistes de Paris devotes its first 63 pages to a paper on the problem of the initial populating of America and the ethnical origin of its native population, by the late Henry Vignaud. Other historical contents are: a paper on German colonization and emigration in America, by René Le Conte, and some documents on the history of the Indians of Louisiana, contributed by Baron Marc de Villiers.

Bulletin no. 76 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, bearing the subtitle *Archaeological Investigations*, covers investigations by Gerard Fowke, as follows: I. cave explorations in the Ozark region of central Missouri; II. cave explorations in other states (Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama); III. explorations along the Missouri River bluffs in Kansas and Nebraska; IV. aboriginal house mounds; V. archaeological work in Hawaii.

The principal contents of the September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* are a paper on the Rev. Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter (1803-1879), by Ella M. E. Flick, and one on the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, Diocese of New York (1846-1921), by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron.

Half of the volume for 1920-1921 of the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* (University of Chicago Press, 1922, pp. 488) is occupied by Dr. Uhlenborn's monograph on Charles Sealsfield, reviewed elsewhere in this number, and a small portion by a summary, by Professor Adolf Hasenclever, of his book on Peter Hasenclever, likewise elsewhere reviewed. The volume also contains a body of extracts from diaries of Hessians employed in the War of the

Revolution, derived from the archives in Cassel and relating chiefly to their observations of other than military things in America; to these the editor attributes especial value "in the lack of an unvarnished, truthful American account of that period". Some 150 pages are occupied by the diary of a German youth, Gustav Dresel, in Texas, 1837-1841.

The *Year Book* for 1921-1922 of the Swedish Historical Society of America contains an account of the early Swedish settlers in Minnesota, by Judge Andrew Holt of the supreme court; some "foot-notes to the history of Swedish emigration", 1855-1865, by Professor George M. Stephenson of the state university; and a group of typical "America letters" of that period, in Swedish, and English translation.

The Magyars in America, by Rev. D. A. Souders, with an introduction by Charles H. Sears, is volume VI. of the *Racial Studies, New American Series*, published by the firm of Doran.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

James H. Malone is the author of a work on *The Chickasaw Nation*, embracing the earlier history of the nation, an examination of their treaties with the United States, an account of their removal to Oklahoma, the parts which they have played in the history of America, and a study of their character and customs (Memphis, A. R. Taylor Co.).

In the *Chicago Historical Society Bulletin* for February appears a letter of Governor William Franklin, June 7, 1766, to Sir William Johnson, reviewing important matters connected with the Walpole grant; the original has been presented to the society by Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick.

The Oxford University Press announces a volume on *The Causes and Character of the American Revolution*, by Dr. Hugh E. Egerton, late professor of colonial history in the University of Oxford.

A Check List of American Revolutionary War Pamphlets in the Newberry Library (Chicago), compiled by Ruth Lapham, has been issued by the library.

The Macmillan Company announces for publication this spring *The American States, 1775-1789*, by Allan Nevins.

Danish-American Diplomacy, 1776-1920, by Soren Fogdall, appears among the *University of Iowa Studies in the Social Sciences*.

The Columbia University Press published late in December a volume by Mr. William Barclay Parsons on *Robert Fulton and the Submarine*, which gives for the first time a complete account, much of it from material hitherto unused, of Fulton's invention of an under-water boat. The volume is illustrated with drawings and facsimiles.

John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833, in two volumes, a study, by William Cabell Bruce, recently elected senator from Maryland, of one of

the most interesting political characters of the early nineteenth century, is announced as based largely on new material (New York, Putnam).

The Macmillan Company has announced for publication this spring *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine*, by Professor David Y. Thomas of the University of Arkansas.

Abraham Lincoln, Lawyer, by Charles W. Moores, is vol. VII., no. 10, of the Indiana Historical Society's *Publications*. In an address delivered before the Chicago Historical Society and printed as a pamphlet, *The Influence of Chicago on Abraham Lincoln*, Rev. William E. Barton has prepared with much care and industry the history of all Lincoln's known visits to Chicago, with discussion of their importance to his biography. The Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out, with the title *His Talk with Lincoln* (pp. 34), a letter written by James M. Stradling, with a preface by Lord Charnwood and an introduction by Leigh M. Hodges. Under the title *Lincoln in New England* (New London, Connecticut, pp. 36), Mr. Percy C. Eggleston of New London prints a careful and detailed account, prepared from contemporary sources, of the twelve days which Lincoln spent in New England in February and March, 1860, filling a gap, or covering a period, insufficiently covered in the biographies, and rightly attributing considerable importance to the visit.

Under the title *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His Letters, Papers, and Speeches*, the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History announces the publication, by the J. J. Little and Ives Company of New York, of a limited edition, in ten volumes, of Jefferson Davis's letters and other writings, edited by Dr. Dunbar Rowland.

William B. Parker, 23 Allston Street, Dorchester, Massachusetts, has been commissioned by the family to write the authorized biography of the late Justin S. Morrill, senator from Vermont. Mr. Parker requests those who have letters or other materials for the biography of Senator Morrill to send them, or copies, to him at the above address, and promises that originals so sent shall be promptly returned.

James Whitford Bashford: Pastor, Educator, Bishop, 1840-1919 (New York, Methodist Book Concern), is an appreciative biography, from the pen of Dr. George R. Grose, president of DePauw University, of one of the most notable men of the Methodist Episcopal Church of our time. He was a pastor in Boston and other Eastern cities from 1875 to 1889, when he became president of Ohio Wesleyan University, was chosen bishop in 1904, and served as resident bishop in China until 1915. During the critical years from 1912 to 1915 his efforts in behalf of the integrity of China are especially notable.

Two recent American biographies of importance are *Charles Joseph Bonaparte*, by Joseph B. Bishop (Scribners), and *Frederick Law Olmsted, Landscape Architect, 1822-1903*, 2 vols., edited by F. L. Olmsted, jr., and Theodora Kimball.

Forty Years of Edison Service (pp. 181), by T. Commerford Martin, is an outline history of the growth and development of the Edison system of lighting in New York City. The purpose has been to "portray the progress of the period largely from the human standpoint", rather than from an engineering or technical point of view. The volume contains numerous illustrations (The New York Edison Company).

The Library of Princeton University has brought out *An Essay towards a Bibliography of the Published Writings and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*, March, 1917, to March, 1921, by Howard S. Leach. A bibliography for the period 1875-1910, by Harry Clemons, and one for the period 1910-1917, by G. D. Brown, were issued by the library in 1913 and 1917, respectively.

The Historical Section of the Army War College, as the thirteenth of its monographs, publishes a pamphlet on *Aisne and Montdidier-Noyon Operations, with special attention to Participation of American Divisions* (pp. vii, 34). It is not in the least a reflection upon the Historical Section, but only upon Congress and the War Department, to express the deep chagrin which every American interested in the history of our achievements in the World War must feel at the contrast between the few small though excellent professional pamphlets to which our government limits its contribution to that history and the splendid volumes of military, naval, and aerial history published under the auspices of the British Committee of Imperial Defence—not to mention the elaborate books of military history which are in course of preparation or publication by the French and German governments.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The Macmillan Company has announced for publication this spring *The Origin and Development of the New England High School before 1865*, by Emit D. Grizzell.

The January number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* contains a Memoir of Hon. Winthrop Murray Crane (1853-1920), by John L. Bates; a paper on Early New England Nomenclature, by Donald L. Jacobus; and one on New England Vessels in the Expedition against Louisbourg, 1745, by Howard M. Chapin.

In the mention in our October number (p. 204) of the publication of volume XXI. of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* it should have been stated that this volume forms the conclusion of the series, so important for Massachusetts history, which the state has been publishing since 1867.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* are: Salem Vessels and their Voyages (to be con-

tinued), by George G. Putnam; and a continuation of Francis B. C. Bradley's papers on the Suppression of Piracy in the West Indies.

The Tartar: the Armed Sloop of the Colony of Rhode Island in King George's War, by Howard M. Chapin (pp. 67, ix), published by the Rhode Island Society of Colonial Wars, is a thorough, complete, and interesting history of the province sloop, embracing the texts of many documents, and well illustrated.

The Shepley Library, in Providence, has published, in a pamphlet of thirteen pages, under the title *A Rhode Island Slaver*, the trade book of the sloop *Adventure*, 1773-1774, from the original manuscript in the library of Colonel George L. Shepley, with notes and introduction by Professor Verner W. Crane of Brown University.

The Connecticut State Library has acquired two diaries of Captain Edmond Wells, of Hebron, kept during his service in the French and Indian War, in 1756 and 1757.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

In the October number of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, Mr. A. H. Shearer discourses upon the development of the state historical societies, their varied characteristics, and their proper functions; Harriet B. Dow gives some account of the part which the town of Caledonia has had in the nation's wars; and Mr. A. J. F. van Laer contributes, with suitable introduction, a number of early Dutch manuscripts. There is also a letter from Rev. Comfort Williams to his brother, written from Ogdensburg, July 22, 1811, describing conditions of the region.

The January number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a paper, by Winthrop P. Tryon, with the title *Whig Strategy on Dutchess County Border*, pertaining to the work of the Fredericksburgh precinct committee and the New York provincial committee in checking Tory activities, 1776-1777.

The January number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* includes data relating to the organization of the counties of the state of New York, compiled by Evelyn B. Baldwin; and the beginning of a transcript of the Federal Census of 1800 for Queens County, Long Island.

A History of the Barge Canal of New York State (pp. 610), by Noble E. Whitford, senior assistant engineer, prepared under the authority of the state engineer and surveyor, is the story of one of the great construction projects of our time (Albany, J. B. Lyon Company, printers). The story has many aspects, political, economic, financial, engineering, etc., the historical phases of which are narrated in an interesting manner, the policies, methods, and sundry other aspects intelligently discussed. The

story proper begins with the agitation for an enlarged canal about the year 1900, but some fifty pages of the volume are devoted to a survey of the earlier history of canals in New York and a discussion of the conditions which gave rise to the demand for an improvement of New York's interior waterway system.

The Buffalo Historical Society has in press volume XXVI. of its series of *Publications*. The book will be largely devoted to papers relating to Joseph Ellicott and the beginnings of Buffalo, which he surveyed for the Holland Land Company in 1801-1803. Another feature of the book will be a careful study by Dr. G. Hunter Bartlett, of Buffalo, a connection of the Ellicotts by marriage, setting forth the facts of the original survey of the city of Washington, the part borne in it by Major L'Enfant and Andrew Ellicott, and making plain the supposed common origin in plan of the cities of Washington and Buffalo.

The contents of the January number of the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society include Gabriel Thomas's account of West New Jersey in the Year 1698; a paper by William W. Bradbeer on New Jersey Paper Currency, 1709-1786; some account, from a Diary of John Force, of a Walking and Riding Journey West in 1811-1812; and a first installment of letters (1777-1778) concerning the Hibernia Iron Furnace. In this number is found also the letter from Washington to Elbridge Gerry, Jan. 29, 1780, concerning conditions in the American army, which was made public in October at a dinner given in New York to the English representatives of the Sulgrave Institution.

Dover Dates: a Bicentennial History, 1722-1922, by Charles D. Platt, is published in Dover, N. J., by the author. This work is a supplement to *Dover History*, by the same author, relating to the period before 1869, and published in 1914.

The principal contents of the January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* are: a paper by Provost Edgar Fahs Smith on Early Scientists of Philadelphia; a continuation of Dr. A. T. Volwiler's study of George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782; an article on the Washington Pedigree, by G. Andrews Moriarty, jr.; and a Diary of William F. Higbee of a trip to Western Pennsylvania in 1816-1817, contributed by William H. Woodwell.

Volume XXIX. of the *Proceedings* of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia (1919-1921) contains a paper by Webster K. Wetherill on the Fighting Quakers, and one by Frederick H. Shelton on Old Fort Mifflin.

The *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society April 7, May 5, and June 2 include papers by several hands upon various phases of the history of Lancaster. The number for May 5 contains an account of the Lancaster County Colonization Society, by William F.

Worner; that of September 1 an article by Albert K. Hostetter on Newspapers as Historic Records; and that of October 6 two articles by Mr. Worner, the one relating to the visits of John Adams to Lancaster in 1800, the other to the Columbia Race Riots in 1834.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* are: Some Aspects of Pittsburgh's Industrial Contributions to the Civil War, by Louis Vaira; Western Pennsylvania and the Election of 1860 (anon.); the Attitude of the Pittsburgh Newspapers toward the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, by Don R. Kovar; and the Application of Veto Power by Abraham Lincoln, by Anna Prenter.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The December number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains the concluding installment of the Diary of Robert Gilmore and the beginning of a series of extracts from the *Maryland Gazette* (1728-1751). The other principal articles are continuations hitherto mentioned.

The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland, by Percy G. Skirven, is announced by the Norman, Remington Company, 347 North Charles Street, Baltimore.

The Virginia State Library has acquired a collection of 95 pieces concerning the second battalion of the 26th regiment of Virginian militia in the War of 1812. The indexing of the file of 25,000 legislative petitions has been begun. The library's *Bulletin*, XIV. 2, 3, is a recently discovered list of justices of the peace, 1757-1775, printed with an interesting introduction by Mr. Edward Ingle.

Virginians of Distinguished Service in the World War, published by the Virginia War History Commission, is a record of the honors, both American and foreign, awarded to Virginians for distinguished service in the Great War, and is one of a series of volumes which are to constitute the basis of a narrative history of Virginia's part in the war. Certain "war history supplements", published in issues of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* during 1921, list the principal classes of source-material gathered by the commission, and two additional volumes, the one a "Clipping History of Virginia in War Time", the other covering important phases of the military and civilian activities of Virginia in the war, are to follow. Mr. Arthur K. Davis, chairman of the commission, furnishes an appropriate introduction to the volume.

The principal articles in the January number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* are the True Story of the *Virginia* and the *Monitor*, by Dr. William Tindall, with an introduction by Professor Milledge L. Bonham, and the Will of Charles Carter of Cleve (1707-1764), with notes by Mr. Fairfax Harrison. Dr. Tindall's paper is to be continued.

The January number of *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* contains a study, by Hon. P. H. Drewry, of the site of Fort Henry, the present Petersburg, being the first chapter of a history of Petersburg; a sketch, by the late Professor G. F. Holmes, of Professor John Millington, 1779-1868, professor in William and Mary College from 1835 to 1848, and in the University of Mississippi for some years thereafter; some historical notes, by Charles E. Kemper, of the French and Indian War; and a Journal of Governor Spotswood's Travels in the Public Service, 1711-1717.

The January number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, which is denominated "Washington Number", contains an extended study, by C. A. Hoppin, of the Washington-Wright Connection and Some Descendants of Major Francis and Anne (Washington) Wright; a paper by the same author entitled the Good Name and Fame of the Washingtons, dealing in particular with records pertaining to Col. John Washington, first American immigrant of the name; and notes by the editor and Mr. T. Pape on the same subject.

Men and Events: Chapters of Virginia History from the pen of Mr. Armistead C. Gordon is brought out by the McClure Company, Staunton, Virginia. The book includes chapters on the legislation of the time of Bacon's Rebellion, 1676, and its significance for the period of the Revolution; lawyers in Virginia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the expedition of Governor Spotswood into the Valley of Virginia; the settlement of the Shenandoah Valley; General Daniel Morgan; and the Lewis and Clark expedition. From the same publishers comes a work on *Rockbridge County, Virginia: a History from the Earliest Times to 1920*, by Oren F. Morton.

Historic Fredericksburg: the Story of an Old Town, by Judge John T. Goolrick, is published in Fredericksburg by the author.

The *Ninth Biennial Report* of the North Carolina Historical Commission, just issued, records among the more notable accessions of manuscript material during the period additions to the John H. Bryan Papers, the Walter Clark Papers (personal), the Walter Clark Manuscripts, the William A. Graham Papers, and numerous lesser additions to collections of personal papers. To the papers of North Carolina governors were added some 11,000 papers and thirty-one letter-books, and to the collection of Civil War Papers 2,500 pieces, the gift of Capt. E. M. Michaux of Goldsborough. The commission received by transfer from the office of the secretary of state 4,900 pieces (1729-1905), from the treasurer, comptroller, and auditor 33 volumes (7,900 pieces, 1790-1870), and custom-house papers, 900 pieces (1788-1790). Especially noteworthy is the transfer of large bodies of county records to the commission. Of these there were 223 cases, coming from fifty counties, embracing principally records of the later eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, but many

of them dating back to the early eighteenth century. The commission has also made much progress in the work of gathering and compiling records of North Carolina's participation in the World War. The commission's report also includes an itemized list of the eighteenth-century North Carolina newspapers in its possession.

The *Historical Papers*, series XIV., of the Trinity College Historical Society (Durham, North Carolina), contains a study, by Clarence D. Douglas, of Conscription and the Writ of Habeas Corpus during the Civil War; another, by Simeon A. Delap, of the Populist Party in North Carolina; and a group of documents pertaining to North Carolina and the Federal Constitution, contributed and edited by Professor W. K. Boyd. The most important of these documents are some letters of Timothy Bloodworth and Thomas Person to General John Lamb (July and August, 1788), and a discussion of the Constitution (August, 1788) by "A Citizen of North Carolina".

The *Transactions*, no. 27, of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina has for its principal content an account of the exercises in connection with the dedication of a monument on the site of the now extinct Huguenot church at "Orange Quarter (St. Denis)", recently acquired by the society. There are addresses by the president of the society, Mr. T. W. Bacot, and Major Alfred Huger, the latter address being a survey of Huguenot history and having the title *A Triumph of Spirit*. The *Transactions* includes in addition some wills of South Carolina Huguenots, with translations by Rev. Florian Vurpillot, and some documents concerning Huguenots, contributed by A. S. Salley, jr.

Professor Ulrich B. Phillips contributes to the December number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* a brief paper concerning the New Light upon the Founding of Georgia derived from the Diary of the Earl of Egmont, Mr. Linton M. Collins presents a study of the Activities of the Missionaries among the Cherokees, and Dr. Roland M. Harper continues his studies of agriculture in Georgia, the present paper relating to lower Georgia from 1890 to 1920, together with a summary for the whole state for the period 1850 to 1920. The Howell Cobb Papers are brought down to the year 1869.

A History of Rome and Floyd County, State of Georgia, United States of America, vol. I., by George M. Battey, jr., is published in Atlanta by the author.

Editors I have known since the Civil War, by Robert H. Henry, is described as "an autobiographical narrative of the civil, military, and political history of Mississippi" during the reconstruction period (Jackson, Miss., the author).

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, now under the efficient guidance of Mr. Henry P. Dart, is making valiant efforts to catch up in date. The number for January, 1922, contains an interesting account of an unpub-

lished history of Louisiana written between 1840 and 1843 by Henry Remy, a Frenchman who had then lately arrived in New Orleans; an extended review of Mrs. Surrey's *Commerce of Louisiana during the French Régime*, by Miss Grace King; a journal of a voyage in Louisiana in 1801 by William Johnson of New Jersey, reprinted from the *Quarterly* of the New Jersey Historical Society; a deposition of William Perry, mariner, captive at New Orleans in 1758, from the Chatham Papers in the British Public Record Office; a biographical sketch of the late Henry Vignaud by Edward A. Parsons, and a further interesting installment of judicial records of the Superior Council of Louisiana, 1730-1731. The number for April prints a valuable essay on the general subject of Spanish Colonial Municipalities by Professor Herbert I. Priestley of the University of California, together with notes by the editor, Mr. Henry P. Dart, on the Cabildo of New Orleans and its archives; an address by Mr. Dart on the life and character of the late Chief Justice White; an interesting record, some fifteen documents in French with translation, of the first serious lawsuit at New Orleans, *Ceard vs. Beaulieu et als.*, 1724, a civil suit between adjoining owners on the Mississippi River after a great flood in 1724; a biographical paper on Pierre Margry by Mr. Bussière Rouen; proceedings of the society; and a continuation of the records of the Superior Council of Louisiana from 1731 to 1735. Mr. Dart is giving the *Quarterly* great value by such documentary materials.

WESTERN STATES

The articles in the December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* are: Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with special reference to the Mississippi Valley, by George M. Stephenson; the Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance of Minnesota, by John D. Hicks; and the Development of Industries in Louisiana during the French Régime, 1673-1763, by Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey. In the section of Notes and Documents is an account, by Morris K. Turner, of the manuscripts of Baynton, Wharton, and Morgan, a firm of traders and land speculators (1754-1776).

The principal content of the October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is an account, by William C. Mills, of the Exploration of the Mound City Group. The number includes also an account of the exercises at the Logan Elm in June, held by the McGuffey Society, a society organized in honor of Dr. William H. McGuffey, the educator; and an account, by J. Wilbur Jacoby, of the Marion Centennial Celebration.

The *History of the Ohio State University*, in two volumes, edited by Dr. Thomas G. Mendenhall and Joseph S. Meyers, embodies the addresses and proceedings of the semi-centennial celebration held in October, 1920 (Columbus, Ohio State University Press).

Articles in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: Tecumseh and Pushmataha, by J. Wesley Whicker; Pioneer Life in Boone County, by Jane G. Stevenson; Pioneer Stories of the Calumet, gathered by J. William Lester; Pennville, by Ida H. McCarty; and Pioneer Homesteads, by Julia L. Knox.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1921 (*Publication* no. 28 of the Illinois State Historical Library) contains the papers read at the annual meeting, chief of which are the following: the Making of Abraham Lincoln and the Influence of Illinois in his Development, by Dr. William E. Barton; the Industrial Development of Illinois, by John M. Glenn; Some Governmental Problems in the Northwest Territory, 1787-1803, by Chester J. Attig; Indian Trails centring at Black Hawk's Village, by John J. Hauberg; and Peter Cartwright in Illinois History, by William W. Sweet. The section of contributions to state history consists of an account, by Luelja Zearing Gross, of the family of Zearings, early settlers in Illinois, and in particular of a sketch of the life of Major James R. Zearing, M.D., together with some fifty of his letters written during the Civil War.

Among the articles in the April-July (double) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are: Lincoln as I knew him, by the late Charles S. Zane (reprinted from the *Sunset Magazine* of October, 1912); Abraham Lincoln in Congress, 1847-1849, by Charles O. Paullin; Pioneers of Macon County, by N. M. Baker; and Pioneers of Coles County, by Mrs. Joseph C. Dole.

The *Narrative of the Captivity of William Biggs among the Kickapoo Indians in Illinois in 1788* has been issued as no. 37 of Heartman's *Historical Series* (Metuchen, N. J., C. F. Heartman).

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society, beginning with the January number, is printing the "Certificate Book", sometimes called the Kentucky Domesday Book, being the record kept by the commission which convened in October, 1779, for the purpose of adjusting land titles in Kentucky.

The Cincinnati Southern Railroad and the Struggle for Southern Commerce, 1865-1872 (pp. 68), by Ellis M. Coulter, Ph.D., reprinted from *A History of Kentucky* (Chicago, American Historical Society), is essentially a history of the rivalry between Louisville and Cincinnati for Southern trade, culminating in the building by the city of Cincinnati of a railroad to Chattanooga as an outlet to the South. The efforts of Cincinnati in behalf of an unhampered outlet to the South involved for a considerable period the politics of Kentucky and Tennessee in particular, of Ohio to a lesser degree, and even had its manifestations in the national Congress.

Caleb P. Patterson is the author of a volume entitled *The Negro in Tennessee, 1790-1865*, which appears as a *Bulletin* of the University of Texas.

Volume VI., no. 4, of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains, besides numerous short articles, two more extended studies: the Beginnings of Dutch Immigration to Western Michigan, 1846, by Henry S. Lucas, and a Brief History of the Geological and Biological Survey of Michigan, 1837 to 1920, by R. C. Allen and Helen M. Martin.

The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library has recently acquired a small group of papers of John Edgar relating to conditions in Detroit during the Revolution; papers of John Porteous, including a draft of the proceedings of an Indian council at Detroit in July, 1761, a short journal of the siege of Detroit, and a letter dated November 30, 1763, reviewing events from the time of the arrival of the English; a letter from William Eyre, Albany, October 12, 1763, relative to the siege of Detroit the preceding summer; and a large collection of papers of James Taylor, paymaster of the United States army for the district including Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Missouri during the War of 1812. The *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet* for January contains a biographical account of Rev. Sylvester Cochrane, founder of "Vermontville Colony" of Michigan, together with a letter from Mrs. Cochrane to her sister, written in 1838.

In the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its seventieth annual meeting, October, 1922, Dr. Joseph Schafer discourses upon the Draper Collection of Manuscripts, the character of the collection, Draper's methods of investigation and collection, and discusses in particular the question of title to certain classes of papers in the collection.

Professor Joseph Schafer contributes to the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* the first of an interesting series of studies of the Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin, beginning with an investigation of the characteristic attitudes of these two principal of the racial stocks in Wisconsin towards the land. There are also a history of Lawrence College, by Samuel Plantz, and a paper on Beaver Creek Valley, Monroe County, by Doane Robinson, besides continuations of General Charles King's *Memoirs of a Busy Life*, and Frederick J. Starin's *Diary of a Journey to Wisconsin in 1840*.

Among the recent accessions of the Minnesota Historical Society are the Civil War papers of Brig.-Gen. Robert N. McLaren, presented by his son-in-law, Mr. George E. Ingersoll; a collection of papers, the gift of Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul, which throw light on the social conditions in St. Paul during the 'fifties; and photostatic copies of several important bodies of papers. The society is also making copies of the diaries of James Peet, Methodist minister, and his wife, who came to St. Paul in 1855, and has acquired by transfer from the offices of the secretary of state and the adjutant general considerable bodies of non-current archives, such as files of legislative papers and original census rolls.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a single paper of monographic scope, by J. A. Swisher, on the History of the Organization of Counties in Iowa. This account is intended to supplement the papers by F. H. Garver, which appeared in volumes VI. and VII. of the *Journal*. Articles in the January number are: a History of the Office of County Superintendent of Schools in Iowa, by Jay J. Sherman; an Unworked Field in Mississippi Valley History (the economic history of agriculture), by Louis B. Schmidt; and the Westward Movement of the Corn Growing Industry in the United States, by the same writer.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a biographical account, by Ida M. Huntington, of Wilson A. Scott, "one of the earliest as well as most active and enterprising settlers of . . . Des Moines"; one by Rev. James L. Hill of Dr. Julius A. Reed (1809-1890), a prominent minister of Iowa; and a Pioneer Story, by Mrs. P. V. Van Arsdale.

Of the *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Missouri* which the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, has been preparing for publication through the editorship of Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker and Mr. Buel Leonard, three volumes, covering the period 1820-1864, have appeared.

The Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, has recently acquired four interesting letters of William Clark, some of them written just before and some of them just after the departure of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Among the articles in the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review* are: a Century of Missouri Music, by Ernst C. Krohn, and the Five Oldest Family Newspapers in Missouri, by Grace L. Gilmore.

In the January number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* appear, besides continuations previously mentioned, a paper by Charmion C. Shelby on St. Denis's Declaration concerning Texas in 1717, and a first installment of the Memoirs of Major George Bernard Erath, edited by his daughter, Lucy A. Erath. The author of these memoirs was born in Vienna, January 1, 1813, came to America in 1832, and the next year went to Texas, where he became a surveyor and Indian fighter. He died May 13, 1891.

The first forty-five pages of the February *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library are devoted to a minute diary of a journey to and in Nebraska in 1857, kept by Erastus F. Beadle, well known subsequently as the publisher of "Beadle's Dime Novels".

The Department of Education in the state of Wyoming issues as a bulletin a pamphlet on *Teaching Wyoming History by Counties* prepared by Miss Grace R. Hebard of the State University, and giving abundant references for local use.

The contents of the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* include, besides continued articles, a paper on the Building of the Walla Walla and Columbia River Railroad, by W. W. Baker, one on the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle Railway, by L. C. Gilman, and Notes of the Life and Historical Services of Thomas W. Prosch, by Charles W. Smith.

The *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society for December contains an article by Judge F. W. Howay on Captain John Kendrick of the *Columbia* and *Washington*, and his sons John and Solomon; also a series of (reprinted) annual reports of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1834-1848, relating to the Willamette mission; and three letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 1835-1837, to Edward Ermatinger.

The January number of the *Grizzly Bear* prints an address by Professor Louis J. Paetow on the Need of a State Historical Society in California, read at the last meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. On February 10 a meeting, called by a committee appointed by the Branch for the purpose, organized the California State Historical Association, intended to embrace all elements interested in the history of the state. A bill for its incorporation was before the legislature at the beginning of March.

CANADA

At Confederation in 1867 the original despatches and letter-books in the office of the lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick were sent back to the Colonial Office. The series has now been acquired by the Public Archives of Canada, including despatches from the Colonial Office to the lieutenant-governor, 46 volumes, 1784-1865, and letter-books, lieutenant-governor to Colonial Office, 13 volumes, 1784-1853.

Au Canada, a volume in the series *Bibliothèque France-Amérique* (Paris, Félix Alcan), contains, in the first half of the volume, a group of papers on various phases of Canadian national life and history, including discourses on Canada's military and charitable efforts in the Great War, by Marshal Fayolle and Maurice Guénard, respectively, and an article by Gabriel L. Jaray entitled "Le Développement du Canada et la Question Nationale"; while the second half of the volume is devoted to a record of the French mission to Canada, in June and July, 1921, at the head of which was Marshal Fayolle, charged with expressing the gratitude of France to Canada for aid rendered in the Great War. An extended account of the mission is given by Marshal Fayolle, impressions by the Marquis de Créqui-Montfort, while the actual journal of events is recorded by M. Guénard. At the close of the volume is a bibliography of the principal books on Canada.

Vol. XX. of the *Papers and Records* (pp. 184) of the Ontario Historical Society is marked by an interesting narrative respecting the County of

Norfolk in the War of 1812, by Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank, who also supplies a body of letters of Robert Nichol, 1798-1806; also by two contributions by Justice W. R. Riddell, the first on the Ancaster "Bloody Assize" of 1814 (treason trials), the second on Thomas Scott, the second attorney general of Upper Canada. The volume also contains a subject index to vols. I.-XX.

The Macmillan Company has brought out a volume entitled *A Thousand Miles from a Post Office: or Twenty Years' Life and Travel in the Hudson Bay Regions*, by Bishop Joseph Lofthouse, with a preface by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Father A. G. Morice, O.M.I., who in 1910 published in English a *History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada*, has now brought out a revised edition in French, with many improvements, *Histoire de l'Église Catholique dans l'Ouest Canadien, du Lac Supérieur au Pacifique, 1659-1915* (Montreal, Granger Frères, 1921-1922, 2 vols., pp. viii, 403; 453).

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The Oxford University Press has just brought out, as one of the series of volumes published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a monograph by Professor W. S. Robertson entitled *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States*. While the work deals in large part with our historical and diplomatic relations, yet special attention is also given to the commercial, industrial, educational, and scientific fields.

No. 58-59 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* contains the beginning of a useful article by Fray Pedro N. Pérez on members of the Order of Mercy who went to Spanish America.

Father M. Cuevas, S.J., has fully illustrated by extensive researches the period of Cortés and the first evangelization of Mexico in the first volume of his *Historia de la Iglesia de Méjico* (Tlalpan, 1921).

The July-December number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba) includes among its numerous contents a body of statements relative to insurrectionary movements in Mexico, 1828-1829; the protests of certain deputies for Cuba to the Cortes against the non-approbation of their powers, 1837; a reprint of the insurrectionary publication, *Examen de la Cuestion de Cuba* (June 10, 1837), which compares the situation of Cuba to that of America in 1776, together with some documents pertaining to it; a group of documents relative to the expulsion of Don Manuel Muñoz, consul of Venezuela (1851); some despatches relative to an expedition against Cuba projected in Texas; and an initial installment of an index to book 7 of the Reales Ordenes (1780-1785).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Jesús Delgado, *Primer Viaje alrededor del Mundo, IV. Centenario de este Acontecimiento y la Parte*

que cupo en él á Sebastián del Cano (España y América, January 1, February 1); Maj. Robert Arthur, C. A. C., *Coast Forts of Colonial Massachusetts* (Coast Artillery Journal, February); Charles Moore, *George Washington's Courtship and Marriage* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, February); L. Rava, *La Fortuna di B. Franklin in Italia* (Nuova Antologia, November 1); G. Bradford, *Damaged Souls*, II. *Benedict Arnold*, III. *Thomas Paine*, IV. *John Randolph* (Harper's Magazine, January, February, March); Maj. E. N. McClellan, U. S. M. C., *The Naval War with France* (Marine Corps Gazette, December); W. Stuart, *Negro Slavery in New Jersey and New York* (Americana, October); W. F. Dodd, *The Growth of National Power* (Yale Law Journal, March); B. Y. Berry, *The Influence of Political Platforms on Legislation in Indiana* (American Political Science Review, February); L. S. Mayo, ed., *The Ancient Days of the Spanish War: Chapters from the Diary of John D. Long* (Atlantic Monthly, January); W. B. Munro, *Two Years of President Harding* (*ibid.*, March); F. Landon, *The Dominion Parliament, Act I., Scene 1* (Canadian Magazine, February); D. Y. Thomas, *Pan-Americanism and Pan-Hispanism* (North American Review, March); J. E. Rodó, *Bolívar* (Inter-America, Eng., December).

The

American Historical Review

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL
SCIENCES, HELD AT BRUSSELS

TEN momentous years have passed since the last international historical congress adjourned in London in April, 1913, after voting that the next gathering should be in Petrograd in 1918. Not the least hopeful among the few hopeful signs of these distressed times is the fact that, four years after the first phase of the great catastrophe and during the most acute crisis of its second phase, nearly a thousand historians and students of history from more than twenty countries should have desired to come together to take counsel with each other, to draw inspiration for their labors from mutual intercourse, and to take, if possible, the first step towards the ultimate reunion of the historical scholars of the entire world.

When it was announced, less than a year ago, that the Belgian scholars, acting upon the suggestion of the Royal Historical Society of London, which became in a sense the residuary legatee of the congress of 1913, were to undertake to organize the fifth¹ international gathering of historians, there was some shaking of heads and not a little doubt as to the success or even the possibility of the undertaking. Obviously a congress to be held in Brussels could not be organized on the same basis of inclusion as those which had been held before the war, and it was feared that a congress organized on any other basis might serve to perpetuate the division among historians which had been made inevitable by the disaster of 1914. To these and other objections it was urged that, history being a subject-matter as full of high explosive as was formerly theology and the historian being of like passions with the rest of mankind (though doubtless he has a

¹ The Brussels congress is the fifth if we accept the series as beginning with the Paris congress of 1900, the intervening gatherings being at Rome in 1903, Berlin in 1908, and London in 1913. For reports of the last two, see this journal for October, 1908 (XIV. 1-8), and July, 1913 (XVIII. 679-691), respectively.

stronger sense of their futility), an ecumenical congress, even if it were held in a part of the world so detached from the current of affairs as Easter Island, might not be the best means of restoring harmony, and that the choice appeared to lie between a congress that should be as nearly "one hundred per cent." international as it might be possible to make it, or no congress at all. In such a dilemma good sense as well as an honest desire to prepare the way for works of reunion and reconciliation led most to prefer the positive to the negative choice, wherein they seem to have been amply justified by the event.

From every point of view the congress which was held at Brussels from April 8 to 15 can be pronounced a success. Seven hundred or more scholars from twenty-three countries participated in it, and the programme included more than three hundred and fifty communications well distributed among the various fields of history. The arrangements were excellent, the weather was as nearly perfect as could be desired, hospitality was abundant, and ample opportunity was afforded for excursions of an historical interest. More important, however, than these details, which will receive further attention, was the spirit, truly scientific and international, which dominated the proceedings of the congress and which found its first expression in the inaugural address of Professor Henri Pirenne and its last in the vote at the closing session which clearly indicated the desire of those present to take the first step toward the reunion of the historical forces of the world.

The congress was held under the patronage of His Majesty the King of the Belgians, who indeed manifested a sincere interest in its success, attending the opening session and receiving a large number of the members of the congress at the palace. The honorary committee was headed by the prime minister and included the ministers of Foreign Affairs and of the Sciences and Arts, as well as the presidents of the Royal Academy and of the Royal Historical Commission and the rectors of the universities of Brussels, Ghent, Liège, and Louvain. A large organizing committee was formed, of which the working body was an executive committee composed of Professor Henri Pirenne of the University of Ghent, president; the Reverend Father Hippolyte Delehaye, president of the Society of Bollandists, and Professor Frans Cumont, vice presidents; Professor Guillaume Des Marez, keeper of the city archives of Brussels, general secretary; Dr. François L. Ganshof, secretary; and Professor Charles Terlinden of the University of Louvain, treasurer. Upon all the members of the executive committee, but especially upon the two secretaries and

the treasurer, fell the burden of the preparatory labors, and the devotion and efficiency which they displayed earned for them the profound gratitude of all the members of the congress.

The congress was organized on as broad a basis as possible, considering the place of meeting and the circumstances of the times. Invitations to participate in its work were extended to the scholars of all countries which, having taken part in the war, are now members of the League of Nations, to all countries that were neutral during the war, and to the United States. Nineteen countries participated officially in the congress and four unofficially.² The advance registration, according to the list of members printed for distribution at the opening of the congress, was slightly over seven hundred. Between two and three hundred additional members registered after the printing of the first list, so that the total registration was in the vicinity of one thousand. Of this number, however, a certain proportion was composed of ladies who did not take part in the proceedings, although the number of ladies who did take part was gratifyingly large, and there was also a certain number of members who had registered in advance but who did not attend the meetings. The effective membership therefore, that is, the number of scholars attending and taking part in the scientific work of the congress, was probably about seven hundred. The distribution of membership, so far as it is indicated by the preliminary list, is worthy of notice. The Belgians naturally came first with 315 members; the French were second with 178; and the British Empire, including Ireland, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and India, supplied 140 members; fourth in the list was the United States with 28,³ and thereafter came Italy with 25, the Netherlands with 24, Poland with 22, Spain with 17, and Switzerland with 16, the other countries having less than ten each. In a few cases the actual attendance may have been slightly more than is indicated by these figures, while in other cases it was undoubtedly somewhat less.

² The countries which participated officially were: Brazil, Egypt, the British Empire, the United States, Spain, France, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Rumania, Russia, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and of course Belgium. The countries represented unofficially were Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, and Venezuela. The Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations was also represented officially.

³ The American scholars actually attending the congress were the following: Erik Achorn, F. M. Anderson, F. B. Artz, Paul van Dyke, S. B. Fay, C. R. Fish, Miss Ruth Fisher, C. D. Hazen, Miss B. L. Henry, Paul Knaplund, H. B. Learned, W. G. Leland, Miss Dorothy Mackay, Wallace Notestein, L. B. Packard, Miss F. H. Relf, M. Rostovtzeff, G. M. Royce, J. T. Shotwell, Waldemar Westergaard.

It is interesting to study the relative participation of the different countries from another point of view, that of the number of communications offered. According to the programme which was printed in advance but which inevitably suffered many modifications during the course of the meetings, the French scholars stood first with 128 communications, the Belgians second with 84, the scholars from the British Empire third with 58, while the other countries came in order as follows: Poland 17, the United States 15 (of which 13 were actually read), Italy 14, the Netherlands 12, Spain 10, Switzerland 6, Greece 6, and all other countries less than five each.

The headquarters of the congress was in the Palais des Académies, a large building, though none too large for the occasion, situated in beautiful grounds brilliant with the varicolored tulips and *giroflée* of an early spring, and overlooking the park and the royal palace. Here, in the great hall, were held the general sessions of the congress, and in the smaller rooms met most of the sections. Those of the latter which could not be accommodated in the Palais des Académies met in nearby buildings, the club of the Fondation Universitaire, the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, and the Hôtel Ravenstein; only one section, that devoted to Oriental history, was obliged to hold its meetings at any distance from the common centre, and this met, very appropriately, amid the archaeological collections of the Royal Museums of the Cinquantenaire.

Many members of the congress availed themselves of the opportunity provided by the organizing committee to make excursions under the guidance of specialists to the historic towns and sites of Belgium. Perhaps the most interesting and moving of these pilgrimages was that to the Belgian front of the Yser and to the town of Ypres, the "Verdun of the west", rapidly rising from its ruins; this excursion, conducted by Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. M. Merzbach and Major Duvivier of the Historical Section of the Belgian General Staff, will long be remembered by the fifty or more who took part in it. Other all-day expeditions—Wednesday, April 11, being set apart for this purpose—were to Antwerp, guided by M. F. Donnet of the Royal Society of Archaeology; to Bruges, under the auspices of M. C. Tulpinck and the Baron van Zuylen van Nyevelt; to Ghent, conducted by M. V. Fris of the university of that city; to Liège, under the guidance of M. Brassinne, librarian of the University of Liège; and to Tournai, guided by M. Hocquet, archivist of the city. Saturday afternoon, April 14, was devoted to shorter excursions. The various objectives of these were Louvain, where the Rector Magnificus and the faculty of the university received the members of the congress;

Malines and Nivelles, where MM. Diericx and Goffin were the respective guides; the ruins of the ancient abbey of Villers, which were shown by Professor Des Marez; and Waterloo, where M. J. Wilmet of the Royal Museum of the Army acted as conductor.

The reputation of Brussels as the most hospitable of hosts was amply sustained. The club of the Fondation Universitaire was thrown open to the members of the congress and two receptions were held there; here also a committee of Belgian ladies held themselves in readiness to serve the ladies of the congress. Luncheons, dinners, receptions, or intimate soirées were offered by Monsieur and Madame Paul Hymans, by the Minister of the Sciences and Arts, by Monsieur and Madame Ganshof van der Meersch, by Madame Paul Errera, by members of the organizing committee, and by the Université Libre of Brussels. Burgomaster Max and the *échevins* of the city received the members of the congress on Friday afternoon at the Hôtel de Ville, where tea was served and an opportunity was afforded to wander at leisure about the magnificent Gothic rooms of that medieval structure. On Thursday afternoon the congress visited the collegial church of Saints Michel and Gudule, where, after a learned discourse by Canon Maere of the University of Louvain on the history of certain architectural features of the fabric, a beautiful concert of sixteenth-century religious music was rendered by the mixed choir "Pius X." under the direction of M. Eugène Vandeveldé, after which the members of the congress proceeded to the tomb of the unknown soldier, where fitting homage to the valor and sacrifice of the Belgians was paid in the form of a magnificent wreath. The most striking and memorable event of the sort now being described was the court reception on Tuesday afternoon at which the foreign delegates were received by the king and queen attended by the princes Leopold and Charles and the princess Marie José. Later, while tea and other refreshments were served, the members of the royal family took occasion to circulate among their guests and to enter into conversation with many of them. It may not be out of place to record here that King Albert expressed to certain of the American members, in the warmest terms, his appreciation of the services which the United States and its people had rendered to his country. The social features of the programme were brought to a close on Saturday evening by the general banquet at the Hôtel Métropole, over which Professor Bronislas Dembinski presided and where felicitous speeches in the lighter vein were made by Professor Pirenne and other members of the committee on organization.

The members of the congress came together for the transaction of business and the hearing of papers in five general assemblies. The first of these, on the morning of April 9, was for the selection of the international bureau, the nominations for which were made by the Belgian committee on organization and accepted by the congress. The bureau as thus constituted consisted of the Belgian executive committee already named, with the addition of representatives of various countries as follows: the United States, Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia University; Great Britain, Professor T. F. Tout of the University of Manchester; France, M. Théophile Homolle, president of the Institute of France and director of the Bibliothèque Nationale; Russia, Sir Paul Vinogradoff of Oxford University; Italy, Professor Gaetano de Sanctis of the University of Turin; Switzerland, Professor Francis de Crue of the University of Geneva; Poland, Professor B. Dembinski of the University of Warsaw. The formal session of opening was held on the afternoon of the same day and was attended by the king and queen accompanied by the princes Leopold and Charles, as well as by the ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, and the Sciences and Arts, and by the ambassadors of Italy and Spain. The assembly was presided over by M. Homolle; an address of welcome was delivered by M. Nolf, minister of the Sciences and Arts, and the inaugural address of the congress was pronounced by Professor Pirenne. Inspired by the same lofty sentiments as those which animated the inaugural address of Lord Bryce at the London congress ten years before, Professor Pirenne devoted himself to defining the task by which the historian of to-day is confronted. This task is of a special character and of great difficulty; the historian must strive ever to be objective, he has not the right to consider only his own party, his own religion, his own country, above all he must endeavor to be critical and impartial. The catastrophe of the most recent years should serve the historian as a great seismic disturbance serves the geologist; it has laid before him problems heretofore unforeseen, it has presented facts which refute well-established theories, and it has upset certain scientific prejudices, especially that of race. No longer should we resort to race as an explanation of historical phenomena until we have exhausted all other explanations; races have long been mingled and it is with difficulty that we are able to distinguish them in modern nations; no longer can we consider the Latins, the Germans, and the Slavs from different points of view; the general development of the civilized nations follows a common law and if we introduce the factor of race into our explanations of this law we attempt to solve the unknown by the unknown. The

problem of national individuality must be studied comparatively, the history of a people must be studied from the point of view of the history of humanity, as a part of a far greater whole; the local point of view is entirely inadequate. The ancient historians had some notion of the synthesis which we now find to be essential, but the last century, which has been called the century of history, has been in fact more learned than scientific; and the national point of view in history must now give way to one that is objective and impartial.

At the second general session, held on the afternoon of April 10, four papers were read: M. Charles Bémont, editor of the *Revue Historique*, gave an account of the circumstances under which the kings of England finally renounced the title of King of France. He pointed out that the question had been raised several times under Louis XIV. and Louis XV., but that in 1797 one of the four preliminary conditions laid down by the plenipotentiaries of the French Republic in the negotiations of Lille was the renunciation of the title; these negotiations were broken off and were not resumed until the conferences of Lunéville in 1800, after which the English, modifying the royal title on the incorporation of Ireland in the kingdom, voluntarily abandoned the words *Rex Franciæ*. Sir William Ramsay of the University of Edinburgh presented a learned account of the Anatolian influence on Hellenism as shown in the Anatolian words taken over into Greek, such as the names of social institutions and offices, words connected with metals, domesticated animals, agriculture, manufactures, the imaginative interpretation of nature, etc. Professor Thaddée Zielinski of the University of Warsaw dealt with the prophecies of the Trojan sibyl respecting the end or the regeneration of the world and traced the history of the belief in them during the last two centuries before the Christian era, indicating the events after 84 B.C. which were interpreted as their fulfilment. Finally Professor de Sanctis, dealing with the action of Philip V. of Macedonia in dedicating to Apollo the tenth of the booty of his "combats on land", argued that the phrase fixed the date of the dedication in 201 B.C., and from this conclusion drew certain consequences respecting the chronology of the war of 201 as well as the date and significance of the decree of Delos in favor of King Nabis of Sparta.

The fourth general session was on the afternoon of April 13. Professor Paul van Dyke read a brief and brilliant summary of the conclusions reached during the course of his work which has just culminated in the publication of his two volumes, *Catherine de Médicis*, respecting the character of that historic personage; Professor M. Rostovtzeff, of the University of Wisconsin, interpreted the politi-

cal and social crisis in the Roman Empire of the third century A.D. as being essentially a revolt of the peasants against the towns, and Senator Carlo Calisse of Rome presented to the congress a large volume of the Christian inscriptions of the city of Rome prior to the seventh century and gave some account of their value and significance.⁴ The session ended with two papers of archaeological interest, both accompanied by lantern projections: Professor Frans Cumont described the excavations at Sâlihiyeh on the Euphrates, the site of the Greek colony of Doura-Eüropos, abandoned in the third century A.D., and showed in detail some of the remarkable paintings in a temple to the gods of Palmyra, while M. Jean Capart, of the Royal Museums of the Cinquantenaire of Brussels, recently returned from the Valley of the Kings whither he had accompanied the Queen of the Belgians in her excursion to the tomb of Tutenkhamûn, presented a large number of views of the surroundings and interior of the tomb and of the objects discovered within it.

The fifth and last general session, held on Sunday morning, April 15, for the transaction of such business as the bureau might lay before the congress and for the passing of resolutions, was in some respects the most important session of the week and the action taken at it, which will be dealt with in a later part of this article, may have far-reaching results.

The Brussels congress, like its predecessors, was organized in sections, but whereas the London congress had nine principal divisions, that at Brussels, obeying the tendency to differentiation, had thirteen, and as several of these were divided into two or more sub-sections, there were in reality twenty-three sections in simultaneous activity, each of which held from three to five sessions and heard from nine to twenty-eight papers.⁵

⁴ *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae Septimo Saeculo Antiquiores*, vol. I., *Inscriptiones Incertae Originis* (Rome, 1922); commenced by G. B. de Rossi, completed and edited by Angelo Silvagni.

⁵ The sections, with the number of papers scheduled for each, according to the preliminary programme, were as follows: I. Oriental history, 17 papers; II. Greek and Roman history, 20 papers; III. Byzantine studies, 16; IV. History of the Middle Ages, 18; V.1. Modern history, 14; V.2. Contemporary history, 17; V.3. History of the American continent, 10; V.4. History of colonies and discoveries, 9; VI.1. History of religions, 15; VI.2a. Ecclesiastical history to the end of the twelfth century, 12; VI.2b. Ecclesiastical history since the twelfth century, 13; VII.1. History of ancient law, 10; VII.2. History of medieval and modern law, 18; VIII. Economic history, 18; IX.1. History of civilization: Ancient thought, 10; IX.2. History of civilization: Medieval and modern thought, 18; IX.3. History of civilization: History of medicine, 21; X.1. History of art, 28; X.2. Archaeology, 16; XI.1. Historical method, 8; XI.2. Auxiliary sciences, 11; XII. Documentation of the history of the world during the Great War, 16; XIII. Archives and publications of historical texts, 11.

So elaborate a system of subdivision and so great a wealth of learning both had their disadvantages, for no device could be invented which would allow any member of the congress to hear all the papers in which he might be interested. He was, to be sure, greatly aided in making out his personal programme by the fact that the organizing committee, by a veritable *tour de force*, had supplied him, even before his arrival in Brussels, with printed abstracts of most of the 344 papers which were scheduled to be read in the various sections, but even these sometimes increased the difficulty of choice. Another difficulty arose from the fact that the programme was inevitably disarranged by the dropping out of participants or by other unavoidable changes, and although notice of all modifications was promptly posted on the bulletin board, many members, it is to be feared, failed to keep themselves informed.

It is of course impossible to attempt to give, within the limits of this narrative, even the most summary account of the three hundred or more papers which were actually read in the one hundred and four sectional sessions. It is gratifying however to be able to announce that the committee on organization has so successfully administered its resources that it will be possible for it shortly to publish a volume which will contain, along with the final list of members and the proceedings of the various sessions and the inaugural address of Professor Pirenne, the abstracts of all the papers read. To this volume, then, those readers of this article who desire to be more fully informed respecting the scientific work of the congress are referred.⁶

*In order to indicate the scope and variety of the papers the following list, selected from the programme, is offered:

Oriental and ancient history, Abbé Belpaire, Brussels, "Les Peuples du Centre de l'Asie d'après les Poètes Chinois de l'époque des T'ang"; L. de la Vallée-Poussin, Ghent, "Les Upanishads et le Bouddhisme"; T. Homolle, Paris, "Remarques sur les Révolutions de Delphes à propos du Texte d'Aristote, *Politeia*, V. 3"; M. Parvan, Bucarest, "La Pénétration Hellénique et Hellénistique dans la Vallée du Danube"; F. Lot, Paris, "Le Caput Fiscal du Bas-Empire, son Étendue et sa Valeur Imposable";

Byzantine studies, N. Jorga, Bucarest, "La Romania Danubienne et les Barbares au VI^e Siècle";

Medieval history, L. Halphen, Bordeaux, "Les Origines Asiatiques des Grandes Invasions"; J. Novak, Prague, "L'Idée de l'Empire Romain et la Pensée Politique Tchèque pendant l'évolution de l'État"; H. Pirenne, Ghent, "Un Contraste Historique, Mérovingiens et Carolingiens"; Marc Bloch, Strasbourg, "Qu'est-ce qu'un Fief?"; M. Handelsman, Warsaw, "Féodalité et Féodalisation dans l'Europe Occidentale"; T. F. Tout, Manchester, "Some Conflicting Tendencies in English Administrative History during the Fourteenth Century"; H. Prentout, Caen, "Les États de Normandie";

There are, however, a few observations of general nature respecting the work of the various sections which it may not be out of place to offer, and which may aid to a better understanding of certain gen-

Modern and contemporary history, J. Holland Rose, Cambridge, "The Struggle for the Mediterranean in the Eighteenth Century"; B. Dembinski, Warsaw, "Le Rôle des Italiens dans la Diplomatie à la Fin du XVIII^e Siècle"; F. de Crue, Geneva, "Necker, Mirabeau, et les Genevois de la Révolution"; A. Aulard, Paris, "L'État Actuel des Études sur la Révolution Française"; P. Sagnac, Paris, "Les Conceptions des Historiens sur l'Origine et l'Esprit de la Révolution Française"; Ed. Driault, Paris, "Les Études Napoléoniennes en France et hors de France"; C. K. Webster, University of Wales, "The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, and the Paris Conference, 1919—a Comparison and a Contrast"; H. W. V. Temperley, Cambridge, "The Congress and Conference System and its Breakdown"; P. Gronsky, Petrograd-Paris, "La Chute de la Monarchie en Russie en 1917";

History of colonies and discoveries, Ch. B. de la Roncière, Paris, "L'Énigme du Premier Voyage de Circumnavigation Médiéval"; T. Simar, Brussels, "Une Conception Unitaire de l'Expansion Européenne"; H. E. Egerton, "The Study of Colonial History in the British Empire";

Religious and ecclesiastical history, S. Reinach, Paris, "Survivances Européennes du Catharisme"; V. Novotny, Prague, "Les Origines du Mouvement Hussite en Bohême"; Miss Rose Graham, London, "The Influence of the Papal Schism on the English Province of the Order of Cluny in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries";

Legal history, P. Collinet, Paris, "Les Travaux des Professeurs de l'École de Droit de Beyrouth au V^e Siècle"; Sir Paul Vinogradoff, Oxford, "Les Maximes de l'Ancien Droit Coutumier Anglais"; J. van Kan, Leyden, "L'Idée de Codification à l'Époque de Louis XV."; G. Espinas, Paris, "L'Évolution des Privilèges Urbains dans les Centres Principaux de la Flandre Française depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution";

Economic history, Sir William Ashley, Birmingham, "The Historic Bread of the English People"; J. H. Clapham, Cambridge, "Irish Migration into Britain, 1775-1830"; G. Salvio, Naples, "Les Opérations de Banque à Naples au XIV^e Siècle"; E. Déprez, Rennes, "Les Conséquences Économiques et Sociales de la Guerre de Cent Ans"; Ch. Rist, Paris, "Illusion et Réalité dans l'Interprétation Économique des Guerres Modernes"; H. Pirenne, Ghent, "Liberté et Réglementation dans l'Histoire Économique"; G. Des Marez, Brussels, "L'Origine des Syndicats Ouvriers en Belgique"; H. de Sagher, Bruges, "Les Sources Statistiques de l'Histoire du Prix des Céréales et leur Méthode d'Édition";

History of civilization, L. Parmentier, Liège, "Euripide et la Propagande pendant la Guerre de la Péninsule"; Mrs. Charles Singer, London, "L'Alchimie, son Évolution jusqu'au Commencement de la Science de la Chimie"; H. Koht, Christiania, "Le Problème des Origines de la Renaissance"; L. Febvre, Strasbourg, "L'Idée Moderne de Domination Universelle"; A. I. Carlyle, Oxford, "The Development of the Theory of the Authority of the Pope in Temporal Matters from the Ninth Century to the Thirteenth Century"; A. Lefranc, Paris, "Aperçu sur l'Histoire des Idées Rationalistes en France au XVI^e Siècle";

History of medicine, Dr. Jeanselme, Paris, "La Psychose de l'Empereur Héraclius"; Dr. Angélique Panayotatou, Alexandria, "L'Hygiène et la Morale chez les Anciens Grecs"; Dr. Van Schevensteen, Antwerp, "Les Oculistes Ambulants dans les Provinces Belges pendant les XVII^e et XVIII^e Siècles";

eral characteristics of the congress. While, as was to be expected, many of the papers were of a highly specialized character, dealing with rather minute subjects, there was nevertheless a goodly number of communications, particularly in the sections on medieval history, on economic history, and on historical method, which were of broad scope and exceedingly suggestive. There were no marked tendencies, but there seemed to be a rather large number of papers of an archaeological flavor, and the increasingly popular subject of pre-history was by no means neglected; it was also clear that the history of eastern Europe was a favorite subject, as was to be expected from the large number of Polish scholars attending the congress. In the section on contemporary history the French Revolution claimed the major share of attention, while of strictly "contemporary" history there was little except for the interesting symposium of Professors Webster and Temperley. The papers in the section on the documentation of the history of the world during the Great War were all technical in character and chiefly of interest to archivists and to military and economic historians. It should be noted that this section visited the very important collections of the Commission des Archives de la Guerre, where, under the direction of Dr. Vannérus, the archives of the German occupation of Belgium have been brought to-

History of art and archaeology, C. Hofstede de Groot, the Hague, "Explications des Sujets Bibliques et Historiques dans l'Oeuvre de Rembrandt"; N. Jorga, Bucarest, "Les Origines de l'Art Populaire Roumain"; E. Closson, Brussels, "Instruments de Musique disparus"; H. Schetelig, "L'Industrie Néolithique de la Norvège"; P. Bosch Gimpera, Barcelona, "La Civilisation Ibérique";

Historical method and auxiliary sciences, H. Berr, Paris, "La Synthèse en Histoire"; Fr. Bujak, Lemberg, "Le Problème de la Synthèse en Histoire"; O. de Halecki, Warsaw, "L'Histoire de l'Europe Orientale, sa Division en Époques, son Milieu Géographique, et ses Problèmes Fondamentaux"; M. Lhéritier, Paris, "L'Histoire et l'Urbanisme"; H. Jenkinson, London, "The Present State of Palaeographical Studies in England"; V. Tourneur, Brussels, "Les Origines de la Médaille à la Renaissance";

Documentation of the history of the world during the Great War, Camille Bloch, Paris, "La Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre"; Colonel Maltese, Rome, "Les Archives Militaires de la Guerre en Italie"; H. Nélis, Brussels, "Les Collections d'Archives de Guerre en Allemagne et en Hongrie"; J. Vannérus, Brussels, "Les Archives de la Guerre en Belgique"; J. Holub, Budapest, "Les Archives de la Guerre en Hongrie";

Archives and publications of historical texts, J. Paczkowski, Warsaw, "La Remise des Archives en Connexion avec des Changements de Frontières entre États"; A. G. Little, Manchester, "Rules for the Editing of Historical Documents"; J. Cuvelier, "Des Nécessités Présentes dans le Domaine de la Conservation des Archives".

[A set of the abstracts, sent by Mr. Leland, is available for inspection at the office of the *Review*, and individual abstracts can be lent to persons interested. Ed.]

gether. The papers read before the section on archives and publications of historical texts, one session of which was devoted to a visit to the General Archives of the kingdom, were very miscellaneous in character. Probably the one of most interest to American readers was the report by Professor Little of Manchester on the proposed rules for editing historical documents, prepared for the Anglo-American Historical Committee. The present writer does not feel qualified to characterize the numerous papers read before the section on the history of medicine, most of which seemed to be by doctors for doctors, although a few, as that on the psychosis of Heraclius, had a very obvious value for the historian. It is to be hoped that the next congress will devote a section to the broader field of the history of science.

The sessions on American history have been reserved for special comment. It was frankly an experiment, entered upon almost at the last minute, to attempt to organize a section on a subject which, however important it may seem to the readers of this journal, had never before received separate treatment in an international congress. It was decided that the section should be devoted to the history of the American continents and that a special effort should be made to secure communications by European scholars. In this latter respect the experiment was so successful that of the nine papers read only two were by Americans. With respect to attendance the experiment was less successful, Monsieur Bernard Faÿ of Paris, whose paper at the meetings of the American Historical Association in St. Louis is so favorably remembered, being obliged to read one of the most original and brilliant communications of the congress, "*L'Opinion Américaine à la Fin du XVIIIe Siècle et ses Sources d'Informations en Europe*", before a pitifully small audience. Several of the other readers were more favored, however, and the very suggestive paper by Professor Carl Russell Fish on "*The Study of United States History*" and Dr. H. Barrett Learned's masterly analysis of the debates in the Senate on the Treaty of Versailles, "*The Temper of the United States Senate, 1918-1920*", were heard by a considerable number of scholars, who showed their interest in the subjects presented by taking part in an animated discussion. The other papers read before the section on American history were "*Les Fouilles du Cimetière des Anciens Colons Norvégiens au Groenland*", by Professor V. Schmidt of Copenhagen; "*Les Origines Orientales du Nom de Californie*", by Professor A. Carnoy of Louvain; "*Quelques Notes sur Christophe Colomb*", by Professor F. Van Ortrof of Ghent; "*The Government of Ovando in Española, 1501-1508*", by

Professor Cecil Jane of the University of Wales; "*Le Traité Anglo-Américain de Gand, 1814*", by Professor Charles Terlinden of Louvain; and "*The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1923*", by G. W. T. Omond of London. It is probable that the experiment will be repeated at the next congress and that sessions on American history will become an established feature of the programmes. The most useful indication to be drawn from the results at Brussels is that Europeans are much interested in those contemporary phases of American history which connect it closely with the history of Europe.

A word should also be said respecting the contribution of American scholars to the programme of the congress as a whole. It was the first time that that contribution has assumed any considerable proportions or that any attempt has been made to organize it. Without undue complacency it may be remarked that the American papers compared well with those of other scholars and certainly did not fall below the rather high average of the congress, and it is gratifying to note that they were well distributed among the different fields of history. In addition to the four communications of Professors van Dyke, Rostovtzeff, and Fish, and of Dr. Learned, which have already been noted, the remaining nine papers read were as follows: in the section on Oriental history, "*La Russie Méridionale et la Chine, Contribution à l'Histoire de l'Art de l'Époque des Migrations*", by Professor Michael Rostovtzeff; in the section on medieval history, "*Scandinavian Influence upon the Baltic Provinces*", by Waldemar Westergaard; in the section on modern history, two papers dealing with English parliamentary history of the sixteenth century—"The Committee of the Whole House", by Wallace Notestein, and "*The Later Parliamentary Career of Sir Edward Coke*", by Miss Frances H. Relf; in the section on contemporary history, "*The Diplomacy of Disraeli, 1876-1878*", by Laurence B. Packard; in the section on colonial history, "*Gladstone's Views on English Colonial Policy*", by Paul Knaplund, and (wrongly assigned to this section) "*The Cyprus Convention and Anglo-French Relations, 1878-1881*", by Frank M. Anderson; and finally, in the section on the documentation of war history, "*The Making of a War History*", by James T. Shotwell, and "*Les Archives de la Guerre aux États-Unis*", by Waldo G. Leland.

It was characteristic of this congress, and in this it is to be distinguished from its predecessors, at least from the two which the writer has attended, that it was animated by a pronounced sentiment that a new epoch of international co-operation among historians should be inaugurated. This sentiment found expression in various

projects of co-operative activity which were discussed in the different sections and laid before the congress at its final session, in the numerous resolutions or *voeux* which formulated desires and opinions respecting various aspects of historical work or which were designed to shape the architecture of the next congress, and especially in the action of the congress providing for the organization of a permanent international committee of historical sciences.

When the congress assembled for its final session, under the presidency of Professor Shotwell, on Sunday morning, April 15, there were presented to it the resolutions or *voeux* of the different sections. It was evident that much useful work, clarified by fruitful discussion, had been accomplished in the various subdivisions of the general body. The section of Oriental history reported its approval of the proposal put forth by M. L. Speleers of the Cinquantenaire Museums of Brussels for the publication of a *Corpus Gemmarum Asiae Anterioris Antiquarum*; the section on Byzantine studies proposed the creation of an international review of Byzantine studies, to be edited in Brussels, and named as a provisional committee to study the means of executing the plan, MM. A. Andreades of Athens, J. Bidez of Ghent, P. Collinet of Paris, Ch. Diehl of Paris, Estatlopoulos, P. de Francisci of Padua, A. Grabar of Strasbourg, P. Graindor of Ghent, H. Grégoire of Brussels, N. Jorga of Bucarest, H. Pernot of Paris, and M. Rostovtzeff of Madison, the Rev. Fathers Delehaye and Peeters of the Society of the Bollandists, and Sir William Ramsay of Edinburgh. The section on economic history, adopting the proposal laid before it by Professor Febvre of Strasbourg, recommended the founding of an international review of economic history and named as a committee of organization Sir William Ashley of Birmingham, H. Pirenne of Ghent, N. W. Posthumus of Amsterdam, and L. Febvre of Strasbourg. The sections of legal history expressed the opinion that in legal instruction an important place should be given to the study of the sources and history of institutions and of law, while the section on historical method recommended that in the next congress there should be created a section on the history of eastern Europe. From this latter section came also the recommendation that the next congress should give a more important place to the consideration of questions of historical method, theory, and synthesis, and that the permanent international committee, if one should be organized, should devote particular attention to such questions and should do all in its power to facilitate their study by the historians of the different countries. A third *voeu* from this same section was to the effect that it was desirable for the Committee on Intellectual Co-

operation of the League of Nations, in the course of its proposed study of a new manual of general history, to bear in mind the increasing importance of historical synthesis and theory and the necessity of applying their methods to the exact and objective examination of isolated and individual facts. From the section devoted to the history of medieval and modern thought came the expression of the hope that, inasmuch as works which are not presented in one or another of the great world languages are apt to be but little known in the learned world, the editors of the principal scientific journals might endeavor to secure reviews of such works and articles from their foreign collaborators. This same section also resolved that it was desirable to prepare a catalogue of the opening words (*Incipit*) of the Latin manuscripts of the Middle Ages, a work which might be confided to the University of Louvain. The section on the documentation of war history offered various recommendations—that there should be edited a critical bibliography of war publications, that there should be instituted a practical co-operation as to exchange of documents and bibliographical information between the various libraries and centres for the study of war history, and that if possible some agreement should be entered upon by the different governments respecting a uniform method of classifying the war archives of the various provinces, departments, towns, etc. The section also expressed the hope that the Belgian Commission on War Archives might be able to develop its activities still more largely for the greater benefit of international works on the history of the war. Finally the section on archives gave voice to the opinion that contemporary archives should be centralized within the various administrations under the direction of professional archivists, without however affecting the practice as to periodical deposits in national or provincial archive depots, and recommended that when transfers of archives take place between states as a result of modifications of frontiers consideration should be given not only to administrative necessities but to the intellectual, religious, and artistic interests of the country concerned.

Three other proposals came directly before the congress without passing through one or another of the sections. One of these, which had been referred to the congress by the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations, was a project by M. Horvath of Budapest for a bibliography of general history; the second was the proposal by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson for the international publication of an annual bibliography of current historical works, a continuation in somewhat modified form of the now abandoned *Jahres-*

berichte der Geschichtswissenschaft; the third was an elaborate project drawn up by Dr. O. de Halecki, secretary of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, for the organization of an International Union of Historical Sciences, based upon a study of similar bodies in the domain of the exact and natural sciences.

In order that all these proposals, recommendations, and *vœux* might not fall to the ground with the adjournment of the congress, and in order also that the troublesome question of the next meeting-place (the invitations before the congress being from Christiania, Warsaw, and Athens) might receive further consideration and be decided at a time when it would be more possible than at present to foresee the local economic and political conditions of 1928, the international bureau of the congress laid before the final assembly the following proposal:

Whereas there have been presented to the Fifth International Congress of Historical Sciences several projects for the creation of a permanent international organization of historical sciences and for the carrying out of international co-operative historical enterprises;

The congress decides that there shall be formed an International Committee of Historical Sciences.

The International Bureau⁷ of the Fifth Congress shall remain provisionally in office in order to organize this committee, in consultation with the historical societies of the different countries, and with the object of making the committee as representative as possible of all countries.

The International Bureau of the Fifth Congress, and succeeding it the committee as soon as it shall be organized, are charged with determining, before April 15, 1926, the place of meeting of the next congress.

The International Bureau of the Fifth Congress, and succeeding it the committee as soon as it shall be organized, are instructed to study the proposals which may be referred to it by the Fifth International Congress, or which it may consent to study upon reference from competent bodies.

Each country represented in the Bureau or in the committee shall have but one vote.

The adoption of this proposal, by a unanimous vote, marked a fitting climax to the work of the congress. It only remained, before adjourning, to refer to the new body the recommendations and proposals which have already been described, and to pass the customary resolutions, including one of sympathy to Lady Carnarvon, the death of whose distinguished husband while conducting one of the most

⁷ *I.e.*, the executive committee of the organizing committee, MM. Pirenne, Bidez, Delehay, Des Marez, Ganshof, and Terlinden, together with the representatives of the different countries named as presidents of the congress at the first session: United States, J. T. Shotwell; Great Britain, T. F. Tout; France, T. Homolle; Italy, G. de Sanctis; Russia, Sir Paul Vinogradoff; Switzerland, F. de Crue; Poland, B. Dembinski. This membership however is representative, not personal, and is subject to modification by the countries represented.

important archaeological explorations of recent times is a grievous loss to the historical world.

After a brief address by Professor Jorga, the congress adjourned, and the members separated feeling that the foundations had been laid for many fruitful activities and conscious of having, loyally and in the spirit of the best traditions of their science, taken the first step toward a larger union.

WALDO G. LELAND.

RUSSIA AND THE SPANISH COLONIES, 1817-1818

THE problem of the pacification of Spanish America, as it presented itself to European statesmen in the period following the Congress of Vienna, has already engaged the attention of the scientific historian. The policy of Castlereagh has been carefully analyzed in the interesting articles of Mr. C. K. Webster in the *English Historical Review*.¹ The policy of the French ministers has been revealed in its broad lines by the fruitful studies of Mr. C. A. Villanueva.²

But the policy of Russia, (and it was Russia which sympathized most thoroughly with the pretensions of Spain), has never been studied with the care it deserves. The whole question as to whether there ever existed a serious danger of armed intervention in Spanish America is a question which particularly turns upon the views of the Tsar Alexander and his advisers, and it is a question which deserves an answer, not only for the later period, 1822-1824, but also for the earlier period when the colonial problem was under discussion, that is, 1817-1818. Moreover, the study of this phase of Russian diplomacy is interesting from the standpoint of the general history of the period, and doubly interesting now that a new period of post-war reconstruction suggests comparisons with that of one hundred years ago.

In 1815, as in 1919, the coming of a so-called general peace left a considerable part of the world excluded from its benefits, in the first instance South America, and in the second instance Russia. And in the one case, as in the other, the countries which lay outside the pale were countries whose governments professed principles of action repugnant to the conservative diplomats of Europe, and to the common opinion of the time.

Moreover, after 1815, as after 1919, the harmony of the great states of Europe, which had been created and maintained by the crisis of world struggle, was subjected to a severe strain. Along with lofty visions and the attempted establishment of a better world order went the assertion of the selfish tendencies of the old diplomacy. In the reconstruction of a century ago, the Spanish colonial question, and

¹ C. K. Webster, "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies", in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII, 78-95 and XXX, 631-645.

² C. A. Villanueva, *Bolívar y el General San Martín* (Paris, 1912). For a later period than that covered by this article there are three other volumes by the same author, under the titles, *Fernando VII. y los Nuevos Estados*, *La Santa Alianza*, and *El Imperio de los Andes*.

particularly Russian policy with regard to it, well illustrates the tendencies and the difficulties of the time.

The American question first became the subject of international discussion as a result of events which occurred in the New World in the early summer of 1816. The Portuguese government, from its seat of authority in Brazil, invaded the Banda Oriental, still claimed as a part of her colonial possessions by Spain. At first the Spaniards seemed to incline toward war, but it was finally decided to request the mediation of the great powers, and, after long diplomatic exchanges, it was decided that the dispute should be composed by the conference of the Allied ambassadors at Paris.

The colonial problem was thus brought to the attention of the powers, but in a restricted form. Before Portugal's acceptance of the mediation had even been received, however, the scope of the discussions was broadened, and the general question of the pacification of Spanish America made an object of negotiation. This was due, in a very large measure, to the energetic interest of the Russian ambassador at Paris, General Pozzo di Borgo.

Down to the middle of 1817, the Tsar Alexander himself does not seem to have concerned himself directly with the restoration of peace and Spanish dominion in the New World. In the dispute over the Banda he had warmly espoused the cause of Spain, and had even talked of putting the collective power of Europe behind Ferdinand.³ But on the larger aspects of colonial affairs he had remained silent. When the Spanish government had requested permission to construct some vessels of war in Russian shipyards, the Tsar had obligingly offered the sale of a part of the Russian fleet.⁴ This caused a great

³ *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1904), CXII. 732. Published separately also as A. A. Polovtsov, *Correspondance Diplomatique des Ambassadeurs et Ministres de Russie en France et de France en Russie*, II.

⁴ This interesting diplomatic transaction was veiled in the deepest secrecy. Neither the Spanish nor the Russian archives have yielded much information on the matter. It appears that Ferdinand applied to the Tsar for permission to construct ships of war in Russian shipyards. The Tsar obligingly countered this request with the offer of the sale of some of his own vessels. The agreement to this effect was finally negotiated at Madrid, between Tatishchev, Russian ambassador at Madrid, and Eguia, the minister of war. It was apparently known only to these two, and to the king himself. The text of the treaty of sale has not been found in the Spanish archives. The *London Morning Chronicle* published what purported to be the full text in its edition of Dec. 2, 1823. (Reproduced in Martens, *Nouveau Recueil de Traités* (Göttingen, 1817-1842), 1808-1822, V. 41.) The authenticity of this document is doubtful. The number of vessels therein mentioned does not correspond with the number actually sent. Payment is to be effected by means of the sums paid to Spain by Great Britain for the abolition

stir at the time, but it seems reasonable to interpret Alexander's helpfulness, as did the American minister at St. Petersburg at the time, as evidence that the Russian autocrat had no intention of interfering directly in the colonial dispute, rather than as a proof of active interest in intervention.⁵ That the Tsar's sympathies were with Spain need hardly be doubted, but the first move to identify Russia with the solution of the American question came, not from him, but from Pozzo, acting, as will become clear, on his own initiative.

The revolutions in the New World seem to have had a singular attraction for that minister. The scope of the subject fascinated him,⁶ he wrote to Nesselrode; the events taking place in the colonies were of the first importance.⁷ So believing, Pozzo set out to educate his court in a long despatch of June 14, 1817, which can only be interpreted as a preparation for his future intrigues. This despatch, as one of the earliest important commentaries on the colonial question by a Continental European statesman, has a very considerable historical interest. The Russian minister begins by expatiating upon the unhappy and disordered condition of South America. The "friends of innovation" are accustomed to compare what is going on there with the earlier struggle of the United States for freedom. But there is, in reality, no ground whatsoever for such a comparison. The North American colonists were exclusively European, and had not been fused with the aboriginal populations. They had the civil and administrative institutions of Great Britain; they had political institutions of their own; their revolt merely substituted one political sovereignty for another, and resulted in no genuine political overturn. Such cannot possibly be the case in South America. The races there are as varied as the plants of its soil; and political philosophies as opposed to one another as the colors of those who profess them. The leaders who excite and direct the colonists have the power to arm them; but, in the last five years, there is practically no example of success in establishing a civil government. As things are going, the Spanish supremacy may indeed be destroyed, but there will be substituted therefor a number of petty tyrants bent only on destroying one another, who will reduce that immense continent to the level of the slave trade. The slave-trade treaty, though it was in contemplation, had not yet been signed at the date which the *Morning Chronicle* assigns for the cession of the ships, Aug. 11, 1817. Baumgarten believes this date to be almost certainly too late. H. Baumgarten, *Geschichte Spaniens vom Ausbruch der Französischen Revolution bis auf unsere Tage* (Leipzig, 1865), II, 196.

⁵ U. S. State Department, Despatches, Russia, Oct. 11, 1817.

⁶ *Sbornik*, CXIX, 239.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

of the tribes of Africa. Trade and the exploitation of the mines will languish. Europe will lose all the advantages which she used to gain from contact with this part of the world.

What is to be done to prevent these calamities? Pozzo's answer to this question is a distinctly moderate one. As its basis, he frankly admits, there must be a reasonable policy on the part of Spain.

To assume to subjugate and govern America by force of arms, without having recourse to any moral or political expedient, is like attempting to impose silence on the tempests and hurricanes of those regions. Instead of obstinately persisting in fruitless military ventures, Spain ought to present to Europe a plan of pacification with the colonies, whose basis should be a better local administration, provincial privileges, and a considerable freedom of commerce. [Granted the formulation of such a programme,] the allies might constitute themselves as mediators . . . combining persuasion with whatever force might be available, and advice with the means of making it effective.⁸

The Russian minister, as the phrases just quoted indicate, *did* envisage the possibility of aid to Spain, provided that she pursued a conciliatory course. But he treated this phase of the question very gingerly, to say the least. "My intention would not be", he writes to Nesselrode, "lightly either to promise or to grant any armed assistance, but only not explicitly to base the mediation on a contrary policy, since such a declaration would certainly deprive our efforts, in the eyes of the American insurgents, and of the rest of the world, of that imposing uncertainty which reveals force in the background behind the just counsels of monarchs."⁹ The extraordinary thing about this statement is certainly its moderation. Pozzo assuredly wished to see Russia have a hand in the colonial question; he wished to see the problem settled, through the moral authority of the Allies, if possible, perhaps through more vigorous measures, if necessary. But he certainly proposed nothing like a programme of blind reconquest, or even of intervention on the grand scale, to impose a settlement.

"I submit these observations," concluded the despatch from which we have been quoting, "though they have regard to a matter which may not appear to claim directly the attention of our court; for the question has too great an importance, and the world knows too well the fame of our august master, for any great event to be alien to him."¹⁰

The attention of Pozzo's august master, however, does not seem to have been very seriously challenged by the observations of the

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 228-231.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

minister. The attitude at St. Petersburg was distinctly one of reserve. It was as yet, wrote Nesselrode, difficult and premature to form just and definite conceptions of the colonial question. The Tsar would be obliged to postpone his judgment until further discussion had clarified matters. Conferences might well be useful on the American problem, as on other matters. But it was too early to formulate a policy.¹¹

This reply to the despatch of June 14 is dated August 24. In the meantime Pozzo had not been idle, but, on the contrary, had precipitated a further discussion of the colonial situation in the conference of ambassadors at Paris.

On July 2, 1817, the Duke of Fernan-Núñez, Spanish ambassador at Paris, submitted a new note on the controversy with Portugal, which seemed to intimate that Spain would not be averse to the mediation of the powers in the larger question of the pacification of all her revolted possessions.¹² Taking advantage of this opening the Russian minister proposed to the conference that Spain be invited to declare herself. He pressed the point vigorously, and had the support of the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors, and, the next day, of the Duc de Richelieu, who had missed the first discussion. The British minister, however, manifested opposition to such a course. Pozzo, nevertheless, pursued the subject still further, and, when the Duke of Wellington came to Paris, had a long interview with him. The result was a note of July 20, by which Spain was notified that the question of a general mediation had been referred to the individual courts for their consideration. The Russian minister had failed to secure immediate action, but he had at least precipitated a general discussion.

Would Castlereagh accept the idea of a general mediation? This was the next question that concerned the Russian minister. On the whole, he was optimistic, as he wrote to Nesselrode, believing that the "timidity" of the British Cabinet would prevent it from dissociating itself from its allies.¹³ And, as it turned out, he proved in a measure to be right. Lord Castlereagh, schooled in the co-operative diplomacy

¹¹ *Sbornik*, CXIX. 335.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 275. It is highly probable that Tatishchev was behind the Spanish note. This is the assertion of Debidour. A. Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe, depuis l'Ouverture du Congrès de Vienne jusqu'à la Fermeture du Congrès de Berlin* (Paris, 1891), I. 108. But no reference for this statement is given. The French ambassador at Berlin, writing a little later, declares that Tatishchev used all his influence with the king to persuade him to ask the help of the Allies. (Paris, Aff. Étr., Corr. Pol., Espagne, vol. 615, f. 64.) Pozzo, too, may have had a hand in it. His despatch of June 14 raises the suspicion that he knew what was coming.

¹³ *Sbornik*, CXIX. 303.

of the Napoleonic period, was loath to abandon it, even in a question where the paramount interest of Great Britain was clear. He may have thought, too, as he did with regard to the Portuguese mediation,¹⁴ that collective action would be more successful in wringing concessions from Spain. At any rate, he was ready to attempt the experiment of a general mediation.

But such a mediation, he had determined, must be on British terms. As regards reform in the colonies, these terms did not differ much from Pozzo's. The difference lay in the determination of the British foreign secretary that every element of force should be distinctly excluded. This fundamental principle, together with other considerations, he laid down in the notable memoir of August 28, 1817. He also suggested that the forum of the discussions be transferred to London.¹⁵

The active Pozzo was hardly pleased by this declaration of policy. He was naturally piqued at the thought of losing touch with the problem which he had done so much to bring to the front. He was annoyed at the British veto on any measure of coercion. This, he declared, was "a premature avowal, calculated to render all the rest futile, and to compromise the dignity of the greatest sovereigns of the earth by, so to speak, reducing the means by which they may act to a mere homily or dissertation".¹⁶

The discontent of Pozzo, however, was mild compared with that of Madrid. The Spaniards had never given up the notion of reconquering the colonies. They had never thought of mediation except as a means of securing active support for their own programme. Their views were set forth with the greatest definiteness in a reply to Castlereagh's memoir, dated October 20, 1817. This reply was communicated only to the Continental courts, and contained the most offensive references to Great Britain. It did, it is true, accept in part the British proposals, promising freedom of commerce and an amnesty in the New World. But its fundamental principle was that Spain could make no concessions unless the Allies would guarantee to enforce the terms of settlement which should be agreed upon by the whole of Europe. The revolutionary struggle in America, declared the Spanish note, rested on the same basis as that which had taken place in France; the powers had the same interest in repressing the one incendiary movement as the other, and in saving the New

¹⁴ *Supplementary Despatches and Memoranda of Arthur, Duke of Wellington* (London, 1858-1872), XII. 51.

¹⁵ Webster, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 86-87.

¹⁶ *Sbornik*, CXIX. 393.

World from an anarchy which would surely have unfortunate consequences for Europe. The King of Spain had a right to complain that his rights had been so long neglected by those who called themselves his allies.¹⁷

It was in an attempt to reconcile the violently conflicting views of Britain and Spain that the Russian autocrat at St. Petersburg launched, in his turn, a memorandum on the colonial question. Alexander's attitude, as has been seen, had at first been one of reserve. Now that he did come forward, it was with the hope of reconciling divergent views, though there can be little question that his sympathies lay with the Spaniards.

The most striking thing about the attitude of the Tsar in the colonial question is its moderation. Here as elsewhere, Alexander manifests an earnest desire to practise that concert of action which he preached, not to dictate a policy of his own. In all this, indeed, appears an idealism with which he has been too little credited. In the Spanish and Spanish American questions the Tsar has frequently been portrayed as seeking only his selfish interests. His friendship for Ferdinand has been attributed to his desire to create a new *pacte de famille*, and build up a maritime power against Great Britain.¹⁸ The Europe of his time was full of sinister rumors as to his aims, of which the story of the cession of Minorca to Russia is the chief. His colonial policy, it was said, was intended to enhance Russian influence at Madrid and bring Spain within the orbit of his power.¹⁹ Such has often been the interpretation of his policy. And a distinguished student of diplomatic history goes even further and declares that the Tsar wished to distract the attention of Europe toward America in order to have a free hand in the Near East.²⁰

Now some of these things may have been true of Alexander's ministers. The jealousy of Tatishchev and Pozzo as regards Great Britain needs no proof. Their intrigues may have been directed toward at least some of the ends just mentioned. Even the Minorca rumor may have had a substratum of fact and be based upon an actual agreement negotiated by Tatishchev, but never approved at St. Petersburg.²¹ But whatever may be said of Alexander's ministers, the same jealousy and cynicism can hardly be imputed to Alexander himself. In 1817, for example, the Tsar definitely refused an offer

¹⁷ Baumgarten, II. 217.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁹ Debidour, I. 106.

²⁰ E. Bourgeois, *Manuel Historique de Politique Étrangère* (Paris, 1909-1911), II. 608.

²¹ Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XI. 661.

of secret alliance with Spain,²² as well as of some similar understanding with France.²³ "Our whole object", wrote Capodistrias to Pozzo, "is to bring Spain within the circle of the great alliance, and that in conjunction with the efforts of Great Britain."²⁴ There must be no setting-off of one power against another. "This manner of judging men and affairs hinders the progress of the general system, and does not correspond with the purity of our principles. Sensed by other cabinets, it nurtures jealousies and suspicions; and by adopting it, we should be drawn away from our accepted course."²⁵ These phrases were by way of rebuke to the Russian minister at Paris. In a circular addressed to all his diplomatic representatives the same ideals find place. There must be candor and frankness, no underhanded dealings, no special ends to serve. "We must prove that our secret consists in having none."²⁶

The man who penned these words had the pleasurable sensation of believing them. Like all autocrats, he was necessarily limited in the measure in which he could carry out his policies, and his agents and instruments were not likely always to follow his exalted doctrines. But it is difficult for any close student of the period not to believe in the genuineness of Alexander's idealism.

In the colonial question, the Tsar aimed at a genuine agreement of the powers. He was "not disposed to anticipate the decisions of his august allies".²⁷ "Far from pretending that the mediating powers should adopt his opinion," wrote Capodistrias to Pozzo, "he is disposed to adopt the view of the majority, recognized to be agreeable to the interested parties and founded in right and justice."²⁸ The memorandum of November 29 was an attempt to reconcile conflicting views.²⁹

On the one hand Alexander sought to meet the British attitude. He conceded the necessity of a reasonable policy on the part of Spain, and proposed the grant of a "constitutional charter" for the colonies. He dwelt unctuously on the good-will of the Spaniards and on the

²² *Sbornik*, CXIX. 243.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 774.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 239-248. "Aperçu des relations politiques de la Russie, pour servir d'instruction aux missions de Sa Majesté Impériale à l'étranger."

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 658.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 474-482. "De la négociation relative à la question du Rio de la Plata, et, en général, de la pacification des colonies." ("Mémoire à communiquer aux puissances intéressées, ainsi qu'aux cabinets des puissances médiatrices.") Also in Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XII, 125-131.

identity of Spanish and British views, according to the accustomed practice of the diplomats, who so frequently try to exorcise the spirit of discord by asserting that it does not exist. He did not advocate the use of force; indeed in a sense he disclaimed it.

But, on the other hand, he sought to meet the views of Ferdinand. Some kind of pressure on the insurgents he certainly hoped for. He seems to have imagined that Portugal and Spain might be brought to combine against the revolutionaries of the New World. Declaring that the dispute over the Banda must first be settled as a preliminary to a general pacification, Alexander argued that such a settlement would naturally lead to a discussion of "the policy which the two courts propose to follow in concert toward the insurgent peoples". He brought forward, also, a remarkable suggestion for the coercion of the colonies, which has never received the attention it deserved. He proposed to apply an economic boycott against them.

This proposal was veiled in phrases characteristically Alexandrian and characteristically obscure. "The declaration of the Congress of Vienna on the abolition of the slave trade and the acts which relate thereto offer incontrovertible evidence of the legitimacy and efficacy of coercive measures which are not within the domain of military force." Even to the diplomats of his own time this reference was not clear. But the Tsar had in mind a protocol signed at Vienna, by which the great powers had pledged themselves to exclude from their dominions, at the end of a five-year period, the colonial produce of the states which had not abandoned the slave trade. The principle had, of course, not been applied, yet Alexander now brought it forward hopefully as a means of solving the colonial question.

The proposal is certainly an interesting one, in the light of our own time. Indeed, it is well worth noting that the Russian autocrat, in the years after 1815, sought to promote two principles of international action which were, a century or so later, incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations at Versailles. The notion of a territorial guaranty, such as that afforded by the much discussed Article X., was a favorite conception of the Tsar's, and was urged by him with much eagerness, not only at Aix in 1818, but also at Troppau and Laibach in 1820 and 1821. And the notion of economic pressure was suggested, not only in 1817, but again in 1818, in connection with the American problem.

Alexander thus proposed a middle course by which he hoped to satisfy both Spain and Great Britain. His sympathy with the former power was obvious, his recognition of the necessity of conciliating the latter hardly less so. The memoir of November 29 is no flaming manifesto, but a cautious suggestion of compromise.

Despite its moderation, however, it met with a very unfavorable reception. Castlereagh had been deeply irritated by the Spanish note of October 20; nor could it have pleased him that Spain used the money paid to her by England as the price of the eventual abolition of the slave trade to purchase ships of war from the Tsar. He was in no mood to discuss the colonial question further, and apparently made no direct reply to the communication of the Tsar.³⁰ At Vienna Gentz characterized Alexander's memorandum as a bad joke rather than a statement of policy, and declared that the Tsar wished to force the hands of the powers.³¹ Finally answering it in January, 1818, he declared the conquest of the colonies to be impossible, and the Russian suggestions too vague for comprehension.³² At Berlin the Prussian government had already ranged itself with England.³³ And finally at Paris, though there may have been some sympathy with the Tsar, there was apparently little eagerness to press matters along the lines indicated by St. Petersburg.

The months immediately following the Russian memoir were devoted chiefly to the question of the Banda. It had always been the desire of Alexander to settle this matter first, before proceeding to the pacification of the colonies. It was his hope, indeed, as has been mentioned, that the two courts of Spain and Portugal might be brought to combine against the insurgents. Pozzo, in the Allied conference at Paris, labored diligently for a settlement, and, despite numerous complaints on his part of British perfidy, he seems to have been seconded by the British plenipotentiary, the Duke of Wellington.³⁴ The plan was to have Portugal give up the Banda to a Spanish force sent out to receive it. Thus Spain would have a base in Montevideo for operations against the insurgents of La Plata. But, as the Russian minister remarked, in treating with Spain it was necessary to "resign oneself to becoming prolix".³⁵ The negotiations dragged on without result; Spanish obstinacy and Portuguese shiftiness proved too much to overcome.

And now a new phase of the discussions opened with the approach of the date fixed for the reunion of the sovereigns at Aix-la-Chapelle. The King of Spain manifested a desire to attend the forthcoming congress. On June 29 the Spanish foreign minister, Pizarro, launched

³⁰ Webster, in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXVII. 89.

³¹ A. Prokesch von Osten, *Dépêches inédites du Chevalier de Gentz aux Hospodars de Valachie* (Paris, 1876), I. 331.

³² *Lettres et Papiers du Chancelier Comte de Nesselrode* (Paris), V. 294-297.

³³ Castlereagh, *Correspondence, Despatches, and other Papers*, IX. 385-386.

³⁴ Baumgarten, II. 219.

³⁵ *Sbornik*, CXIX. 569.

a new note on the colonial question, which was intended to be conciliatory, and to regain the good graces of the British Cabinet.³⁶ This note was followed by another addressed to the Tsar, asking him to use his good offices to see that Ferdinand might be invited to Aix.³⁷

The Tsar acceded to this request, at least so far as to urge the admission of a Spanish negotiator to the conference, and in this action he had the support of the Duc de Richelieu. On the question of the Banda, France and Russia had acted in close accord; on the colonial question they were now to do the same. The French premier believed that it would be highly desirable to bring the Spanish sovereign to Aix, in order to educate him to more reasonable views on the colonial question. He told Pozzo that he would seek to enlist Austrian influence behind the project. And he urged it upon the Duke of Wellington.

But the British veto to such a plan was sharp and emphatic. The English government would have nothing to do with it. The duke responded flatly to Richelieu, that if Ferdinand were invited to the congress, a Spanish representative must also appear, and this would lead to the great inconvenience that all the smaller sovereigns of Europe would feel that they must be invited also.³⁸ To Pozzo he spoke even more positively, declaring that Spain was hopeless and that Britain had every reason to complain of her conduct.³⁹

On the question of inviting the Spanish king, or a Spanish representative, to Aix, the British view prevailed. But Castlereagh, though insistent on this point, was not equally insistent that the colonial question itself should not be discussed at the congress,⁴⁰ and the Tsar Alexander was, of course, anxious to bring the matter forward.⁴¹ In this view he was warmly supported by the French. The French government had long had an interest in the colonial question, an interest based upon the possibilities of an expanding commerce with the colonies, and upon the hope of establishing Bourbon monarchies in the New World. It had, indeed, before the congress met, already sounded the court of Madrid, and entered into relations with a colonial agent, with a view to the sending of a Spanish prince to La Plata.⁴² It hoped to secure collective support for some such scheme at Aix. The first step toward such an end would be the collective mediation of the great powers.

³⁶ Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XII. 582-584.

³⁷ *Sbornik*, CXIX. 770.

³⁸ Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, XII. 665.

³⁹ *Sbornik*, CXIX. 810.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 663.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 664.

⁴² Villanueva, *Bolívar y el General San Martín*, pp. 72-78.

France and Russia were thus agreed on pushing the consideration of the American problem at the congress. But the French notions of a settlement do not seem to have appealed to the Tsar; he wished Spain to determine her own policy;⁴³ and he may have known, what was certainly true, that the Bourbon monarchy project was anathema to Ferdinand. When it came, therefore, to the formulation of a programme of common action in the congress, the two powers pressed no specific programme, but confined themselves to laying the bases on which a successful mediation might proceed.

The first discussions took place toward the end of October. It was the French who took the initiative, Alexander apparently being willing that they should bear the brunt of the discussion, and the responsibility for precipitating it. From the beginning differences of opinion manifested themselves. All were agreed on the necessity of a moderate policy, and on the exclusion of force from the mediation. But Lord Castlereagh wished to make it clear to both sides that there was no question of coercion; while the French and the Russians wished only to declare this fact to Spain, in order to give that power an advantage in the negotiations. Moreover, the Continental friends of Spain desired a concerted effort at mediation; the British minister, on the other hand, declared that such a method would lead to the greatest confusion and suggested that the business be transacted through some directing power or "common plenipotentiary", well knowing that the directing power could only be Great Britain, and the common plenipotentiary the Duke of Wellington.⁴⁴

These differences of view necessitated an adjournment without any agreement having been reached; but some three weeks later the French and the Russians returned to the charge. They submitted a joint memorandum to the conference urging the necessity of the mediation,⁴⁵ and while not adopting Castlereagh's proposal of a common plenipotentiary proposed to charge the Duke of Wellington with the leading rôle in negotiations at Madrid. This memorandum has usually been attributed to the Tsar; as a matter of fact it is, in many respects, an exact copy of a paper submitted to the French Foreign Office by Serrurier, who had been minister at Washington in the time of Napoleon.⁴⁶ It draws an eloquent picture of the danger which confronts Europe.

A whole republican world, young, full of ardor, rich in the products of every clime, with a soil of incomparable fecundity, may constitute it-

⁴³ *Sbornik*, CXIX. 665.

⁴⁴ London, Public Record Office, F. O. (Cont.) 92: 36, no. 22.

⁴⁵ Wellington, *op. cit.*, XII. 805-809.

⁴⁶ Villanueva, *Bolívar y el General San Martín*, p. 73.

self in the presence of old Europe, monarchical, over-populated, shaken by thirty years of revolutionary agitation, and scarcely re-established on its ancient basis, and will present to the eyes of statesmen a spectacle worthy of their most serious reflections, and a very real danger. Whatever remains of the spirit of unrest, of faction, and of disturbances in Europe, may find support in America. The consequences may be incalculable.

These dangers were particularly urgent, the memorandum declared, since there existed in the United States a strong agitation for the recognition of the republican government of La Plata, an act which would contribute more than anything else "to render the evil irremediable". It would be highly desirable for the powers to make representations at Washington against recognition, to inform the American government that mediation was intended, and to invite the United States to take part. In the meantime the Duke of Wellington might be sent to Madrid, there in concert with the ambassadors of the powers and the Spanish court to lay the basis of the projected negotiation.

The extraordinary thing about these proposals is the evidence they afford of the conciliatory policy of the Tsar. The suggestion that the Duke of Wellington be entrusted with the conduct of the mediation indicates in the most striking form his willingness to give full weight to the views of Great Britain. And the idea of associating the United States with the negotiations can only be regarded as proof of Alexander's moderation.

This latter notion, it is true, has sometimes been considered in another light. Just as Russian relations with Spain have been given a sinister interpretation by the historians, so Russian relations with this country have sometimes been interpreted in the same light. In both cases it has been assumed that the object was to find a counterweight against Great Britain. The Tsar's repeated efforts to bring the United States within the circle of the Holy Alliance, his willingness to see it play a part in the colonial question, have been treated as a part of this process.⁴⁷

But the proposition put forward at Aix can hardly rest on such grounds. The sympathies of the United States with the colonial cause were obvious. The interest of the American government in the independence of the colonies was recognized in the instructions drawn up for Pol tica by Capodistrias in April, 1818.⁴⁸ The admission of the young republic of the West into negotiations deeply involving legitimist principle can hardly be otherwise explained than as

⁴⁷ See W. P. Cresson, *The Holy Alliance* (New York, 1922).

⁴⁸ *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XVIII. 311.

evidence of liberalism. At Aix, it is to be remembered, as throughout the earlier period of the discussions on South America, the Tsar advocated, not the restoration of absolute rule, but the establishment of a more liberal system in the colonies. From such a standpoint the support of the United States might be useful as a means of pressure on Spain. But it could certainly be of little value as against Great Britain.

There was, of course, a more immediate motive, however, in the Aix proposal. The administration at Washington was being pushed by the agitation in Congress toward recognition of La Plata. It was near yielding in early 1819. No doubt the Tsar sought to tie its hands by associating it with Europe in the projected mediation. But to go beyond this and assume the intention of creating a new diplomatic combination seems hardly warranted by the facts. Even Pozzo, whose anti-British tendencies were notorious, never once suggested such a manoeuvre.

The purity of Alexander's intentions, however, needed some demonstration at the time. It is easy to see how the sinister interpretation might have been put on Russian policy. Tatishchev at Madrid had aroused all sorts of suspicions. His personal intimacy with the king, the intrigue which resulted in the sale of the Russian frigates to Spain, the Minorca rumor, and the vague reports of his encouragement to Ferdinand in the policy of reconquest of the colonies, had contributed to discredit the sincerity of Russia. Pozzo, at Paris, hardly inspired an unreserved confidence. It was easy to believe that Spain, at the instigation of Russian trouble-makers, was seeking to force the hands of the powers in the colonial question. It was easy to see in Alexander's proposal of an economic boycott against the revolutionists the opening wedge of a policy of coercion.

Such considerations had undoubtedly contributed to a certain tension in the relations of Russia and Great Britain. The discussions at Aix did not at first dispel them. For, though the tone of the debates was conciliatory and the Franco-Russian memorandum a marked concession to British views, the proposal of economic pressure against the South Americans was revived, with all its implications, from the British standpoint, of moral support for Spain. Lord Castlereagh was deeply disturbed, and finally decided to seek a direct understanding with the Tsar.

Accordingly, he sought the emperor just as he was preparing to leave Aix, and set forth his opinions with candor and fullness.

I took the first occasion to state [writes the British foreign secretary to Lord Liverpool] that I had very much wished for an opportunity to

submit to H. I. M. the simple point on which our Differences with the other Plenipotentiaries turned:—That we held that we were not entitled to arbitrate or to judge between H. C. M'y and his subjects, and as a Consequence, not competent to enforce any such Judgment directly or indirectly;—that we could only mediate or facilitate, and not compel or menace;—That the objection on our part was an objection of moral principle, not to be got over, and that, as the Prince Regent could not charge Himself with the Protection of these People—H. R. Highness could not justify to His own Feelings, even had He the means, the imposing upon Them what might be destructive to their Safety.

After this clear and definite statement, Castlereagh proceeded to pick to pieces the idea of an economic boycott.

I stated to the Emperor [he writes] that it was a species of Hostility, which we were not in the habit of using against our bitterest enemy;—that in the latter years of the War we had a large direct Trade with the Ports of France, and suffered the French Armies to be clothed by our Manufacturers. If we had tolerated Commerce with France in War, how deny it to our Subjects in Peace with South America, after they had been accustomed to this commerce for 10 years with the acquiescence of Spain?—That, were the British Government capable of making such a Proposition to Parliament, could Parliament be induced to pass such a Law, and to arm it with the severest penalties, H. I. M'y knew, from His own experience that a Contraband Commerce would set all such Laws at defiance, and that, supposing by a Miracle, the Contraband Trade could be prevented, the only result would be that the same amount of trade would pass circuitously by the United States to the provinces in Revolt. The People of South America would receive the same supply with a very trifling increase of charge, if any. The British Merchant would send out the same quantity of goods, and would make nearly the same profit, and Spain would gain no real advantage whatever, by this most unnatural and impracticable effort. Such a Delusion upon Spain, I was sure, would never meet H. I. M'y's Countenance, but that the insurmountable objection with us was the moral one first stated, and which I was convinced the Emperor would justly appreciate.⁴⁹

The effects of this explicit statement were almost immediate. Alexander replied to the British foreign secretary that he understood the British viewpoint and regretted not having had the advantage of an explanation before he gave his orders to his ministers. He apparently forthwith determined not to press the matter further, for when the discussions on the American question were resumed, the Russians gave the French no support whatever.

The whole notion of a mediation, as a matter of fact, collapsed. The Duke of Wellington showed no enthusiasm for the task with which it was proposed to entrust him. In a long memoir, no doubt expressing the views of the British foreign secretary no less than his own, he pointed out the difficulties of the enterprise, the lack of con-

⁴⁹ F. O. 92: 48. Nov. 24, 1818.

certed viewpoint as between the mediators, and the doubt as to whether Spain, which had lapsed into a sulky silence, would be willing to accept moderate terms.⁵⁰

This last objection was a particularly formidable one. For in September, 1818, the statesmen who in Spain passed for moderates, Pizarro and Garay, were driven from office, and a new ministry formed whose purpose in the colonial question was one of reconquest pure and simple. Behind this change, in part, was the influence of the intriguing Tatishchev, anxious to encourage the Spanish dream of re-subjugation. Even Alexander had complained of his representative's activity—to Castlereagh—and seen fit to rebuke him for his attitude. But the harm had been done; the Spaniards were no longer ready to talk of mediation on any terms; they thought only of the expedition which was preparing to sail for the colonies. It was hopeless to urge moderation; and though the Tsar exerted his influence in behalf of reason at Madrid, he exerted it in vain.

There was nothing to do but to leave Ferdinand and his counselors to their own devices. When in 1819 the French government sought to promote its favorite project of Bourbon monarchy in La Plata and to enlist the support of the Tsar in its favor, Alexander turned a deaf ear to the French proposals. He was on the worst of terms with the new French ministers; but in any case he was now convinced that the Spaniards must be left to try the policy of reconquest. No doubt he even hoped for its success.

The sympathies of the Russian autocrat, in every phase of the colonial question, it is sufficiently clear, were on the side of Spain. He would have preferred to see the South Americans brought again under the sovereignty of Ferdinand. But the inference sometimes drawn from this fact that he was willing to embark on an active policy of intervention would seem hardly a sound one. Even Castlereagh and Wellington long hoped for a solution of the American problem which would maintain the tie between the New World and the Old. Such a hope does not necessarily imply a desire for an armed reconquest of the colonies. Alexander was ready to go farther than the British, but he wished to move with them at every stage, and he never had the temerity to propose the use of force by the Allies. He hoped for a Spanish-Portuguese alliance against revolution; he suggested economic pressure to bring the colonies to terms. But even so, he recognized the necessity of a wise moderation, of having recourse "to a moral and political principle", as Pozzo put it, even in the event of coercion. There never was, either in 1818 or in

⁵⁰ Wellington, *Suppl. Desp.*, XII. 846-850.

1823, any intention to run directly counter to Great Britain, as an interventionist policy would have done.

The frequent allusions to the subjugation of South America by the Holy Alliance are based on no sound interpretation of events; the notion that any such course was intended is myth, rather than history. Matters never came to any such point; and whatever the secret dreams of Tatishchev or Pozzo, whatever the sympathies of the Tsar, there was always enough sobriety of judgment, enough understanding of and respect for the views of Great Britain, to make such extreme proposals impossible. The statesmen of 1817 could hardly view with indifference the spectacle of revolution in the New World; but they knew better than to attempt the impossible, or to sacrifice to dogma the interest of their own states and the harmony of Europe.

DEXTER PERKINS. •

THE UNEXPLORED REGION IN NEW ENGLAND HISTORY ¹

IN 1642 Massachusetts laid out her southern boundary line. The somewhat peculiar method adopted was to have two "skilful artists", as the records call them, locate a point three miles south of the Charles River, and then sail around to the Connecticut and locate a second point on that stream supposed to be in the same latitude. The arduous task was then completed by connecting these two points on a map with a pen and a ruler. During the past few years, in running the line of my historical survey through the New England of the eighteenth century, I have felt that even to-day the above method is one which we have to adopt, to much too great an extent, for nearly one-half of that period. On the one hand, monographs and printed sources are fairly abundant down to 1713. On the other, from 1763 onward there is not only an enormous mass of original material in print but we are guided by the valuable studies by Professors Schlesinger, Becker, Alvord, and others. The fifty intervening years, however, remind me of those leagues of unexplored forest between the Charles and the Connecticut which the "skilful artists" of Massachusetts refused to toil through.

It is easy to see why this should have been the case as American history was written a generation ago. It was then the first century—that of persecution, of settlement, of struggle with the wilderness—which lent itself most readily to the glorification of our Puritan forefathers and of their faith. It was the rapidly moving and dramatic, even if ill-understood, events from 1763 to the final break with England which lent themselves best to the glorification of democracy and to the twisting of the lion's tail. But the seemingly dull and drab half-century from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Paris did not for the most part lend itself to anything at all as history was then written and enjoyed.

But it is more difficult to understand why this period has still to a great extent been neglected by the newer historians of the past thirty years. We are, it is true, beginning to get those special studies which are essential to an understanding of any period. We have Professor Andrews's articles on "Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry", on the "Connecticut Intestacy Act", and others. We have Professor

¹ Paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association at New Haven, December 27, 1922.

Wood's first volume of the life of Governor Shirley. We are also soon to have, I am delighted to hear, the four volumes which the late Professor Osgood left unpublished at his death. There are, of course, others who are also working in this field, but as compared with either of the other fields, lying immediately before and after, particularly the latter, it is not unfair to characterize that from 1713 to 1763 as still comparatively unexplored. For example, it is hard to overestimate the intellectual, social, and political influences of such a movement as the Great Awakening. Yet we still have no volume on this subject as related to New England more recent than the unscientific one by Tracy written just eighty years ago.

It is natural in dealing with the century of the Revolution that that event should to a great extent dominate the historical writing concerning the period. It meets the eye, indeed, at every turn—like Fuji-yama in Japanese landscape art. As Professor Schlesinger says in his *Colonial Merchants*, more investigations have been made of the Revolutionary epoch in the past thirty years or so than in all the preceding ones. These investigations, however, have dealt almost wholly with the short period from 1763 to 1776. It is as though in looking at Japan's sacred mountain the eye should be so dazzled by the comparatively small snow-capped peak as to fail to note those sweeping outlines that lead down to the broad base. It is precisely that broad base, as it seems to me, which is as yet lacking in definiteness and fullness of content in almost all the accounts we have of the American Revolution.

The admirable work which has been done on the decade following the Peace of Paris has completely altered our view of the events of those years. We are beginning to understand the part played by the purely American struggle between radical and conservative. One of the most important points that has been brought out and one of the most fertile fields for investigation that has been indicated is this double nature of the movement as at once a civil war with England and a social upheaval in the colonies. It is the latter phase about which we yet know least and which calls for an intensive study of the preceding half-century.

Little by little as we have gained clearer comprehension of English colonial policy, of the effects of trade laws, and of the relations between mother country and colonies, the imperial causes of revolt have appeared to shrink more and more until, if we could believe some writers—who I think have reacted too far in their defense of English policy and statesmen—there would seem almost to have been no such causes at all. This much of truth, however, has definitely

emerged, that the grievances against England, particularly before the retaliatory acts passed in reply to colonial acts of violence, were not as great as they were formerly thought, nor were they great enough to have brought about the full sweep of the Revolutionary movement. If it has thus become unhistorical to consider that movement as the sudden rising of a hitherto contented people against a tyrannical monarch, nevertheless it is equally so to consider it as having been in the main the work merely of radical leaders. One can throw a lighted match upon the roadway and it will flicker and go out. It must fall upon combustible material to make a conflagration. If we would know why English statesmen and colonial demagogues found so much of such combustible material lying about in America between 1763 and 1776 we must turn to the preceding decades.

It is, of course, no new idea that the roots of the Revolution push deep into the past. It meets us in all modern writing on the subject. We all pay our tribute to the evolutionary rather than the cataclysmic theory of development. But there is as yet a striking difference between our knowledge and treatment of the Revolutionary movement during the decade from 1763 onward and during the decades before. Whereas in the later period we are no longer content with general causes and broad outlines but are studying in minute detail every shift in the game between conflicting interests of classes, of economic and political groups, we are still dependent in the earlier one to a very great extent upon mere generalizations. We note, truly perhaps but only in general terms, the influence of the frontier, of self-government, of comparative independence of the mother country, and so on, as explaining the overcharged intellectual and political atmosphere. For the later period we have adjusted our microscope so carefully and accurately as to reveal hitherto unsuspected detail and sharply to define the whole field of vision. We have not done so for the earlier one and consequently we see only in blurred outline the outstanding masses of form or color.

The generalized formulae that we use are by no means adequate. It may well have been, for example, that self-government had bred independence in attitude, but how does such a broadly stated fact explain that on nearly every successive question for two generations eastern Connecticut should have been radical and the western part of the same colony conservative? True as such general statements may be, do they not serve to throw into relief our lack of that sound, detailed knowledge of colonial life prior to 1763 on which alone it is safe to ground conclusions? Is it not evident that such statements when applied to a population in which parties were almost equally

divided must be submitted to a far more searching analysis? It has been our increasingly intimate knowledge of the final decade which has caused us to abandon the simple formulae which used to serve as explanation of the contest with England. We have analyzed the old generalized conception of the patriot party, and the local radical has emerged. But this "radical", it must be confessed, is as yet something of a generalized conception himself, something too much of a convenient lay-figure upon which we throw some of the former patriot's clothes. If we are to analyze the radical party as we have the patriot one, we must acquire as detailed knowledge of the earlier period, and of its many cross-currents and influences, as we have of the later.

Analogies in history are dangerous, and I pretend to no expert acquaintance with English history in the fourteenth century, but it would seem as though there might be a suggestive common element in the reaction of the American colonists to the Stamp Act and the reaction of the people of England to the Hearth Tax in 1381. Unpopular as that earlier tax was, the general and violent resistance to it throughout the English counties, if I am correct in accepting Professor Oman's interpretation, was in the main due to the fact that almost every locality already had its own peculiar local grievance. As he says, "things had been working up for trouble during many years—only a good cry, a common grievance which united all malcontents, was needed to bring matters to a head". Even if we do not go as far as some, we must admit that the proclaimed colonial grievances against England which loomed so large from time to time do not wholly explain the final plunge into war. We must also admit that no people, and least of all one mainly composed of a property-owning agricultural class, is stirred to revolution by radical agitators unless there is material in the form of long and deeply felt grievances for them to work upon. If, therefore, we have in part to explain the war with England by invoking the secondary struggle between radical and conservative in America—which, of course, is now an old story historically—do we not have to go further back to find the nature and sources of those grievances or conditions which through several decades had contributed to bring the radicals into existence?

When the final decade began, we have plenty of evidence that there was scarcely a section or class in all New England which did not have its specific grievance of some sort. In some cases, although not many, it was a grievance against English policy or officials merely as English; in others it was a grievance against some other colonial class or group; in yet others, although not so recognized, it was a grievance

merely against the operation of economic laws. "Let not your sons or mine deceive themselves", wrote John Adams in 1817, "this country like all others has been the scene of parties and feuds for near two hundred years." It was these grievances—class and sectional, numerous and diverse—which to a considerable extent bred the radical element, and which in the final crisis, according to laws of social psychology and under the influence of radical agitators, were all directed into the common channel of antagonism to England and the overthrow of the existing colonial order. We cannot understand these grievances, however, nor the conditions which bred them, unless we make far wider researches than we have yet done into that half-century of enormous development and silent change which preceded the decade of open agitation and discussion.

Although I do not think that the radical can be explained wholly in economic terms, it would appear that, for the most part, the specific grievances of which he complained were economic rather than political or religious. It is true that in the last decade religious emotion played its part, but I seriously doubt whether Sam Adams believed, as he asserted, that he dreaded the growth of popery in America more than any parliamentary attack upon civil rights. Had there been real religious grievances of long standing, as differenced from what may be called more or less of a temporary panic, a considerable part of the nonconformist clergy would not have had to be urged and have their fears deliberately worked upon in order to make them take an active part in the Revolution. In regard to a purely political issue as material for the growth of radicalism it is true that the franchise was a very limited one. Nevertheless, there is little to indicate that the average New Englander was much interested in politics—indeed, there is much to indicate the contrary—and I do not think that we should lay too much stress upon this matter of the franchise except locally in the newer towns. Not only did a large proportion of those entitled to vote, in urban as well as rural districts, consistently fail to do so but at the beginning of the Seven Years' War eighteen towns out of sixty-eight in Connecticut, and fifty-eight out of one hundred and fifty-three in Massachusetts did not even trouble to send representatives to the General Courts. Undoubtedly there were individuals, more public-spirited, ambitious, or cantankerous than the common run, who chafed at their exclusion, and in this connection there is an interesting little problem which has not yet been worked out concerning the possible results of the different qualifications for the town and provincial franchise. Many a man who had tasted the sweets of leadership in a town-meeting may have been irritated by

finding himself denied the larger arena of provincial politics. Allowing him to speak, yet, so to say, denying him a voice, may have created demagogic rebels against the political order at a time when politics were becoming something more of a career than they had been.

In the main, however, the discontents that were rife throughout New England would seem to have had an economic base. Various as these discontents were, and inadequate as our knowledge of the period yet is, it would appear that we can trace their origin to two main streams of tendency—one the increasing pressure on the land due to the increase in population and the wearing out of the soil, and the other the decreasing opportunity for the small man without capital to make way against steadily concentrating wealth and changed methods and control in business. The period from 1713 to 1763 was, on the surface, one of great expansion and stability, but under that surface there are indications that the causes just named were producing distress and uneasiness among the lower classes. The problems about which we yet know very little and which I believe will amply repay much study are those concerning the effects of the alterations in colonial land policy, of the shift in the per capita distribution of wealth, and of the changes in business methods. Just at the close of the period, these were emphasized by the economic and psychologic effects of the Seven Years' War, which likewise deserve that study for which our present experience affords an excellent foundation.

In the eighteenth century, the long-established land policy of New England was abandoned. Land was no longer granted freely to the individual settler as a member of a new town group but was sold to speculators, who in turn sold it to emigrants, reaping a profit on the original purchase price and an unearned increment on the lands retained. Although the price may have been moderate, the fact that the settler had to pay for his lands at once required him to have more money laid by, served notice on him that the freedom of the new country was passing, and made him feel that whereas by his toil and sweat he was giving the wilderness the only value it had, a little group of capitalists back in the comfortable settled towns was taking some of the profits of his labor from him by the easy method of a legislative grant. Swindling of various sorts by the speculators increased the resentment here and there. Even more did the fact that in many cases they retained in their own hands the right to vote on town affairs, so that in some new villages none of the pioneers themselves had anything to say as to the imposition of taxes and the management of village business. The absentee proprietors ruled the inhabitants for their own benefit, refusing to pay taxes or to con-

tribute toward necessary improvements such as roads and bridges. Throughout the period expansion had been rapid, except when interrupted by the war, and these grievances must have affected great numbers of frontiersmen. In the years from 1760 to 1764 it has been estimated that thirty thousand persons emigrated from Connecticut and that one hundred new townships were planned in New Hampshire alone. Even allowing for exaggeration, this in itself indicates an economic disturbance worthy of detailed study. The effect on land prices in the older settlements was also profound, and, although I cannot discuss them here, there were serious grievances for those who remained in the old settlements as well as for those who went forth to better their lot in the wilderness. These feelings of resentment of the frontier element against the capitalists of the settlements, and of the poor against the rich, easily merged into a resentment against the colonial governments and through that channel into one against England.

In connection with this point—the transference of a grievance against government into one against the mother country—we should also note carefully events in the charter colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, where the government was almost wholly local, for cases parallel to those in the other colonies in which action was ostensibly directed against authority as being English. Thus the struggle of the assemblies with royal governors over their salaries has been considered as one for local autonomy, but we have to watch at times the same phenomenon in Connecticut, where Saltonstall, for example, was engaged in a similar contest to secure his own salary for a number of years. In the matter of the King's Woods, the loggers and timber stealers were, of course, only in appearance rebels against royal authority. Theirs was a state of mind common to all frontier development, as has been pointed out by Professor Turner, and almost the identical complaints of the eighteenth century against royal tyranny were heard again in the nineteenth against the paternal government at Washington. The ease with which all these simple economic grievances passed over into ostensible grievances against England is shown by the situation in Vermont. When the disputes occurred there with the authorities in New York, the capitalists and land speculators had been making trouble for the settlers. "They saw that there was no cash stirring", says a Whig account, "and they took that opportunity to collect debts, knowing that men had no other way to pay them than by having their estates taken by execution. . . . There were but very few among us that were able to buy; and they were so disposed that they would take all the world into their own

hands, without paying anything for it." Here was a frontier grievance of a sort common enough in an economic crisis, but just at that time all grievances were being merged against England, so this was cloaked under the guise of struggle for American liberty. The acts of the capitalists and land sharks were said to constitute a Tory plot and when a riot occurred a lad who proved a victim was said to have been slain by the "Cruel Ministerial tools of George the third".

Land speculation in such a case as the Susquehanna Company leads us into the field of the rise of capitalist groups, of political parties, and of the relations between capitalists and the legislatures. All these points were among the marked features of the period. Wealth was accumulating rapidly, but even more rapidly it was concentrating. Private corporations were being developed into instruments for ruthless business aggression. Rich men were gathering together into powerful financial groups, which were beginning to control not only smaller business men and farmers but even the legislatures and the courts. An example of the former case is to be found in the well-known United Company of Spermaceti Candles, which killed competition and fixed the prices of raw and finished product in its trade throughout the entire seaboard.

The growing influence of wealth on the legislatures and courts is indicated in many ways. The means by which grants of new townships were obtained will bear much investigation. We can see the influence of the speculators growing until the orgy following the Seven Years' War, when complete ascendancy was gained over the legislature of Connecticut by the Susquehanna Company stockholders. Dr. Gipson has worked out the story of how the group interested in lumber speculation got the same legislature to petition for an appointment in that colony of a judge of vice-admiralty, perhaps the most hated of all royal officials. The same thing, however, was brought about for their own particular purposes by the shipping group in Rhode Island. In each case it was hoped that the royal official might favor the pecuniary interests of a small number of individuals, although the scheme may be presumed to have run counter to the general wishes of the colonists. Both cases mark, somewhat brazenly, the culmination of tendencies that had long been at work.

Time does not permit me to mention other grievances that were felt by larger or smaller groups among the people before that final decade that has received so much detailed study. I have pointed to some of the better known ones as illustrations, but what I have learned of the period indicates to me that one of its outstanding features was the rise on the small colonial scale of what we may conveniently term

"big business", the ramifications of which were beginning to be felt throughout the entire range of colonial life, by the courts, the legislatures, the small business men, even the itinerant peddler and the poorest settler on the farthest frontier. Sometimes the impact was personal, sometimes the influence could not be directly traced, but the poor man saw the rich growing richer whereas he himself felt more and more shut out from the chance of rising. For some reason which he could not understand the freedom of the new world, to which he had been accustomed in the simplicities of an earlier day, was being closed to him. All these and many other grievances, which were real, brought about the growth of radical sentiment and, a little later, under able leadership, the organization of a revolutionary party. Few of them had any direct relationship to England, but the very fact that the source was in many cases intangible greatly assisted the patriot propaganda in concentrating all the varied resentments into one passionate hatred of the supposed tyranny of the king when certain imperial grievances also became real and prominent. As, for the most part, the richer individuals and groups who had been gradually gaining control of the political and economic life of the colonies naturally were in favor of continuing the existing order, the resentment was also directed against them. Hence came the now familiar double movement of civil war and revolution.

I do not believe, however, that we can understand either of these or most of the events from 1763 onward until we have made a thorough examination of the whole economic structure and of the economic tendencies as they affected all of the colonists and not merely those engaged in foreign trade during the preceding half-century. It is that period, both for its intrinsic interest and for the light it will shed upon the succeeding one, that holds, I think, rich rewards for the investigator. Moreover, as we have hitherto largely concentrated attention upon the relations between old and New England, and as those appear most clearly in the case of eastern Massachusetts, the history of New England has been, in the past, mainly that of the maritime counties of its largest colony, containing less than a third of the total population and by no means all of the culture or ablest leaders. It would seem, however, that the paradox were true that if we would understand the imperial situation from 1763 to 1776 we must study attentively the earlier activities of the colonists which ostensibly bore no relation to that situation. In doing so New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, western Massachusetts, and Vermont will more and more assume a proportionate share in our newer narrative.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA UP COUNTRY AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE up country of South Carolina constitutes the hilly red-clay area extending from the middle region, bounded by the fall line of the rivers, back to the Appalachian mountain system. Although its settlement and development came much later than that of the coastal plain, it was destined to be the most important and influential part of the state, because of its greater area and resources and because it speedily came to contain the bulk of the state's white population. Much less has been written about the frontier than about Charleston and the low country, and much less is known of its early development, and yet it came to play an increasingly important part in state politics during the nineteenth century. With little of the romance and refinement of the low country, the interior was more permanent in its advancement, became much more wealthy by the end of the nineteenth century, and even in the period before the Civil War had come to take a leading part in setting forth the state's aspirations and ideals of civilization and government. Calhoun, the great champion of slavery and of states' rights and one of the ablest political leaders of the South, was a son of the up country. A study of its early progress may be well worth while.

As contrasted with the tidewater region at the end of the eighteenth century, with its long miles of flooded country, its gloomy cypress swamps, and its great rice plantations, tilled by the labor of patient slaves, the interior offered a very different picture, both in its geographic features and in its life. The coastal plain was West Indian in civilization and interests, and was in close touch with Europe, while the middle and upper country had strongly marked frontier aspects, with sparse, restless population, crude customs and occupations, and slight contact with the outside world. But for the spread of cotton culture it is difficult to believe that these regions would have made much progress for many years thereafter.

Stretching from the level, swampy, flooded tidewater to the hilly, red-clay up country, the middle country is rolling, sandy in parts, and covered with long miles of pine forests. At the time of the Revolution it was sparsely populated and even less developed than the upper region, although it was soon to take on better aspects. It was monotonous and uninteresting in appearance, and its inhabitants were mostly crude and poor. Cattle roamed through the forests there, as in other

parts of the state. Small patches of wheat, corn, potatoes, pease, and a few other food products were grown. The only staples of any importance for outside sale were indigo, wheat, corn, skins, and furs. Methods of farming were very crude. Orangeburg, Camden, Granby, and Columbia were its only towns of importance and the seats of its road and river trade with Charleston. But we will pass this area by hastily, as our attention is to be concentrated on the frontier.

If the low country and the middle region both had their peculiar features of geography and of civilization at the end of the eighteenth century, the upper country of South Carolina also had such—some of which have persisted down to the present, but most of which have long since disappeared before the progress of nineteenth-century development. Through it flowed the Catawba, the Broad, and the Saluda rivers, which united lower down to form the Congaree, and then the Santee. The sources of the Savannah River were also in this region. At various points along the banks of these streams could be heard the roar of waterfalls—which are now harnessed to develop the electric power which drives great cotton-mills, furnishes motion to interurban trolley systems, and illuminates many thriving towns and cities. Stretching away westward in gentle undulations from the fall line of the rivers, the upper country becomes more and more hilly and broken, until it rises into the majestic mountains of the Appalachian system. This red-clay region was in parts thickly forested and in others covered with grasses and with canebrakes. Like other parts of the state, it teemed with animal life. Bears and panthers, deer and wildcats roamed at large. The deadly rattlesnake lurked in waiting for his victim. Down to the outbreak of the Revolution, herds of buffaloes grazed in the grassy prairie regions. And if the last of these disappeared beyond the mountains by 1775, their deep-worn trails leading to favored licks and ranges persisted for many years afterwards, as was the case with piles of bones of the slaughtered animals, whose tongues, hides, and flesh were all held most desirable both by Indians and by white hunters.¹ Not until after the middle of the eighteenth century did the fierce and warlike Catawbans and Cherokees recede before the advance of white frontiersmen, although the tidewater had long since come under the control of European settlers. And the yells and war-whoops of Indians had not long ceased to be heard, before the clash of arms between Whigs and Tories, Britons and Americans, broke the stillness of the up-country forests. The rifles of Morgan's rangers humbled the pride of fiery Tarleton and his legion at the Cowpens near Spartanburg.

¹ J. H. Logan, *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina*, I, 16.

On King's Mountain in York District the partizan bands trapped Ferguson with his Tories and thereby turned the tide of war in the South. And the up country had its hunters and its cattlemen, whose exploits, if told, would sound like those of Daniel Boone or of nineteenth-century cow-punchers in the Far West. Here then was a part of the rolling piedmont frontier, which stretched away southwestwardly from Pennsylvania to Georgia, home of the Scotch-Irish and German stocks, which framed the Mecklenburg Resolutions and initiated the Whiskey Rebellion.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, and especially from 1763 on, there was a steady advance of settlers into the up country from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. But not more than half of this region came to be occupied, as the Cherokee and Catawba Indians retained possession of the rest. The whites who moved in from the northeastward were comparatively few in number and lived in scattered homesteads, producing most of what they needed, and hardly in touch with the coast at all. They exported very little and only imported salt, ammunition, and larger iron articles, by way of Camden or by wagons driven up from Charleston. Yet skins, butter, tallow, flour, hemp, indigo, and tobacco were sent down in small quantities to market.² An interesting letter from Charleston of November 14, 1768, later printed in the *Boston Chronicle*, gives an idea of this traffic as follows:

Since the beginning of this month, several large quantities of excellent tobacco, made in the back settlements, have been brought to this market; and we are told, it might soon be made a very considerable article among our exports, were two inspectors appointed at each of the following places, viz, Congarees, Camden, Charraw Hill, and Charles Town.

The northwestern, north and northeastern parts of this Province, have lately been so greatly improved, that (altho' so many of the people have been a long time past employed in works of Reformation or Regulation) we are informed, the quantity of Hemp made last year is nearly doubled this; that the inhabitants now manufacture most of their linens (such as cost in England from 12 to 18d. a yard), Linsey-Woolsey, and even coarse cloths: that it has been proposed shortly to establish a stocking manufactory amongst them; that saw-mills are erecting in various parts; and the produce of good wheat has been so great this year that we may soon expect, from Camden alone, 2000 barrels of flour and 1500 of ship bread.³

But, after all, though cattle were raised in large numbers, and corn and other crops grown to some extent, the up country was a lonely frontier until after the Revolution.

² Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina*, II. 598.

³ *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, II. 273-274.

The cessation of military struggles in the South was the signal for revival of prosperity in all parts of South Carolina. In the up country we find steady growth of population, due both to the arrival of migrants from the northward and to that of emigrants from Europe.⁴ The early settlers had located near rivers and on soil that was suited to the cultivation of tobacco, and this crop remained the one of chief importance until cotton growing was taken up.⁵ The appearance of new settlers did not by any means cause congestion of population, for there were large spaces to be filled, and also the lands hitherto reserved to the Indians began to be opened up. Furthermore the rage for new lands and the restlessness of the settlers were constantly causing many of them to move over the mountains into Tennessee and Kentucky. A good picture of the back country is given by a gentleman at Spartanburg in a letter of June 2, 1786, to a friend in Charleston. According to this,

Bread has been and still is very scarce here, but our prospect of wheat is flattering; and simple grain in general very good. This is truly a fine country . . . the seasons are mostly very regular. . . . Our back country is in general hilly, but not so broken as to render it obnoxious to cultivation; the soil is thin in some places. . . . The grape vine grows universally . . . ; the mulberry and walnut tree in the richer or low grounds. The common notion that clover and timothy grass will not grow here, is ill-founded. . . . This part of the country is at present in a rude uncultivated state. . . . Land is too cheap, too easy to be acquired. Nature has been so liberal of her bounties, that her sons who are brought up in ease are strangers to necessity. It is nothing uncommon in this country for men settled on land of their own, and sufficiently cleared, inclosed, and tilled . . . on hearing of a better place of range [to sell or leave even without selling]. Many there are who depend wholly on hunting for a subsistence. . . . I know of no expedient that will tend to render them fixable and permanent, except there should be any difficulty in obtaining new lands, which will soon be the case if the limits of the State are not extended, which may only cause them to leave it.

He also wrote that this part of the state was not rich, but that men there retained health and strength for many years.⁶

Here we have a picture of the frontier, capable of great development, but as yet hardly cleared, although its impatient settlers were already gazing at the mountains and in small groups crossing these for Tennessee and Kentucky. Endless spaces bred insatiable craving, and in the piedmont of South Carolina, as in western Virginia and Pennsylvania, or in the Connecticut River Valley, the "star of des-

⁴ Drayton, *A View of South Carolina*, p. 103.

⁵ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels through the United States of North America* (London, 1799), I. 625.

⁶ Charleston (S. C.) *Morning Post*, July 3, 1786.

tiny" was pointing westward, and there were ever men ready to follow her guidance. Thus in the space of years was accomplished the "conquest of the continent", and the American pioneer gazed upon the Pacific and watched the sun set beneath the waters of the great western ocean. This was the same spirit of *Wanderlust* which had sent the German tribes troop after troop into the decaying Roman Empire, and which had animated Columbus and the sixteenth-century explorers when they ventured out upon the broad Atlantic.

Another letter of 1786, written in Charleston, may be quoted from on the same subject as follows: "Our settlements on the western waters are increasing in strength daily; near 100 miles on Cumberland river are now settled, and emigrants from the Carolinas and Virginia, are constantly travelling to Kentucke and Cumberland."⁷

But the western movement was also stirring men who remained in South Carolina to push into that broad expanse of territory which the state reserved to the Indians. Thus in March, 1784, we find the heirs of the late Jacob Hite petitioning the legislature to be allowed to retain possession of six thousand acres of land which he had purchased of the Cherokee Indians, and having their petition granted.⁸ Just a few days later an act was passed by which all lands northwest of the old boundary line⁹ between the Cherokees and the state, from the Savannah River north, 50° east to Reedy River, and then due north to the North Carolina boundary were to be sold for £10 per 100 acres. Persons already settled there were to have preference for six months to their lands. Arrangements were also made for laying off and surveying the newly opened region.¹⁰ Two years afterwards a bill was brought up "for reserving certain Lands for the present use and Occupation of the Cherokee Indians, and to extend the time of payment for new Granted Lands".¹¹ That there was opposition in the up country to the establishment of such a reservation is indicated by the fact that counsel was heard against this bill.¹² However, it was passed on March 22, and provided that the land in the state "to the north and northwest of a line running from the top of the Oconnie mountain, northeast till it intersects the North Carolina boundary and the top of the said mountain, southwest till it intersects

⁷ Carey, *The American Museum*, III. 435.

⁸ *Journals of the House of Representatives of S. C.*, 1784, p. 234.

⁹ This boundary had been fixed by treaty in 1777. See Ramsay, *Hist. of S. C.*, I. 217.

¹⁰ Cooper, *Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, IV. 590.

¹¹ *Journals of the Senate of S. C.*, 1786, p. 277.

¹² *Ibid.*

the river Toogooloo" should be reserved to the Cherokees and that "all grants, sales, or conveyances" therein should be null and void.¹³

A glance at the map in Ramsay will show what a large region was opened to white settlement by the act of 1784 and also what a reasonable amount was set aside for the Cherokees by that of 1786. More than one-third of the up country was thus made available for the whites, and the once mighty Cherokees were restricted to the mountains and to the region beyond. A chapter in Indian history was closed thereby, and the red man was on the point of vanishing from the borders of the state. But the Indian peril was not yet at an end, and the war-whoop, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife were still dreaded in the upper country. While governor of South Carolina from 1787 to 1789, General Thomas Pinckney devoted the greater part of his "official communications" to the subject of frontier defense. He recommended to the legislature the establishment of a permanent military force, thought that cavalry should be dispensed with, and praised General Pickens's aid in dealing with the Indians. In reply the legislature authorized the governor "to maintain and use this military force as he shall think best".¹⁴

In the legislative journal for 1788, the governor's message on the subject is given,¹⁵ and a bill was passed dealing with the matter as above mentioned.¹⁶ On July 9 of that year the justices of the court of Abbeville County drew up an address "to the people living on Nolechucky, French-Broad, and Holstein" protesting against attacks and murders of friendly Indians committed by a party from these settlements, despite a treaty of peace with these Indians, the Cherokees. These attacks, it was feared, might prevent the treaty from being completed which was then under consideration between the Creeks and the Georgians.¹⁷ This address by a South Carolina court to settlers in North Carolina strikes me as quite significant in showing the importance of the Indian problem all along the frontier. Five years later peril from the Cherokee Indians seemed imminent, and the grand jury of Washington District testified in its presentments "to the vigilant spirit by which both officers and men were actuated during the late alarm from the Indians" and acknowledged gratefully the attention of the legislature on the subject.¹⁸ On December 25, 1799, the senate ordered "that the consideration of the Resolution of the

¹³ Cooper, *Statutes*, IV. 747.

¹⁴ C. C. Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁵ S. C. House Journals, 1788, p. 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁷ Carey, *Amer. Mus.*, IV. 429.

¹⁸ *State Gazette of S. C.* (Charleston), June 28, 1793.

House of Representatives of this day, respecting the discontinuance of the Forts and Guards on the frontiers of this State be postponed".¹⁹ Drayton states that a guard had been occasionally stationed at "Occonnee Mountain", but that it was no longer continued.²⁰ And so we are to think of an Indian peril as continuing to exist on the frontier of South Carolina down to the close of the eighteenth century.

But if the warlike Cherokees were pushed back to the mountains and the Western country, another once mighty tribe, the Catawbas, remained in the state, living on a reservation of 144,000 acres, on each side of the Catawba River, within a few miles of the North Carolina line. At the end of the seventeenth century this nation could put fifteen hundred fighting men into the field. In 1743 it mustered only four hundred warriors, including refugees from several smaller tribes. Even in the middle of the eighteenth century the Catawbas made excursions by way of the mountain ridges as far north as New York, where they encountered the Six Nations in battle. In 1751 a conference was held at Albany, attended by Governor Clinton of New York, commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and South Carolina, chiefs of the Six Nations, and the king of the Catawbas, together with some of his advisers. At this conference a lasting peace was made, which put an end to the long and bitter war which had existed between the hostile Indians.²¹ Much more could be written to depict the prowess of the Catawbas. And yet by the end of the eighteenth century they were a weak and degenerate people, numbering hardly sixty warriors, addicted to drunkenness, and living in small villages, surrounded by whites.²²

Curiously enough the story of the Catawba reservation is not given in any of the histories of South Carolina; an account is however to be found in Charles Colcock Jones's *History of Georgia*. On November 5, 1763, a convocation at Augusta was attended by the governors of Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, the lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern Department. Seven hundred Indians were present, representing the Chickasaws, Creeks, Cherokees, Catawbas, and Choctaws. Article 4 of the treaty arranged provided that the "Catawba Head-Men and Warriors" would remain satisfied with the reservation of fifteen square miles, whose survey had already begun, and that "the respective Governors and Superintendent" would guarantee the com-

¹⁹ S. C. Senate Journals 1799, p. 196.

²⁰ Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 14.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

²² *Ibid.*

pletion of this survey, and would promise that "the King's subjects" would not molest the Catawbias within the limits of the reservation, and that these Indians should "be indulged in the usual manner of hunting elsewhere".²³ A legislative enactment of 1838 mentions the fact that Samuel Wiley made a survey of the Catawba lands on February 22, 1764.²⁴ Howe states that a small Presbyterian church and congregation were organized in the heart of this reservation in 1785.²⁵ A few of the Catawbias have been living on a part of it in York County down to the present day, still receiving appropriations of money from the state legislature. A law of 1808 permitted them to lease their lands to white settlers for as much as ninety-nine years.²⁶ In the spring of 1786, Governor William Moultrie issued a proclamation stating that the Catawbias had petitioned the legislature as to their being prevented from hunting. He declared that by treaty these Indians had the right to hunt anywhere in the state, provided they did not do so within enclosures and injure the inhabitants. He also authorized the Indians to choose from three to five agents from the state's citizens who might see justice done to them.²⁷ Gregg states that in 1787 the Catawbias constituted "the only organized tribe, under a distinct name of its own, in South Carolina", and that in 1798 they were in the habit "of holding an anniversary meeting of a sadly interesting character . . . to commemorate their former greatness".²⁸ So much for Indian matters in the years following the Revolution.

Contemporaneous with the retirement of the red man, or his settlement upon reservations, was the advance of the white into the lands thus newly opened up. As the act of 1784 would indicate, there were already white settlers in the old Indian reservation, and their number was steadily increasing. On March 22, 1786, an act was passed establishing the county of Greenville "in the new ceded lands . . . bounded by Saluda river and the south fork thereof, the old Indian boundary, and the North Carolina line", which is to be "entitled to county courts". This region "on the north side of Saluda river, below the Indian line" had been much inconvenienced by being attached to older counties.²⁹ An article of June, 1786, described the western extremity of the state as increasing in population, as prospering, and as

²³ C. C. Jones, jr., *The History of Ga.* (1883), II, 42-46.

²⁴ *Revised Statutes of South Carolina*, p. 420.

²⁵ Howe, *Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, I, 518.

²⁶ *Rev. Stats. S. C.*, p. 420.

²⁷ *State Gazette of S. C.*, Apr. 10, 1786.

²⁸ Gregg, *History of the Old Cherokees*, p. 18.

²⁹ Cooper, *Statutes of S. C.*, VII, 245.

being almost without any negroes.³⁰ In March, 1788, another article announced: "So much has this state increased in population, consequently in opulence, that upwards of 1600 persons have settled between the new and old boundary line, who have improved the country greatly, a road being cut for several miles 30 feet wide."³¹ During the fall of 1788, two bills were brought up, the one "to establish a County between Savannah and Saluda Rivers, above the old Indian boundary",³² and the other "to entitle the Counties of Greenville and Augusta to a representation in the General Assembly".³³ At the time, however, nothing was done in regard to either matter. On February 4 of the next year a house committee reported "that the Counties of Greenville and Augusta are not properly represented in the Legislature of this State and recommend that each of the said Counties be allowed to choose One Senator and Representatives".³⁴ March 7, 1789, an act was passed by which Greenville and Pendleton counties were each to elect one member to the senate and three to the house.³⁵ On the same day another act was passed creating Pendleton County, "beginning at Savannah river, and running along the old Indian boundary line, which divides it from Abbeville county, to Saluda river; thence up the said river to the new Indian boundary; thence along the said boundary line to Toogaloo river; thence down the said river and Savannah river, to the beginning".³⁶ A glance at the map in Ramsay will show that Pendleton County was much larger than Greenville. Although created later, its population was destined to grow more rapidly. In June, 1793, the grand jury of Washington District commented on the progress of these two counties in picturesque language, savoring of a breezy, optimistic western atmosphere, which ran as follows:

We contemplate with great pleasure, that Pendleton county, which in year 1786, did not contain twenty families, in the beginning of the year 1793, at this time, contains *thirteen thousand souls*!—what an astonishing effect of population! ! ! . . .

We repeat again, that when Pendleton and Greenville counties in 1786, were first settled, there were not in these large counties forty families—now in the beginning of 1793, we calculate and know from the census and the accession since, there cannot be less than twenty thousand souls!³⁷

³⁰ Charleston (S. C.) *Morning Post*, June 9, 1786.

³¹ *City Gazette* (Charleston), Mar. 4, 1788.

³² S. C. Senate *Journals*, 1788, p. 53.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³⁴ S. C. House *Journals*, 1789, p. 138.

³⁵ Cooper, *Statutes*, V. 105.

³⁶ *Id.*, VII. 252.

³⁷ *State Gazette of S. C.*, June 28, 1793.

Another newspaper article, of 1794 and on the same subject, may be quoted from also to the following effect: "Thirty years ago, Abbeville and Edgefield counties were so inconsiderable as to remain a part of St. Bartholomew's parish. They now contain 17,280 white inhabitants. The numbers of Pendleton county, which about eight years ago was entirely a desert, now amount to 8731; with this rapid growth in population, wealth must greatly increase."³⁸

By 1795 a newspaper was being published in the up country, and on November 18 of that year "a memorial was presented to the house, from John Miller, printer, in Pendleton county, praying for an act to pass, to make his gazette a paper of record; which being read, was referred to a committee".³⁹ It may be noted in passing that the name Augusta mentioned in the legislative journals was apparently the one first suggested for Pendleton County—at least it does not appear again.

The opening up and settlement of Greenville and Pendleton counties marked the passing of the frontier from South Carolina. On March 8, 1787, an act was passed authorizing the state's delegates in Congress to cede to the United States her claims to Western lands.⁴⁰ Henceforward adventurous spirits eager to penetrate into wild regions and to contend with Indians must cross the mountains into Tennessee, or else push down into Georgia, where there were lands in abundance, as well as powerful Indian tribes bitterly resentful of encroachments by the whites. In South Carolina itself there was much to be done in the way of development and of clearing forested areas, but the frontier proper had ceased to exist. The growing of grains and vegetables, mostly for domestic consumption, tobacco culture, and cattle-raising remained the chief pursuits for some years. There were a few iron works, where various articles were manufactured after the ores had been smelted. Also much cotton was spun and woven into yarn and cloth for the use of the farmers' families. But the back country remained crude, self-centred, and self-sufficing until the 'nineties, when the boom in cotton growing brought it a crop which made possible the acquisition of wealth on a large scale and which involved the introduction of slave labor and of the plantation system. Even then it is not to be assumed that a rapid change took place altering all customs of life immediately. Something like a generation must have elapsed while the process was being completed.

³⁸ *Charleston City Gazette*, Aug. 14, 1794.

³⁹ *Id.*, Nov. 23, 1795.

⁴⁰ Cooper, *Statutes*, V. 5.

Thus by 1825 South Carolina stood forth as a typical plantation state, with slave labor everywhere in use. The various attempts at industrial development taken up during the early nineteenth century had practically all failed. These facts, together with economic depression caused by competition from the rich gulf lands of the lower Mississippi Valley, distress resulting from high tariffs and from the commercial supremacy of the great Northern seaports, and, a little later, bitter resentment and alarm engendered by the abolition crusade—all combined—led on toward nullification and secession, toward the end of slavery and the death of the Old South.

But all of this was yet far away from the life of upper South Carolina before 1800, whose wildness and crudeness are depicted for us by various travellers in interesting fashion. For instance, the Hon. Jonathan Mason writes in his diary: "Left Greenville . . . and rode through a miserable country with a tolerable road, and finally arrived after dark to a miserable log-house by the name of Wilkes. But one room, two beds full of vermin, and not a single thing of any kind to eat or drink; six or seven children crying in the house, and two drunken Scotch neighbors, drinking, reeling, and smoking."⁴¹

In complete harmony with this New England gentleman is to be found C. W. Janson, an Englishman, who tells us,

The lower class in this gouging, biting, kicking country, are the most abject that, perhaps, ever peopled a Christian land. They live in the woods and deserts, and many of them cultivate no more land than will raise them corn and cabbages, which, with fish, and occasionally a piece of pickled pork or bacon, are their constant food. This land, on which, prior to their settlement, no human step had ever marked a path, required clearing of trees, whose tops almost reached the clouds, before a spot could be found large enough to erect a shelter for the women and children. Their habitations are more wretched than can be conceived; the huts of the poor of Ireland, or even the meanest Indian wig-wam, displaying more ingenuity and greater industry. They are constructed of pine trees, cut in lengths of ten or fifteen feet, and piled up in a square, without any other workmanship than a notch at the end of each log, to keep them in contact. When this barbarous pile is raised between six and seven feet, they split the remainder of their logs to the thickness of two or three inches, and by laying them over the whole in a sloping direction, form the roof. The chimney is, if possible, worse than Dr. Johnson describes the hole in the roof of a house in Scotland, through which the smoke found a passage. The summer's scorching sun, and the bleak winds of winter, are equally accessible to this miserable dwelling.⁴²

These two descriptions give a very good picture of the plainness of life in the upper country. That the soil in this region was fertile,

⁴¹ Hon. Jonathan Mason, *Extracts from Diary*, p. 29.

⁴² C. W. Janson, *The Stranger in America*, p. 304.

we can readily believe. One writer asserted that it was very much more so than that of the tidewater.⁴³ La Rochefoucauld tells us that the backwoods settlers started with little or nothing, but endeavored to make fortunes by clearing land which they could purchase on credit for one or two dollars an acre and then could "easily sell again for four or five times as much", after paying the purchase money out of the produce of the first year's cultivation.⁴⁴ It can be assumed very easily that these early settlers were not skillful farmers, and various writers, Robert Goodloe Harper among them,⁴⁵ confirm this opinion. Drayton also writes that wheat was generally cultivated in the up country for domestic consumption, twelve or fifteen bushels being produced by careless methods to the acre. The farmers justified such carelessness by asserting that they could thus raise easily all that their families needed and that it would be very difficult to transport any surplus of so bulky a commodity to market. In the neighborhood of good flour-mills, however, as at Camden, the situation was quite different, and where the ground is well tilled, and "the wheat is ploughed in, (which is done by a few of the best farmers,) the produce is from twenty to twenty five bushels the acre". He tells us, furthermore, that "ploughs are for the most part used in the middle and upper country; where labourers are less, and the soil more tenacious and stubborn" than is the case in the low country.⁴⁶

Besides tobacco, which was the chief crop until about 1800, cotton, and wheat, there were also grown hemp and flax. Horses and stock of different kinds were also raised for sale.⁴⁷ Interest came to be taken in grass lands on which animals could graze.⁴⁸ In the upper country, as in all other parts of the state, large herds of cattle and hogs roamed through the woods, and to keep these out of cultivated lands split-rail or "worm" fences were put up, which according to law must be six feet high so as to be strong enough to fulfill this function properly.⁴⁹ Michaux observed that the different species of fruit trees grown in France should succeed well in the upper Carolinas, but he found only peaches grown generally, and in some localities apples.⁵⁰

⁴³ *American Husbandry*, by an American, I. 388.

⁴⁴ La Rochefoucauld, *Travels*, I. 576 (London, 1799).

⁴⁵ *Observations on the North-American Land-Company*, p. 113.

⁴⁶ Drayton, *View of S. C.*, pp. 139, 140.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴⁸ La Rochefoucauld, *op. cit.*, I. 625.

⁴⁹ Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 114.

⁵⁰ F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the Westward of the Alleghany Mountains*, p.

Mention has already been made of domestic spinning and weaving, and also of the iron industry. According to two authorities "gunpowder is occasionally manufactured in the upper country [of South Carolina]; not, however, by a regular set of mills; but in a small way, and as exigencies may require". Usually, however, gunpowder and saltpetre were procured from Tennessee and Kentucky.⁵¹ The Aera and Aetna furnaces in York County, near the Catawba River, constituted the largest and only important iron establishment in the state. Here ores were smelted and castings made. Cannon and cannon balls were manufactured, as well as various articles for domestic use, such as chimney backs, gudgeons, cranks, nails, pots, kettles, skillets, etc. The ore was secured nearby, and a water blast was used for blowing the furnaces. This plant was owned by Messrs. Hill and Hayne.⁵² Frequent notices of it appeared in the Charleston papers. Near these iron works "red and yellow ochres" were found and were used successfully in painting houses in Yorkville.⁵³

Enough has been written to give an idea of the simple, quiet life of the interior, in the days before cotton culture was taken up on a large scale, and before railroads and steamboats brought the piedmont into close touch with the sea-coast and with the outside world. As to towns, mention should be made of Winnsborough, an old settlement in the up country and the seat of Mount Sion College, which is in operation as an academy down to the present. An act for "establishing Fairs and Markets in the Town of Winnsborough" was passed by house and senate in March, 1785.⁵⁴ Evidently in connection with the college, an advertisement of March, 1787, announced that at Winnsborough "young gentlemen can be boarded in a most eligible manner for the moderate sum of twelve pounds sterling per annum", contrary to sundry malicious reports.⁵⁵ Michaux described the town as having about one hundred and fifty houses, as being one of the oldest communities in the state, and as being a summer resort for some of the low-country planters.⁵⁶ It is about fifty miles to the northwest of Columbia.

Four other towns in the up country deserve mention here, although only one of them was of any especial importance. Ninety-Six, or Cambridge, as it was called by a legislative enactment of 1787, had been a frontier outpost against the Indians during the colonial period

⁵¹ John Lambert, *Travels*, II. 458, and Drayton, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁵⁴ S. C. House *Journals*, 1785, p. 262.

⁵⁵ *Charleston Morning Post*, Mar. 1, 1787.

⁵⁶ Michaux, *Travels*, p. 326.

and had been the scene of some fighting during the Revolution, but only consisted of a few dwelling-houses and stores.⁵⁷ About 1800 Chatham, at the head of navigation of the Peedee River, and Vienna, occupying a somewhat similar position on the Savannah, were villages which were expected to develop into important fall-line trading towns.⁵⁸ As has been stated earlier, both were included with Camden in the act of 1795 for the "packing and barreling" of beef and pork. Neither of them, however, ever did develop. The Peedee River region failed to become an important trading centre, and on the Savannah River Augusta, with its later satellite Hamburg on the South Carolina side, monopolized the river commerce. New Bordeaux, or Abbeville, near the Savannah River, was settled in 1764 by a colony of persecuted French Protestants led to America by Reverend Peter Gibert.⁵⁹ It was later the site of the famous Waddell school and has continued to exist down to the present.

It may be well at this point to give some statistics showing the progress of the up country. According to Ramsay there were in 1808 eight acres of uncleared land to each one that was cleared in this region. Also there was about one human being to every thirty-six acres of land. In 1755 the country from the Waxhaws on the Catawba across to Augusta on the Savannah River did not contain twenty-five families. But by 1808 this region comprised twelve large and populous districts.⁶⁰ The census returns for 1790 and 1800, as given by Drayton, testify to advance in the state and in the up country. In 1790 the population of South Carolina totalled 249,073, of which 107,094 were slaves. In 1800, the total population was 345,591, and the number of slaves, 146,151.⁶¹ I have worked out from these returns the following interesting table:

LOW COUNTRY			MIDDLE COUNTRY			UPPER COUNTRY		
Total	Slaves	Other free persons besides whites	Total	Slaves	Other free persons besides whites	Total	Slaves	Other free persons besides whites
107,960	78,000	1216	40,089	13,309	243	100,824	15,785	342
125,715	95,015	1492	74,895	26,204	1168	154,047	24,032	525

⁵⁷ Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 209.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁵⁹ Howe, *Presbyterian Church in S. C.*, I. 352-356.

⁶⁰ Ramsay, *History of S. C.*, II. 599, 602.

⁶¹ Drayton, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

The table throws light on the relative growth in population of the tidewater, the middle region, and the up country, and on the advance of slavery into the interior. There are slight discrepancies between the figures here and the totals,⁶² but they seem to be due to errors in the printing. By 1790, evidently, there was already a fair number of slaves in the middle and the upper country, about one-third of the population of the former being slave and about one-seventh of the latter. The low country was the black belt. By 1800 the middle-country population had almost doubled, while the slaves had quite done so. Thus the plantation system was advancing. The population of the up country had passed by that of the tidewater and had increased by one-half, and its number of slaves, by the same amount. Thus it was not yet a planters' community, nor yet ready to support the ideals of the tidewater slavocracy, although this development was to come in the course of another generation with the spread of cotton culture.

A result, perhaps unlooked for, of the opening of the upper country was a succession of annual river floods, which swept away bridges and did serious damage to adjacent plantations from Columbia and Augusta down. The highest and most destructive of these freshets was that of 1796. St. Stephen's Parish in the lower Santee River valley suffered most seriously by them and by the end of the century ceased to be one of the richest districts in the state.⁶³ The newspapers of the period are full of accounts of these floods and of the damage which they occasioned. The clearing away of the forests in the piedmont, which had tended to retain moisture in large quantities in the soil, seems to have caused these floods. It is very interesting to note that exactly the same phenomenon has been occurring during the last fifteen years as a result of extensive timber cutting in the mountains of the Carolinas. The flood of 1908 wrecked the Pacolet mill near Spartanburg, and seriously interfered with railroad traffic for several days. That of 1916 injured the Catawba Power Company's dam so seriously that cotton-mills were shut down and towns went without lights over a large extent of territory in these states.

It would be natural to expect the population of the upper country to be anything but refined and finished. However, Bartram found cattle raisers "to be civil and courteous, and though educated as it were in the woods, no strangers to sensibility, and those moral virtues which grace and ornament the most approved and admired characters in civil society".⁶⁴ Michaux made some observations on the in-

⁶² Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 104.

⁶³ Porcher, *The Santee Canal*, p. 6.

⁶⁴ Bartram, *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, etc.* (Philadelphia, 1791), p. 310.

habitants of the piedmont which are of much significance. He found eight-tenths of them "as well provided as those of Tennessee and Kentucky", living in rude cabins and amid frontier surroundings. But he went on to say that

Nevertheless there are many among them whose moral characters are perhaps not so pure as those of the inhabitants of the west: they are probably spoiled by an intercourse with the Scotch and Irish, who come annually, in great numbers, to settle in this country, and bring with them some of the defects and vices, which are the usual consequences of an extensive population. The majority of these new comers pass into the upper country, where they are bound, for one or two years, to work for the persons who pay the captain of the vessel for their passage.⁶⁵

A discussion of the up country would be incomplete without mention of the methods of transportation. Wagons and sledges were in chief use, "the first, for transporting heavy articles to a distance; and the last for drawing wood, rails, and small timber, about a settlement". The wagons had narrow wheels, were drawn by four or six horses, and could carry loads of from two to three tons. The greater part of the upper country produce was brought to market in these vehicles, "and fifteen or twenty of them are often seen, following each other in the same track". Consequently the roads were usually cut into deep ruts.⁶⁶

Michaux also gives an interesting account of upper country commerce and wagons as follows:

The commercial dealings of the upper Carolinas and Georgia are mostly carried on with Charlestown, which is very little farther from them than Wilmington and Savannah. They give it the preference, because commerce is brisker there, and they find a readier sale for their commodities. The articles principally carried there are short cotton, tobacco, smoked hams, salted butter, wax, deer's and bear's skins, and cattle. They take in return large iron articles, tea, coffee, raw sugar, coarse woollen cloths, and some fine linens, but no iron in bars, the upper country abounding in mines of this metal, and those which are worked being sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants. They also bring salt from the sea-ports, for there are no salt works in any part of the Atlantic states. These goods are conveyed in large waggons with four wheels, drawn by four or six horses, which travel twenty or four-and-twenty miles a day, and stop every night in the woods. The price of carriage is about four francs (three shillings and four pence) per quintal, for every hundred miles.⁶⁷

Another somewhat similar description adds: "The waggoners are familiarly called *crackers* (from the smacking of their whips, I sup-

⁶⁵ Michaux, *Travels*, p. 339.

⁶⁶ Drayton, *View of S. C.*, p. 141.

⁶⁷ Michaux, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

pose). They are said to be often very rude and insolent to strangers, and people of the towns, whom they meet on the road, particularly if they happen to be genteel persons.”⁶⁸

The great road running out from Charleston by Dorchester, and in a northwesterly direction to Orangeburg, and branching out to Columbia and other points in the middle and upper country, was then the highway of this wagon transportation, which was such an important feature of up-country life and which brought so much business to Charleston, until the days of steamboats and of railroads.

There must have been a crudeness, a freshness, an isolation, and an independence about the up-country life. Only long journeys by river boat, by horse, or by wagon, brought people into contact with the outside world. Their gaze was turned westward towards the mountains, and they had little in common with the low-country people, or with the inhabitants of Charleston. There was no Spartan ideal of the state accepted and upheld by the piedmont any more than by the tidewater. Nothing conveys to us the impression that South Carolina supported the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 vigorously, or that she ratified the Constitution with more determination to uphold state sovereignty than the other states. Thus Professor Schaper seems to me to have misinterpreted her ideals in his “Sectionalism in South Carolina”. The remarkable position which she took from 1825 on, when her leaders more and more actively agitated for states’ rights and sounded the trumpet call to arms, was the result of nineteenth-century social and economic developments involved in the spread of cotton culture. These traced their roots back to the close of the eighteenth century and to the influence of the cotton-gin, but to nothing that grew out of the colonial and Revolutionary periods. If cotton growing and slavery had not spread to the upper country, it might well have remained in its raw frontier state of development for many years to come, even after the day of the railroad and the steamboat. In such a case, whatever might have been the aspirations of the rice-coast region, South Carolina would never as a state have followed the fateful and fatal path which led to the War for Southern Independence.

D. HUGER BACOT.

⁶⁸ John Lambert, *Travels*, III. 71.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

A "PURE HISTORY LAW"

THE following statute, passed by the legislature of Wisconsin in its recent session, merits exhibition in the pages of an historical journal, not only on account of the grave considerations which it raises in connection with present-day teaching, but also as a curiosity, to be preserved for readers in future years, who may examine it with the same interest with which, in museums of domestic antiquities, we look at old tin lanterns and candle-moulds, wondering at the quaint inadequate means of illumination with which our predecessors contented themselves.

Chapter 21, Laws of 1923. An Act to create section 40.36 of the statutes, relating to text-books used in the public schools.

The people of the state of Wisconsin, represented in senate and assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1. A new section is added to the statutes to be numbered and to read: 40.36. (1) No history or other text-book shall be adopted for use or be used in any district school, city school, vocational school, or high school which falsifies the facts regarding the war of independence, or the war of 1812, or which defames our nation's founders or misrepresents the ideals and causes for which they struggled and sacrificed, or which contains propaganda favorable to any foreign government.

(2) Upon complaint of any five citizens filed with the state superintendent of public instruction that any history or other text-book which is being used in any district school, city school, vocational or high school contains any matter prohibited by subsection (1) of this section, the state superintendent shall fix a time for a public hearing upon such complaint, which shall be not more than thirty days from the date of filing said complaint, and shall be conducted either by the state superintendent or the assistant state superintendent, or by one of the state inspectors of schools, to be designated by the state superintendent, and which hearing shall be held at the county seat of the county where the complainants reside. Notice of such hearing shall be given at least ten days prior to the date thereof through the public press and by registered mail to the complainants, the school board interested, and to the publishers of such text-book.

(3) Within ten days after such hearing the state superintendent shall make a finding upon such complaint. If he finds that any text-book contains matter prohibited in subsection (1) of this section, he shall make note of such finding in the list of text-books which he is required by paragraph (b) of subsection (1) of section 40.35 annually to publish and to transmit to all county and city superintendents. No such text-book shall thereafter be placed on the list of text-books which may be adopted, sold, or exchanged in this state.

(4) Every school board, board of education, board of vocational education, or county board of education which has control over the text-books used in any district school, city school, vocational school, or high school, shall cause any text-book which the state superintendent has found contains matter prohibited in subsection (1) of this section to be withdrawn from use in such school prior to the opening of the school year following the publication of such finding of the state superintendent. No state aid under the provisions of sections 20.25, 20.26, 20.27, 20.28, 20.29, 20.33, and 20.335 of the statutes shall be paid for the support of any district school, city school, vocational school, or high school during any year in which any such text-book is used in such school after the finding of the state superintendent.

Section 2. This act shall take effect upon passage and publication.

Literally construed and intelligently and justly executed, the law is harmless. Of the many excellent text-books of American history now prevailing in use, none really falsifies the facts regarding our wars, or defames the founders of our nation, or misrepresents their ideals, or contains what can rightly be termed propaganda favorable to any foreign government. But we all know what is meant. No one can miss the significance of the fact that, under this law, you can say what you please about the war with Mexico or the war with Spain, but must not "falsify the facts" (*i.e.*, modify the sacred one-sided tradition) regarding the two wars with Great Britain. Truly, "the hand of Joab is in all this".

Some of us are old enough to remember the school histories in use forty and fifty years ago, lifeless compilations mostly made by hack writers who could "do" a chemistry one year and a history—any history—the next. For twenty-five or thirty years past, the schools have been replacing these with good books, made by first-rate historical scholars. An inevitable part of this process of improvement has been an increasing ability and desire to see both sides, in ancient controversies. This is well seen to be a gain when the question is of Athenian and Spartan, Roman and Carthaginian, Guelph and Ghibelline, Protestant and Catholic, Royalist and Parliamentary, Union and Confederate, and we scoff at any English, French, and German text-books that preach chauvinism. Why is such improvement of eyesight not a gain, but a punishable offense, in the case of two historical controversies alone, the Revolutionary contest and the War of 1812? It is surely disquieting, if not discouraging, to witness these efforts, in Wisconsin and in other states too, to put back the clock by substituting, for the deliberate judgment of first-rate scholars, the prejudices of the uninformed, of those whose notions of American history have never advanced beyond the point at which they or their fathers were left, in the eighth grade, by the stale text-books of an earlier time.

For, consider the procedure which the statute provides. Picture the scene at the county court-house. On the one side the five complaining citizens (the statute assumes them to be all of the same county), eager to protect their cherished offspring from the danger of learning any facts or thoughts unfamiliar to their parents, and armed with clippings from the Hearst newspapers and other authoritative texts. On the other side, the publisher's agent, reluctant to sacrifice the poor author, but willing to make "reasonable concessions" and nowise bigoted in matters of history. As judge, a school inspector, who very likely "had History 1" when in college. What a method for establishing historical truth! *Non talibus armis, nec defensoribus istis!*

The whole movement, a natural part of the nationalistic reaction from the high enthusiasms of 1918, deserves the serious attention of those who care for historical truth and know something of how it is ascertained and preserved. Such men and women should regard it as a duty to attend these local inquisitions into historical text-books, now so frequently held before various school-boards, and to lift up a voice in behalf of common sense, rational patriotism, and fair-minded training of young Americans for citizenship of the United States and of the world.

J. F. J.

ON THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOLS TO MILITARY HISTORY

UPON offer by Colonel O. L. Spaulding, and for its intrinsic value and interest, we lay before our readers the following letter addressed by him to Professor W. E. Lingelbach, one of the two representatives of the American Historical Association in the recently formed Joint Commission on the Presentation of the Social Studies. To it we append a letter of comment by General Pershing.

Army War College, WASHINGTON,
March 20, 1923.

Professor William E. Lingelbach,
University of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Professor Lingelbach:

I am in receipt of a circular recently issued by the Joint Commission on the Presentation of the Social Studies, asking for suggestions. Not being in touch with school work, I can hardly offer anything of value to the Joint Commission as a whole; but as representing the Military History Committee of the American Historical Association I may possibly have some suggestions for the historical members of that Commission.

The purpose of the social studies, to quote the circular, is to give an appreciation of "how people have lived and do live together . . . ; to the end that our youth may develop such abilities, inclinations, and ideals as may qualify them to take an intelligent and effective part in an evolving society".

The distinctive contribution of history to these studies is to "extend backward the memory of living men and give them a sense of perspective to aid them in forming their judgments on contemporary affairs".

History itself, as a science, has its many specialties—political, economic, military, and what not. Evidently, to make such a contribution as is contemplated, there must be a synthesis of all these. If any element is overemphasized, or any neglected, the "memory extended backward" is distorted, and ceases to be a trustworthy guide. Whoever tries to make the synthesis must know all his elements; it is the business of the specialists to bring them to his attention. He must not allow his own specialty—for undoubtedly, if he is a truly interested student of history, he has one—to obscure any other; again it is the business of the specialists to bring any such error to his attention. Conversely, the specialists, in performing their functions, must understand the purpose and scope of the synthesis, and not try to exercise undue influence upon the maker of it.

The Military History Committee would respectfully offer its co-operation, as representing one group of the specialists. It is prepared to make definite and practical suggestions; but before proceeding to formulate them it seems necessary to agree upon a point of view.

Military history deals with war; it is therefore unpopular, for war is not uncommonly regarded as a loathsome disease of the body politic. This may or may not be an accurate metaphor—certainly there is some reason for using it. But here we may note a strange phenomenon.

When we meet a literal disease of the physical body, we recognize that, since it exists, it has a reason for existence, and we at once set the specialists to work to study it in every imaginable way. We use their results whether we like them or not. Only by full and complete knowledge of the disease can we hope to find a cure. The man who considers war as a disease of the body politic, then, should be the first to insist upon its conscientious study. Imperfect or distorted knowledge of it should be more objectionable to him than to any one else. But as a rule we do not find it so.

We daily see attacks upon war, as if war were an entity capable of isolation. We see tabulations of its enormous cost, in blood and in gold. But we rarely see even an effort to analyze these tables; to understand the nature of war; to audit the accounts, and see to whom or to what each item of the staggering total is chargeable.

To change the metaphor, it is not imaginable that a business man, finding one department of his business more costly than all the rest together, should fail to study that department minutely and dispassionately. He will lay aside for the moment any preconceived ideas, and search for facts—for "it is a condition, not a theory", that confronts him. When he has all the facts he can consider whether and how he may cut costs.

In the nation's life, war is not a thing apart. It is an instrument, one among many.

To gain its ends a nation, like an individual, uses argument and by successive compromises reduces the dispute to its lowest terms. If one of the parties to the argument, rightly or wrongly, finally refuses to accept the other's views, that other must either admit defeat or use force. This use of force may be justified or not; but whether or not it be justified, it is a mere continuation of the argument.

A school history is presumably for the elementary training of voters. It is not and must not be a specialized history—economic, military, or anything else. War being an inseparable part of the nation's past it should be presented in precisely the same impartial and scientific manner as any other part. Its technical details should be omitted, but its fundamentals must appear.

Being the supreme manifestation of the nation's physical strength, the method in which that strength is put forth must be considered. Being the continuation of an argument, the transition must be shown. Being no mere act of passion, but a deliberate effort to gain an end, its conduct is intellectual; its events have a logical reason and sequence, which must be brought out. Having a purpose, its results must appear.

The voter must some time decide whether or not he favors a specific demand upon some foreign power. His teacher is criminal, if that voter has not been given fairly to see how such demands may lead to war; to understand the nature, the cost, and the possible consequences of war, that he may intelligently decide whether he is ready to back his demand with war if necessary; and to know something of how war is conducted, that he may judge of the conduct of his representatives, civil and military. He should not be—as he is—in the position of meeting each situation as a novel one, adopting the first solution that presents itself, and never finding out whether or not it was the best one. If he knows how to find it, there is generally a parallel case in the past.

This attitude is not taken in the ordinary school text-book. In fact, no text-book is known to the Military History Committee which does take it. It would seem that everyone should be interested in having it taken—the most pronounced pacifist or the most pronounced militarist, if indeed these glibly used general terms have any clearly definable meaning. The Military History Committee considers it to be its privilege and duty to offer its assistance to that end.

The Committee does not mean to imply that its specialty is the only one which suffers from neglect. Undoubtedly other committees might find similar conditions. If so, these committees also should come forward. And this Committee, in offering assistance, wishes voluntarily to subject itself to the limitation above formulated for the action of specialists. It will faithfully and conscientiously seek to "understand the purpose and scope of the synthesis, and not try to exercise undue influence".

Comment on the above discussion is requested, either in writing, or, preferably, in personal conferences.

Very respectfully,

OLIVER L. SPAULDING, JR.,

Colonel, Field Artillery,

Chief, Historical Section, A.W.C.,

Acting Chairman, Military History Committee,

American Historical Association.

GENERAL OF THE ARMIES
WASHINGTON

March 29th, 1923.

Colonel Oliver L. Spaulding, jr.:

My dear Colonel Spaulding:

A copy of your letter of March 20th to Professor Lingelbach, suggesting the contribution by the Military History Committee of the American Historical Association, on the Presentation of the proposed Social Studies, was brought to my attention by my Aide-de-Camp. I am very glad to find that you are endeavoring to bring about proper methods of presenting the military aspects of our history, to the end that correct conclusions may be drawn from the lessons of the past by the men and women who decide the policies of this country through their vote at the polls.

Since the birth of the nation we have been engaged in a series of identical cycles which find us on the outbreak of every war in a disgraceful state of unpreparedness, resulting in the untold waste of money and human lives. An accurate knowledge of the causes, social, economic, and military, leading to these wars, would increase the probability of our being able to avoid their repetition; and a comprehension of the causes leading to the unnecessary wastefulness in the conduct of our wars, would certainly lead to its avoidance in the future. I am firmly convinced that most of our troubles of this nature have their foundation in the inaccuracies and inadequacies of our school histories. Until this is corrected, neither those who exercise the right of suffrage nor their representatives in Congress will ever take the necessary corrective measures and maintain a policy which will insure the prestige and dignity of our country and lessen the possibility of war in the future.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN J. PERSHING.

DOCUMENTS

Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society, [1754] 1769-1796, II.

X. JAMES CRAIK TO WASHINGTON.¹

I have thought it might be more satisfactory to leave you the different Accounts I received respecting the Communication between the waters of the Yohiogany and the North Branch of Potowmack, that you might from a view of the whole Collect an opinion for yourself. it appears to me that the land Carriage from the Forks of Yohiogany to Cumberland which from a variety of accounts will not be more than thirty miles is to be preferred to Sixty miles of difficult Navigation up the little Crossing, and twenty miles land Carriage afterwards, which is the distance from the little crossing on the Turkey foot Road to Cumberland. If the Communication is to be carried on by the little Crossing, the Turkey Foot Road is to be preferred to Braddocks old Road, as it is infinitely better and above two miles shorter. Indeed I found the whole Turkey foot Road across the mountains much better and nearer than Braddocks Road, that if there were good entertainment no one could hesitate in the choice.

I delivered your letter to Colo. Stenson, who informed me he had a few days before engaged his mare to Captn. Tauncyhin but offered me a horse Colt far above its value. He says he expects to be at Alexandria this month when he will endeavour to let you have some money. Capt. Bell will also be down and has promised to go and view the Falls of Yohiogany and report to you particularly on them. On my arrival at Colo. Warner Washingtons I wrote to your Brother Charles who next day called on Mr. Gaunt when he informed him that he was still in the mind of purchasing the Land and requested that you would leave your terms in writing and that if they were not very high he would take the land upon your word he said he knew what you gave for it. As you altered your Rout down I desired Bushrod to request him to come down to you as soon as possible, which was his first intention. I have the Honour to be with the utmost Respect and affect'n.

Your Excel'cys

Most obed't hum'l Ser't

JAS. CRAIK.

MOUNT VERNON

Oct 2d, 1784

¹ Part of this letter appears in Stewart's report, p. 31, but as the second paragraph was not printed, and as it contains items of interest bearing on the navigation of the Potomac, it has seemed best to print the entire letter. Dr. James Craik was Washington's old friend and family physician who accompanied him on his trip to the West in 1784. Washington took a different route on the return trip and was to have met Dr. Craik at Warner Washington's. Changing his plans, however, Washington sent word to Dr. Craik to proceed to Mt. Vernon. This letter must have been written immediately on Dr. Craik's return to Mt. Vernon and before Washington had arrived. For an account of the life of James Craik see *Dinwiddie Papers*, I. 115 note.

P-S. I have recd of Mr Lund Washington Twelve Pounds Seven shillings and sixpence being the Expences down. the General account of Expences must be deffered untill I have the pleasure of seeing you.

[*Endorsement*:] Information obtained by Doct'r Craik of the Communication between Wills C'k and Yohiogany

His Excellency

General Washington

XI. NORMAND BRUCE TO WASHINGTON.

Sir

There being many reasons to believe that our Specie has been much lessened not only during the War but even since the Peace—It is not however to be doubted, but that much has been also imported during these periods, but it cannot bear any proportion to Exports. Not only the difference of Exchange, which has uniformly since the Peace, been so far above Par, but, the large Exportations of Specie which still continues, seems to demonstrate the Ballance to be much against us, and in favour of all the Manufacturing Countrys with which we Trade. But notwithstanding these reasons as well as the many great and obvious inconveniences evidently arising from the scarcity of a Circulating Medium amongst us, it is urged by many that our Complaints on this head are imaginary, maintaining that there is more specie amongst us at Present, than ever there was at any one Period before. The principle argument aduced in support of this opinion is, it seems, the liberal Prices given for our Commodities, which is by no means conclusive—it may be owing to very different Causes a scarcity of Produce here, but most probably a brisk demand and high Prices at the Market of Consumption. However admitting that we have as much specie as before the War, yet when we consider the large quantity of Paper then in Circulation, but now so much wanted, Our present distress will in a great measure be accounted for. Nor is it probable, that the worst is over. The insignificance of our Trade at the time of calling our late large emissions of Paper out of circulation, and for a considerable time after, the Indulgence of paying Taxes in produce, and above all the Laws screening Debtors from Suits, hath hitherto prevented many bad consequences which yet may be dreaded. In short Sir it must appear evident, to every impartial enquirer, particularly from the embarrassed situation of the People, and the uncultivated state of our Lands, without the means of relief usual in all other trading Countrys as well as heretofore in this, that an addition to our Medium, would not only be of general benefite by promoting Industry but so Critical seems our situation, that without some speedy and adequate remedy, we must infallibly be deprived of many of those essential benefits we had reason to expect from a Peace so very favourable. It therefore certainly becomes an enquiry of the utmost consequence to the Trade and Cultivation of these States, how far the Evil may admit of a speedy and effectual cure.

As it seems impracticable under our present circumstances to procure specie either by Loan or other ways, adequate to our Exigences and increasing Business, Paper seems the only resource left us—I am well aware of the strong prejudices imbibed by many against a Paper medium, and during the continuance of the War there might be Reason, but since

the Peace we surely have it more in our Power than ever to Emit it on solid and sufficient funds, and having previous to the Revolution experienced (and most other Civilized Nations still experience) very Salutary Effects flowing from a Prudent use of it, and surely because we may have been nearly Phisiched to death by the unskilfull application of a Medicine, it by no means follows that we should entirely reject it, when convinced that a Moderate Portion thereof, judiciously administer'd, is the only remedy left us for our disorder. The Benefits arising to any State more particularly to such, circumstanced as we are, uncultivated and unimproved, from Public Emissions are apparent, and past Experience proves the great advantages flowing therefrom to the Public—a part may be Circulated in discharging Internal Debts, whilst the remainder is lent out in small sums to Individuals able to procure Security for the repayment thereof, the annual Interest of which, would not only add to the Public Revenue, but the Sums so lent would give Scope to Industry and Agriculture, the best and surest means of keeping the little specie we have or may hereafter get amongst us, for thereby our Exports would be increased and our Coin more augmented, and a Ballance finally obtained against those Nations who at present have it against us. For these obvious reasons Public Emissions ought to be preffered by every well wisher of his Country. But the influence which some men seems to possess in our Councils, who pretending a Dread of they know not what, have deprived the Public of this benefite and Individuals of the only seeming rational means of assistance, without it is Emetted on such terms as must Evidently check its Circulation and give the Creditors a very unfair advantage over their Debtors—As therefore we have but little hopes left of seeing Public Emissions the following proposition for Circulating a very small Sum on Private Security, and for Establishing a Bank is submitted to your private consideration wether it may admit of such amendment or additions as to be rendered practicable and of Service to the Comunity

Proposal, That provided the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland will Emit the Sum of 500,000 Dollars, which they will grant upon Loan to the Subscribers or other ways Vest them with the Priviledge of Emitting and of Circulating such a Sum for and during the term of Ten years from the date of the Grant or Emission—In consideration whereof they will engage to expend the Sum of Dollars within the Space of Years from the date of such Grant towards rendering Potowmack River Navigable from Tide Water, towards its Source, or as far up, as to the nearest convenient Landing for the Western Waters.

That the said Sum of 500,000 dollars shall be subscribed for and divided into (either 125 or 250) Shares (which will make each share amount to \$1000 or 2000 dollars) and that no Subscription shall be received for more than Shares nor for less than $\frac{1}{4}$ Share.

That every Subscriber shall be entitled to a Loan of one half of the Sum subscribed by him, upon giving Bond with Sufficient Security for the repayment thereof with Interest Annually.

That the other Moiety or Residue of the Money excepting a Sum not exceeding Dollars shall be lent out upon Satisfactory Security in Sums not exceeding Dollars to any one Person at the Annual Interest of 5 pr Ct.

That one half of the Amount of the Proposed Emissions shall be redeemed and paid off in the Year 179 and the other Moiety in the year

following; and for the certain and effectual redemption whereof the Subscriber, etc. to be liable.

That the Subscribers etc. shall be incorporated by the Name of the Potowmack Company with such other further necessary Priviledges as the respective Legislatures may judge proper for their encouragement and for the effectual securing the repayment of Money lent by them.

That the Proprietors shall meet on the day of next and on the same day annually at Alexandria there to Elect by Ballot a Governour Directors Treasurer and Secratary.

That the Governour with a Majority of Directors shall meet Quarterly and be empowered to make such further Appointments as may be found necessary, make Contracts, fix the Price of Wages, Draw on the Treasurer and give such directions from time to time as may be necessary for executing with Diligence and frugality, the intended Navigation in a Manner, which shall be deemed of the greatest Public Utility.

The Treasurer shall give approved Security for a faithfull discharge of Trust reposed in him.

A fair Record shall be kept of all proceedings by the Secratary who shall regularly attend the Annual meetings of the Proprietors and at All meetings of the Governour and Directors.

Every Subscriber or Subscribers of each share shall only have a Vote in the Proceedings and may Vote by Proxy Authorized under Hand and Seal and lodged with the Secretary Previous to Voting.

And to Establish a fund upon which to Circulate Notes payable on demand, Similar to Bond Notes, That every Subscriber do pay unto the in Gold or Silver or in Good Bills of Exchange (payable in Europe) on or before the first day of next a Sum equal to 1/10 of their Subscriptions, the like Sum at the expiration of Months from that time, and so on untill half the Amount of the Subscriptions are paid in.

That the Governour and Directors shall be empowered to receive new Subscriptions towards increasing the Capital Stock on such terms as they may judge Proper.

That Notes shall be Emetted from time to time, not to exceed the Proportion of Dollars for one Received, as the Payments are made.

That Cash Accounts shall be opened by which every Person upon giving approved Security shall be advanced Cash to a certain Extent, at such times and in such Proportions as he may order, for which pr Ct. is to be charged from the time the Money is advanced—He also having the liberty of returning such Sums (not less however than Dollars at a time) as it may suit him, on which the like Interest will be allowed whilst in Bank.

A supposed State agreeable to the above out Lines

	Virg'a Curr'cy
Sum Proposed to [?] 500,000 Dollars at 6/	£ 150,000
10 Years Interest at 5 pr Ct on £ 150,000 is	£ 75,000
To be expended on Potowmack supposed	£ 40000
10 Years Salery to Secratary Treasurer	1500
Governour, Directors, Expenses etc. on Business for 10 years—say	7500
Clerks Overseers etc. Wages for 10 years	7500
	<u>56500</u>
By this state there remains a Ballance of	£ 18500 out

of which however is to be deducted loss by bad debtage

It seems unnecessary to enter into any further Comment on the Benefits arising from the Circulation even of this small Sum—doubtless many Industrious Persons might therefrom be furnished with the means of Prosecuting their Improvements and shall only observe that the Sum being so Small in Comparison to the Trade of Potowmack even in its present State and the number of People who are closely interested in the success of this Beneficial Undertaking, which can never be executed upon more advantageous terms to themselves and Posterity it is but reasonable to Presume that notwithstanding our Prejudices against Paper, there can be no doubt but that this Money will Circulate freely.

As the Nature of Banking may not have come under your Consideration, I thought that a few observations on that Subject might not be construed as an intrusion on Your Patience but, at Present I am unavoidably called off, and altho after this delay it seems strangely ridiculous to offer an excuse for the hurry and incorrectness with which this is wrote yet such has been my case that this is the first day of rest I have enjoy'd not having been two days in a Place since I had the pleasure of seeing you.² I trust that I shall not from the freedom which I have taken in communicating my Sentiments incur your Censure as a Projector. The Profit which the Public might reap from the Circulation of Paper is apparently considerable. I have therefore ever thought that the States only ought to possess these Advantages and enjoy the Monopoly, But as there is reason to fear that the Public Benefite may be overlooked amidst that increasing eagerness with which Individuals amongst us seems to prosecute their Particular Interests I have therefore been induced to trouble you, hoping that as the Sum here intended to be Circulated is so trifling and the services proposed to be rendered of such Public Advantage and Utility that this Money would be received with avidity and Circulated freely in which case it might also prove a means of effacing our Prejudices against Paper and pave the way for future Emission. Should you however Sir deem the proposals inconsistent I have inclosed the outlines of another mode of Executing this important Business upon the same principles,³ that Works of this kind are most commonly undertaken and executed. I remain, most Worthy Sir with perfect Respect and Esteem Your very Obd't Serv.

NORMD. BRUCE.

WASHINGTON COUNTY)
13 Novembr 1784)
General Washington
Mount Vernon

[Endorsement:] From Norman Bruce, 13 Nov 1784

XII. ENCLOSURE IN NORMAND BRUCE'S LETTER.

Proposals of opening the Navigation of Potowmack for which purpose the Sum of 150,000 dollars shall be subscribed and divided into Seventy five Shares of 2000 dollars each.

² An interview with Colonel Normand Bruce is mentioned in Washington's diary, Sept. 6, 1784. He was at Bath at this time. *Washington and the West*, pp. 35, 36.

³ The enclosure is the next document.

No Subscription shall be taken for more than Shares nor less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Share.

The Subscribers to be incorporated by Acts of the Virg'a and Maryl'd Legislatures by name of the Potowmack Company with an Exclusive right to them, their Heirs, assigns etc. to all the Water they may think proper to collect in their Canals and the Lands through which the same may run shall be condemned for the use and that they shall have power to Levy on all Boats Rafts etc. Passing thru their Cannals a Toll not exceeding pr Ton.

The Proprietors shall meet on the Day of next at Alexandria and on the same day Annually and then Elect by a Majority of Votes a Governour and Directors a Treasurer Secretary for the year.

The Governour with a Majority of Directors shall have Power to make Contracts fix the price of Wages and Employ such Persons to direct and Oversee the Work as they shall find necessary and Draw on the Treasurer for Money.

The Treasurer shall give Security for discharge of Trust.

The Company to be impowred by the Legislature of the Two States to Emit and Circulate a Sum not exceeding Sixty thousand Dollars which shall pass and be received in payment of Taxes and Public dues until the year when the sum shall be called in and paid off by the Compy.

Each Subscriber shall pay into the Hands of the Treasurer such parts of his share and at such times as the Governour and Directors shall order.

The Holder or Holders of each share shall only have a Vote in the Proceedings and May Vote by Proxy Authorized under the Hand and Seal and Lodged with the Secretary Previous to receiving such Votes.

The Secretary shall attend the Meetings of the Proprietors and of the Governour and Directors and keep a fair Record of all their Proceedings and Lay the Same before the meetings of the Proprietors.

P. S. The above Estimate is made upon a supposition that 150,000 dolls. is component for the work. It exceeds the Sum mentioned in the Returns of C. Beatty and myself to the assembly of this State,⁴ but the manner in which we were obliged to make the Survey rendered much of the Value of the Business to be done Guess Work.

XIII. WASHINGTON'S COMMENTS ON THE ACTS OF 1784.⁵

1. Norfolk. 2. Why so short.

3. Why not meet at the Expiration of the term the Books are kept open—the Subsr. then being all together can determine with less of time what is proper done under present Circumstances.

⁴In the spring of 1783 Bruce and Beatty had been appointed by the Maryland Assembly commissioners to examine the Potomac River and make an estimate of the cost of making it navigable. In view of the fact that their report is not to be found, this document is of particular value. See *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 124.

⁵These observations are found on the back of the sheet bearing Ballendine's rates of 1772; see this *Review*, XXVIII, 518. They are in Washington's handwriting and are obviously his comments on the draft of the acts for opening the

4. not clearly understood—all subscriptions should be by shares is the [torn].
5. can this be amended.
6. Number too disproportionate to the aggregate especially as many votes may happen to be in the same person.
7. Little and lower falls unnecessary. A place below the confluence of the No. and So. Branch substituted in place of the lower falls.
8. Alter the rates of the tolls.
9. Why that exemption when the returns for the produce of the Ohio w'ch may go down the Mississippi may go back in the empty Boats.
10. with a reasonable space, say 50 feet on each side (if necessary).
11. This clause gives great discontent, as it is construed to make the Company insurers and answerable for all damages such works may sustain.
12. A consequent alteration, if (7) is made.
13. Sufficient Locks—if they shall be found necessary.
 * And that may use force to prevent their passing spot if it is attempted without. Would it be nugatory to insert a clause to empower the corporation to lower the Falls if they shall deem it necessary without an Act of Assembly,—or what follows may answer
 * or any less Tons at their discretion.

[Endorsement:] Obs'ns on the Acts for opening the Navigation of Potomac and James Rivers. 1784.

[It was in the fall of 1784, apparently, that the map of the Potomac region published in *House Report* no. 228, 19th Congress, 1st session, opposite page 24, was sketched. The original differs slightly from the reproduction. It was *not* drawn by Washington as Stewart says, but by Bruce. The endorsement on the back in Washington's writing reads, "Sketch of the Country between the Waters of Potomack and those of Yohiogany and Monongalia by Colo. Norm'd Bruce". The accuracy of the sketch may be judged by Washington's reference in his diary, September 6, 1784: "I therefore endeavoured to prevail upon Colo. Bruce to explore the Country from the North Branch of Potomack at McCulloughs path, or the highest practicable Navigation on it, to the nearest Waters of Yohiogany—thence to Sandy Creek and down that to its junction with the Cheat River—laying the whole down by actual surveys, and exact measurement; which he has promised to do, if he can accomplish it." (*Washington and the West*, p. 36.)

Minor changes in the printed map may be mentioned. McCullochs (not *gh's*) Road should be carried all the way from Patersons (not *Patinons*) Creek to join the line at *A*, and beyond Patersons Creek in the other direction. That is, the dotted line *A* to *B* (there two rivers. By following the text of the two acts in Hening, vol. XI., it is possible to determine how many of his suggestions were embodied in the final form.

are only the smaller *A* and *B* in the original) is merely the end of McCullochs Road. Corresponding to the 40 near *A* is a figure 20 just below the junction of New Creek and Potomac. The legend for *B* should read *Archies*, not *Archer's Spring*. On the original the words, "Road or Portage", denoting the dotted line from Cumberland to Turkey Foot, are not to be found. The *Great Yough* is the *Great Y* on the manuscript map.]

XIV. THOMAS BLACKBURN TO WASHINGTON.⁶

RIPPON LODGE Decr. 20th 1784.

Dear Sir:

Your Favor of Yesterday's Date came to Hand this Morning.

I intended to have done myself the Honor to have waited on You Today, to confer with You on the Subject of the Dispatches I received by Yesterday's Express; but the Intervention of your Letter, and the Badness of the Weather, will excuse me.

I am sorry to inform You, that it is not in my power to attend the Meeting of the Commrs. on the Day You mention, being engaged, as an Administrator, in the Sale of the late revd. James Scott's personal Estate, in a few Days after; which I must of Necessity attend.

As I am informed that Genl. Gates is with You, and can have no Doubt of his Attendance on this Business; I am happy to think it will not be retarded by my Inability to attend.

I am, most respectfully,

Dr Sir:

Yr. most obt. hble. Serv't

T. BLACKBURN.

General Washington.

[Endorsement:] From Colo. T. Blackburn, 10 Decr. 1784.

[The next document according to date is that printed in full in *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 136-139. The endorsement in Washington's hand reads: "Conference of the Commission for opening the Potomack, Annapolis 21st Decr 1784 and making a Road from the waters of the Potomac to those of Monongalia."

A letter from Samuel Hanway, dated Old Town, January 26, 1785, follows next in order, but as it is printed entire in Stewart's report, p. 32, it is not included here. The endorsement reads: "From Capt'n Sam'l Hanway, 26th Jan. 1785, respecting the communication between the Western Waters and the Potomac."]

⁶ Thomas Blackburn had been appointed by Virginia, along with Washington and Gates, a delegate to the Maryland-Virginia meeting held at Annapolis on Dec. 22, 1784. General Mason states (*Stewart's Report*, p. 25) that Blackburn did not attend "on account of indisposition"; and Pickell (*A New Chapter in the Early Life of Washington*, p. 43) described the cause as "serious indisposition". Both would seem to be in error according to this letter. It will be noted that Washington's endorsement does not give the correct date. For the record of the meeting, see *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 136-139.

XV. GEORGE GILPIN TO WASHINGTON.⁷

D Sir

on sunday the 3d of this month I went within one mile of the Seneca falls it then rain'd very fast which prevented me from going nearer; on monday the 4th I went to Mr. Gideon Moss's who lives the nearest to the Falls of any person on the virginia Side, and who issued provisions to the hands that workd under Johnston and Clapham last year. I then crossed over the river just above the falls to the maryland side and went down to where the huts was in which the people lived last fall and then to a Mr. Goldsboroughs at whose house Johnston and Clapham lodged When they attended the works. I found no person at any of these places who wanted to engage immediately. one person who had been at Mr. Goldsboroughs on the 1st day of the month by mistake went away. he wanted work and said he understood blowing rocks. Mr. Moss and others informed me that they thought hands might be procured after harvest but they were all employed in gathering their Grain and Hay; I left a short advertizement at these places and some others. I then view'd the falls on both sides and then went to Shenandoah. I arrived at harper's ferry on the 5th in the evening.

on the 6th it was near 12 oclock before I could procure an Express to Bath. a few labourers Came but they did not want to enter to work then except one old dutchman who Came very drunk. I informed them of the 8th day of august as the day on which their wages would begin if they appeard and would go to work. from what I Could gather from a number of gentlemen that assembled there that labourers may be had I believe enough for our purpose and 40/ virginia Curr'cy is about the price. the reason assignd why more did not appear was that their harvest is great and all the labourers employd. I wrote a letter to Gover'r Johnston and one to Gover'r S. Lee and sent them. I wrote a few advertizements sent one to Fredericks Town and some to other places. I viewd the falls on both sides and got what Intelligence I Could Concerning the river and then waited at Capt. Breadys till Friday evening when Mr Rumsay⁸ Came. we had some Conversation about the navigation of

⁷ The writer of this letter, George Gilpin, was one of the directors of the Potomac Company and a very energetic worker in its behalf. When advertising, invitations, and personal solicitation on the part of the Company had been made in a vain effort to obtain workmen for the project, Gilpin undertook the task of securing them. This letter was written on his tour of the region for that purpose. Pickell mentions Clapham's given name as James (p. 70); whereas Mrs. Bacon-Foster refers to him as Col. Josias Clapham (p. 153). The Johnston mentioned seems to be Thomas Johnson. This letter contains the only reference I have found to work on the river in the fall of 1784.

⁸ James Rumsey, one of the most picturesque characters of the period—"Crazy Rumsey" he was called locally in Maryland and Virginia because of his invention of mechanical propulsion of boats on inland waterways. Washington had met him at Bath on his western tour, Sept. 6, 1784, and recounts in his journal: "Remained at Bath all day, and was showed the Model of a Boat constructed by the ingenious Mr. Rumsey, for ascending rapid currents by mechanism. . . . The Model, and its operation upon the water . . . not only convinced me of what I before thought next to, if not quite impracticable, but that it might be to the greatest possible utility in inland Navigation." How much Washington's vision

potomack in which he informed me that he would be down on the 14th. he gave me a letter for you which the bearer will deliver to you as also one from a Member of the Company a Colo Hunter in favor of Mr. Rumsay. I have sent a state of the falls in the river as they now appear and have taken the liberty to make a few remarks on them, if your Excellency should not have by you notes of this nature sufficient already they may be of service and if you should they can be destroyd. I thought it my duty to give you the best information I could. I am with due Esteem your Excellency's most Obt. Servt.

GEORGE GILPIN

Sunday July 10th 1785

His Excellency General Washington at Mount Vernon

[*Endorsement*.:] Colon'l Gilpin's Letter and Observ'ns 10th July 1785.⁹

XVI. THOMAS JOHNSON TO WASHINGTON.

FRED'K, 4 Novem'r 1785

Sir.

The little Time we had at our last Meeting¹⁰ just allowed an Opportunity to mention several Things which were left very imperfect though we seemed much in the same Opinion; amongst them Applications to the Assembly's to release the Company from a part of the depth of the Canals; as the four feet draft of water, in our Circumst's is so far from necessary that it is in some degree injurious I wish to see it in the Road of Correction and I flatter myself that an Application cannot fail—the Friends of the Company being such on the principle of public Utility they must be inimical to a wasteful Expendit. of even private Money—the Enemies to the project being such on the principle of Economy in the public Money they must be desirous of saving as much of the 5,00£ public Money as they possibly can so that we may fairly count on all the Votes for the Convention if the new proposition will not render the Navigation less useful. To lay a proper Foundation I have gone into the inclosed Calculation, No. 1.¹¹ I may have erred in my principles or Deductions, for I do not set up for Accuracy, and therefore wish it revised and set to rights if wrong. No. 2¹² is the Draft of a petition and No. 3 the Draft of a

and encouragement aided the inventor is not certain, but shortly after this letter was written, Rumsey was made engineer for the Potomac Company and gave his undivided attention to the navigation of the river. In 1786 he successfully propelled a boat by steam on the Potomac; in 1788 a Rumsey Society was formed in Philadelphia, Franklin being a member; and in 1792 Rumsey was in England attempting to interest capitalists in his invention. Here he died prematurely in December of that year, having successfully operated a steamboat on the Thames. *Washington and the West*, pp. 32, 125–129; *The Potomac Route to the West*, pp. 153–164.

⁹ Corrected by Washington from 1784 to 1785.

¹⁰ On Oct. 18, 1785, a two days' session of the full board of directors of the Potomac Company was held at the Great Falls. *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 163.

¹¹ This enclosure does not appear with the other papers.

¹² See next document.

Bill.¹³ as I had only my own Ideas to guide me I make no doubt but that they may be much improved in the Matter and am confident they may in the Language. the Time is too short for much Intercourse on the Subject and if they are thought sufficient for a Groundwork the only Favor I request for them or myself is that you would treat [treat] them with intire Freedom by altering as you may think best for I feel nothing of favouritism to any part. my views will be intirely answered in obtaining a Release from the useless part of the Burthen.

Since my Return Home my Thoughts have run a good deal on the Situation of the Great Falls for Locks and the Manner of constructing them and their Gates. I was puzzled about the latteral pressure of Water for the Situation seems to point out Locks of great depth but unless we can come at some Rule to know the Force of a given Body of Water we do not know the Quantity of Force or degree of Strength necessary to oppose to it or whether we have it in our power to oppose it with Success or not. I have no Books of my own nor am I in a favourable place to borrow Books on the Subject however I obtained one and have extracted No. 4¹⁴ what I thought applicable. My Attempt No. 5¹⁵ on this Foundation may probably be so far from accurate as to be intirely wrong for I have no learning in this Way the only Merit or rather the Excuse I can claim is the Intention. Yet I cannot but be struck with the Hints started at the Falls and hope we may accomplish a resisting Force superior to the Action of the Water. let us raise it in the Locks to what height we please and I candidly confess I feel a kind of Pride in the originality or at least uncommonness of the Gates proposed. if by a Deviation from the usual Manner we can combine Strength Dispatch and Ease in a superior degree and at a less Expense than the Europeans my Ambition will be highly gratified and I flatter myself the Occasion offers. I should either forbear giving you this Trouble or apologize for it if I did not think your desire to pick out some thing useful from the crudest Thoughts and my unreserve will make this prolixity acceptable for I much more wish to add to than take from the few of your leisure Moments.

I am sr.

Your most obed't and most hble serv't

TH JOHNSON

[Endorsement:] From Thoms. Johnson Esqr 4th Novr. 1785.

XVII. ENCLOSURE NO. 2.

To the Honble the General Assembly's of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the State of Maryland.

The humble Petition of the president and Directors of the Potomack Company on Behalf of the said Company sheweth, That by the Acts of the said Assembly's intitled An Act for opening etc¹⁶ it is made essen-

¹³ See Hening's *Statutes*, XII. 68, or Maxcy's *Laws of Maryland*, I. 542. A draft of this act, though not in Johnson's autograph, was found among the papers.

¹⁴ An extract, not here printed, from John Rowning's *A Compendious System of Natural Philosophy* (London, 1772 ed.), I. 25.

¹⁵ Not here printed.

¹⁶ Act incorporating the Potomac Company, Hening, XI. 510; Maxcy, I. 488.

tial that the Canal at the Great Falls and that at the Little Falls, if the Navigation should be effected by Canals and Locks shall be made to contain four Feet depth of Water in Dry Seasons when a sufficient depth for Boats of one foot draft of Water only, is required to be made in the River.

That your Petitioners believe so great a depth in the Canals was required for the convenient and easy passage of Rafts and deep Boats which might pass in the River when it is pretty full on the presumption that there would not be an equal or indeed any considerable increase of depth in the Canal on the rise of the Water in the River a supposition which would be well founded as to the Spaces between the Locks if they were from Necessity or Convenience placed distant from each other.

That your Petitioners have examined and levelled the Ground from where the Canal must be taken out above the Great Falls to some distance below the Falls where the Navigation must be led again into the Bed of the River and find that a Cut on one Level and connected Locks will be the simplest cheapest and most convenient Way of effecting Navigation there; they may add that almost of Necessity it must be made in that Manner.

That on executing that plan at the Great Falls, as they intend, the depth will as certainly be increased in the Canals on the rise of the River as that Water will flow to it's own Level and they are under the the strongest Impressions, if a Canal and Locks should be necessary or useful at the Little Falls, that a Cut on one Level and a Waste of the whole Fall by a set of connected Locks at Tide Water will be far the best on every Account and therefore the depth of water will be increased there by the same material means as at the Great Falls.

That as in the Canal purposed to be made at the Great Falls as well, probably, as in that, if any at the Little Falls the rise of Water will unavoidably keep pace with the rise in the River when only Rafts and Boats of considerable Draft can pass, all useful purposes would be equally answered by Canals of even less than two feet depth of Water in dry Seasons as if they were made to contain four which would according to the annexed Calculations not only save one fourth part of their Expence at the least but would by so much lessen the Work and save that proportion of the Time necessary to effect it and render the Canals, when finished, in a degree more secure.

Your Petitioners therefore pray that Acts of both the Assembly's may pass whereby it may be made necessary that a Canal at each or either of the said Falls if carried on one Level and supplied by the Current of the River contain two feet only instead of four feet depth of Water as required by the said Acts or that if the Level should be broke by Locks placed apart from each other that the first Level may necessarily contain only two feet depth and the others or rest four.

And your Petn's will pray etc

G. W. presidt.¹⁷

No. 2.

[In September, 1785, Johnson wrote to Washington: "I have amused myself with writing my ideas on the Canal and Locks in

¹⁷ These initials are in Johnson's handwriting.

detail and making Calculations of the Expence. . . . I enclose them to you. my intention must be their Recommendation" (*The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 161). Among the papers discovered are two sketches, very carefully drawn, bearing figures and legends in Johnson's autograph. One represents a lock, and bears Washington's endorsement: "Sketch of Lock Gates." The other shows a proposed canal, giving distances, etc.; and four locks, presumably to be constructed at the Great Falls. No doubt these were the enclosures of which Johnson wrote.]

XVIII. WORK OF POTOMAC COMPANY HANDS, 1790-1792.

1790 December 18. Sat off from Shannandoah falls for the great falls, and when we got there we worked at the lock seats, untill we went to the little falls.

1791. February 21. James Rannells overseer, and a party of the Labourers went from the great falls, to the little falls, and the remainder of the hands went there in april following—Except a black smyth and assistant, John Cusack Mason, and two men to assist him in building the stone wall for the Company's new house, also John Smith and a negroe man, Cuting and hewing Logg's for said House; the men Cleared the cut of the Canal at the little falls, from wood and Wreck, built the Hutts etc., and cut 52 perches of the Cannall, all but clearing the stones out of it.

June 4. the men Tools etc. Came from the little falls to the Great falls, and worked from the falls branch at the uper end of the cannall, to the uper end of Sennica falls Viz, at the uper end of the Great falls Cannall, blowed and levelled the rocks there, and cleared from thence sundry places, and points up the river, blowed and removed sundry rocks in the water, built walls in different places, and cut sundry barrs of rocks between the Great falls and the Widow Brusters landing and likewise blowed and removed sundry rocks at Trammells bottom, and at the lower end of the Cut at Sennica, deepened the head of the cut at Sennica and made Considerable Improvements at the head of the cut, in the daming.

August 12. Left the Great and Sennica falls, and came to Hooks falls sunday Evening the 14th Ins't with the Company's tools etc. and worked there from one End of the Falls to the other, blowing and moving of rock's and Every obstruction that could be done, untill there was a rise of water and the hands getting very sickly, and the weather wett, and nothing but bowe [bough] Hutts to keep in, we Improved it a good Deal; but may be still Improved more.

August 30. Left Hooks falls, and went up the same day, above Colo. Locketts ferry, done Every thing there, that the river, would admit us to do.

September 1st. Left Locketts falls, and went up to Berlin stayed there the 2nd. Did all there that the river would admit us to do.

September 3. Left Berlin and went up to Paynes falls. Cleared out the fall there, and made a Dam of a Considerable length in order to turn the water thro. the Cut and lined the cut on the maryl'd side, with stone and wood the whole length of the cut, and went over all the work opposite the mill removed and blasted Sundry rocks, etc. opposite

that bottom, and blowed sundry rocks between there and the spout at Shannandoah, and removed sundry obstructions.

November 5th. Left Paynes falls, and went up to Shannandoah falls, blasted and removed Sundry obstructions, above the spout, up to the mouth of Cates branch: and went over the former works, deepened them; and Improved the daming, as much as the river would admit of and the health of the people.

November 24. Left Shannandoah falls, and Came to the Great falls, went to work in the Lock seats, and on sunday the 11th of december, the river raised Considerably, there happened to be a musk rat hole, in the banking, which the water got thro, and carried away about 14 feet in the front, and two feet deep, and against the back wall, went upwards and downwards Some distance, which took the hands near a week to repair, and returned then to work at the Lock seats.

1792 January 7th. all hands went to the little falls.

[*Endorsement:*] Return of Movements by the Potowmack Company's hands being 9 times from December 18, 1790 to January 7th 1792.¹⁸

XIX. TOBIAS LEAR TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON March 13th 1796

Dear Sir,

Owing to some delay in the mail or neglect in the post offices your acceptable favor of the 28th ultimo did not get to my hands 'till the 10th. I am pleased that it is in my power to answer your queries respecting the navigation of the Potomac.

1st. "What proportion of the work is done? At least four fifths. Boats carrying from 100 to 120 bbls flour pass freely from New Creek, 12 miles above Cumberland to the Great Falls. A few places in this distance require bettering; but in the low water of summer they can be done at no great expence. The Canal leading to the Lockseats at the Great Falls is completed. The lock seats remain to be excavated and the Locks finished. This is the *great* work now to be done. Six locks, of 12 feet each, are required here. the three first, from the situation of the ground, or rather rock, will require more walling than excavation; but the 3 last, next the River, must be sunk in a Rock and this Rock being of a tough, sluggish nature, but too hard to be broken with picks, will cause great expence of powder and much hard persevering labour. The course of the locks is changed from the original plan and they will now communicate with the River in a secure and eligible situation. The portage from the basin of the Canal at the Great Falls to a good and safe landing place below the Lock seats on the River is scarcely half a mile. Great pains have been taken in perfecting the navigation between the Great and little falls, which is now safe and good, and may be used at all seasons. The Canal and Locks at the little falls are finished and have been in use upward of 8 months. So that excepting the portage at the Great falls the River is used from 12 miles above Fort Cumberland to tide water.

2d Query. What proportion remains to be done? This is answered in the foregoing.

¹⁸ The handwriting of this endorsement, which is that of the text of the paper, is unlike any other autograph among the papers. No clue is given as to authorship.

3d Query. When will it probably be completed? Certainly within two years, unless interruptions, which cannot at this time be foreseen, should occur.

4th Query. "What per Cent will it probably yield in the present State of population and produce"?

In order to answer this satisfactorily it will be necessary to observe that the law establishing the rate of tolls allows three places for collection—viz. one below and near the mouth of the South Branch, one at Payne's falls below the Shannandoah and one at the Great falls. At each of the 2 first places 3 d. sterlg. pr. bble is allowed for flour etc. and at the last place 6 d. st'g, this would make 1/ st'g in the whole; but to make a fair Statemt. it will only be proper to say that the whole will pay at the two last places, making 9 d. st'g pr. bble. And to proceed on sound data it is best to take the quantity of flour etc. exported from Alex. and Geo. Town 9/10ths of which is brought from such parts of the Country as will naturally send its produce down the River when the navigation shall be completed. The follow'g statemt in figures will place the matter in a clear point of view—

origin'l Capital of the Potom'k C'y	£ 50,000 St'g
say Interest on the above accord'g to instalmts paid	15,000
100 Additional shares at 130 £ st'g each ¹⁹	13,000
	<hr/>
	£ 78,000

Flour and Wheat, Indian Corn Rye, Oates, Beans, Pease etc. exported from Alex'a and G. Town in 1795 estimating the whole as flour ²⁰

200,000 bbls at 9 d.	£ 7500
Tobacco 1500 Hhds at least from about the River above, at 3/	225
Pig Iron and Castings at a low estimate 1000 tons, 4/	200
The only return Article that can be fairly ascertain'd at present is salt of which more than 200,000 bush'ls at 3 farthings pr bush'l	625
	<hr/>
	£ 8,550

This alone will give an interest of almost eleven per Cent, on the accumulated Capital of 78,000, immediately on the completion of the work. Should the forgoing be exaggerated (which I believe is not) it would be much more than made good by articles not enumerated, and to you who know the Country so well it is unnecessary to remark on the addition which must arise from the returns of the produce of the Western Country and from the indian trade from lime, coal and other articles brot down the river and from the opening the extensive passes of the Potomac, which will be attended to by the Potomac Co. they having the power so to do. On the Connigochegue one lock is already made which opens that valuable branch to a considerable distance into a rich Coun-

¹⁹ In 1795 books were opened for one hundred additional shares in order to commence work on the Shenandoah River.

²⁰* Upwards of 150,000 bbls flour was exported from Alex'a and about 10,000 from G. Town, the other articles would fully make up the 40,000 bbls. [Note in original.]

try and another will carry it into Pennsylvania and take in the vicinity of Carlisle, Yorktown etc. The Shanandoah has been inspected by two judicious Engineers men of experience in inland navigation, who unite in reporting the facility and light expenses (not exceeding 40,000 dolls.) with which it can be made navigable to the Potomac. All the obstructions that can be considered as of any note, lay within Seven miles of its junction with the Potomac and nature has done so much towards facilitating the navigation of this part that at least 2/3d of the labour under other circumstances will be saved. And, as a favorable addition, the U. S. have lately purchased the property at the junction of the Potomac and Shanandoah for an Arsenal,²¹ [foundary?] etc. To convey the water to their works they must go through the most difficult part of the work that must be done to make the Shanandoah navigable, and should the Potom'c Co. join with them (as they undoubtedly will) the cut may be made to answer all the purposes of navigation and to supply the work with water, and dividng the expense will make it light to each. When the Shanandoah is made navagable more produce will be brought through it into the Potomac than will come through the Potomac above the Shanandoah.

5th. Can Shares be bought? Perhaps 20 or 30 may be bought up at present; but beyond that no. I presume they are in hands who know their value and not being pressed will hold them.

6th. At what price? The additional Shares were placd at £ 130 Stg to include the interest on the instalmt. paid on the original shares, that the old and new subscribers might be placed on the same footing. These shares are all taken up viz. 40 by Maryland, 20 by Virg'a and 40 by individuals.²² The no. of shares above mention or less may now be bought for about five hundred dolls. each all paid up which is less than the new shares; but those who are willing to will do it only in consequence of being pressd for money.

7. Is it known whether the proprietors will be safe against further contributors, or how far they will probably be called upon? The additional Shares are fully equal to completing the work upon the most extended calculation. Should more be wanted for the navigation of the *branches*, which will probably be the case, it will arise from the revenue of the tolls on the main River. At the last Genl. meetg of the Stock Holders in Augt. it was determined to collect tolls at the two places about the Gt. Falls this year; but the Board of Directors upon weighing the matter thot. best to defer the collection at present as some small repairs and improvmts are wanting on the River above which could not be done 'till the low water of summer and murmerings would naturally arise on the demand of tolls unless the navigation was in a more perfect state. Had this toll been collected it would have produced already more than 4000 dollars to the Company; but, for the reasons mentioned, it was prudent to delay it.

I have the pleasure to add that the Directors have lately engaged an experienced Engineer²³ to superintend and direct their works, particu-

²¹ See *Letters and Recollections of George Washington, being Letters to Tobias Lear and Others* (New York, 1906), pp. 96, 101; Washington as President of the United States urged the purchase of this property for an arsenal.

²² Mrs. Bacon-Foster states that Maryland took sixty and individuals the remaining forty. *The Potomac Route to the West*, p. 181.

²³ Captain Christopher Myers; *Letters to Lear*, pp. 97-101.

larly the locks to be made at the G. Falls, that materials, stone, lime and brick are engaged and that system and ener[g]y will prevail in their works this year.

I esteem it fortunate, my dear Sir, that you had no other acquaintance in Georgetown to whom you could apply for this information, as it gives me an opportunity of renewing that friendly intercourse from which I have heretofore receivd so much pleasure and advantage. And; without boasting, I may add, that no one has the means of giving you more accurate information on this Subject. Your notes on Virginia²⁴ first led me to view the importance of this River—an unremitting attention to it since has given me much information. My own business has taken me up the River frequently within these 18 months past. I have in my possession all the notes and remarks relative to the navigation which were in the hands of the President.²⁵ And being one of the Board of Directors, and chosen by them to attend to the active duties on the River I have had it more in my power than others to gain useful and just information. I only regret that the delay of your letter getting to my hands may have been inconvenient to you.

I have been guilty of a neglect, for which I cannot forgive myself, in not havg written to you since my arrival from Europe which was in Augt. 1794,²⁶ and to your goodness alone do I trust to make me at ease with myself in this same. Accumulation and pressure of business incident to a new establishmt on my first arrival left me no time, but to attend to it; afterwards I was ashamed to open a correspondence, having neglected it so long. Your kind enquiries relative to my wishes in my new pursuit being fulfilled, claims a grateful acknowledgement. And I am happy to say, that, considering the late unsettled situation of our Commerce, I have done as well as I had a right to expect. I did not visit France, because, when I was in Europe, the state of affairs in that nation was hostile to everything relative to that systematic plan of business which I meant to pursue. I visited the commercial and manufacturing parts of England, Scotland and Holland, settled in each some plan of business, and obtaind much useful information. The late revolution in Holland deprived me of the benefits which I had calculated upon from that quarter. I have imported considerable quantities of goods from G. B. which have been disposed of to advantage; but the want of punctuality in many of those who take goods from Mercht. in this Country has determind me to curtail very much, if not wholly give up, that line of business. Hitherto I have been fortunate in my Sales, having taken

²⁴ Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* was privately printed in 1784-1785 in Paris. A French translation was published in 1786, the first English edition in 1787. The Potomac River is described and prospects for opening the navigation reviewed.

²⁵ "You are perfectly at liberty to examine my presses and Trunks at Mount Vernon, for any papers I may have respecting the transactions of the Directors of the Potomack Compa., or any matters and things which may concern the navigation of that River." Washington to Lear, Dec. 12, 1794; *Letters to Lear*, p. 79. "Looking into an old porte folio which I had not seen this many a day, I found the papers which accompany this note, relative to the River Potomac." Washington to Lear, Dec. 22, 1794; *ibid.*, p. 86. Doubtless this was the bundle of which these papers now printed were a part.

²⁶ Lear had sailed for Europe on private business late in 1793.

such security for paym'ts as will ensure them. I have carefully avoided meddling in the extravagant and unwarrantable Speculations which have lately been so common in our Country. Having a start upon a plan which looked forward to a regular and extensive trade in the Country, if I have by my caution missed great profits I feel consolation in Knowing that I shall not suffer by a crush which I think does not require a spirit of prophecy to foretel must happen Shortly in this Country among the extensive Speculators. The Copartnership of Lear and Co. consist'g of Mr. Dalton, James Greenleaf and myself is dissolved by mutual consent, Mr. Greenleaf's pursuits not according with our plan. Mr. Dalton and myself have lately entered into a new Copartnership under the same firm. We have an excellent establishment in this place, another at the Great Falls, and are preparing a third at the junction of the Shanandoah and Potomac. These with our extensive connexions in New Eng'd promises good Success in business confind mostly to the United States. We may extend it abroad as we find it advantageous.

Before I close I will add one word more on the Potomac. Boats from 60 a 70 ft head and 9[ft.?] beam ply constantly between Cumberland and Williams port on the Connigochegue, each carrying from 100 to 120 bbls flour, they come down in 1 1/2 days deposit their Cargoes and return home in 5 days—from Williams Port Shepperds town and the junctur of the Potomac and Shananoah they bring their flour etc. Boats of the same description to the G. Falls and to Watts Branch, at both which places good store Houses are erected, from whence it comes (at present mostly by land) to the shipping port. between 25 and 30,000 barr'ls flour was brought in boats to the falls and branch last year. About 30 boats ply upon the River and such was the demand for them when I was last up (in feb'y) that one hundred could have found full employment. In the present unfinished state of the works and scarcity of boats, it costs but one half to bring flour to market in this way for the distance of 60 or 70 miles of what it does by Waggon. Increase the distance and you make the expense less in a very high ratio.

So far from considering it as trouble I shall value as a favor any commissions you may be pleas'd to commit to me in this quarter, and shall always feel happy in being able to give you any information you may ask, being with sentiments of firm respect and attachment Dear Sir,

Your friend and obd. Serv.

TOBIAS LEAR

Mr. Jefferson

[Endorsement:] To Mr. Jefferson, 13th March 1796.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Racial History of Man. By ROLAND B. DIXON, Professor of Anthropology at Harvard University. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1923. Pp. xvi, 583. \$6.00.)

THE racial history of man is one of the cardinal fields of research in anthropology, and to elucidate this field properly would necessitate a most thorough anthropological knowledge. Such knowledge we do not as yet fully possess. The subject is great, very complex, and still far from covered by thorough investigation. It is in a stage where the utmost caution as well as breadth and depth of view are called for in any attempted far-reaching generalizations, and where errors, even serious errors, are easily made.

Dr. Dixon is professor of anthropology—anthropology in general—at Harvard. He is a noted worker in linguistics and ethnology and secondarily in the lines represented by the present book. In this latter field he has the very great disadvantage of a lack of personal observations and of therefore being obliged to depend largely upon the records of others. He is very much in the position Ripley was in when writing his *Races of Europe*, and the results are even much more controversial and, in important respects, much less tenable.

It is no pleasant work for a reviewer to point out another man's errors, particularly if he otherwise has nothing but a high and friendly regard for him. But the matter is too serious to be lightly passed over.

Our whole modern experience in anthropology tends to weaken the reliance placed on any single features or any small group of features, be they what they may. The fetishistic old-time value attributed to the cephalic index is largely a matter of history, and so it is with the height indices of the skull, with the nasal index, and with other similar complexes. We now know positively that the same index does not always mean the same conditions, that even in the purest groups and under most normal circumstances all characters, including indices, possess an extended range of variation, that the variations are susceptible of alteration by various factors, and that the direction of the variation may differ in the various measurements or indices even in the same person. All of this has been as if non-existent for Dr. Dixon in writing his book; he has almost as easily disencumbered himself of the various external characteristics, such as color, nature of hair, and physiognomy, to name only the three most important; and he does not even mention such weighty race-differentials as the radio-humeral and tibio-femoral

index, the complex of platycnaemy-platymergy-platybrachy, the form of the teeth (especially upper incisors), and others. What he does would be ingenious if correct; as it is, it is probable that it will remain simply ingenious.

It would be unjust to claim that all the results arrived at by Dr. Dixon are at variance with reality as seen by other workers. There are here and there good points. The method has without doubt a certain degree of applicability; but to use it for more than the limited results it can give must inevitably lead to disaster—and Dr. Dixon's book is a disaster.

A study of the three indices (cephalic, length-height, and nasal) in the available data gives Dr. Dixon "eight fundamental types" which he calls (p. 21) the Caspian, Mediterranean, Proto-Negroid, Proto-Australoid, Alpine, Ural, Palae-Alpine, and Mongoloid. This is done at first "for convenience of reference and to avoid the continual use of unfamiliar and forbidding formulae", but almost at once these names assume the weight of racial entities and pure factors, which in a most astounding, often almost a sleight-of-hand manner, scatter over all parts of the earth to form present humanity and to lose completely most of their main characteristics, yet retain a capability of showing others of them unchanged, so as to be everywhere clearly distinguishable by the new method. There is no serious attempt at explanation as to how these eight "fundamental" types may have originated, or how it comes that the cephalic, the unstable height-length, and the very changeable nasal index are preserved or reappear intact, regardless of admixture, time, or change of environment; nor is there any effort made at explaining how the various contingents representing these eight pure human proto-sources succeeded in reaching sometimes immense distances through regions presumably already peopled—for had the latter not been pre-empted there would have been no reason for going so far; or finally, how while their characters on one side showed such tenacity, they came to constitute on the other the "nineteen blends" (p. 20) which are also assumed.

In Dr. Dixon's introduction there are indeed excellent statements which show that he was well aware of the difficulties of the problem he approaches, and intended to treat the subject with due caution; but soon the *fata morgana* of an easy solution of the great racial problems seems to have captivated him to such an extent that he gives a free rein to his untried horses. His attitude is well expressed on page 16 when he says: "If we are willing to accept as a working hypothesis that the eight groups of this sort are fundamental types, from which all the others have been derived by blending, we have placed in our hands a key which will unlock many a door and open far-reaching vistas into the problems of the classification and distribution of peoples." On page 22 he cautions us to bear in mind that the terms which he gives to his fundamental

eight types "are used with a very definite and very restricted meaning", but he nowhere satisfactorily defines this meaning; and he gives his designations forms which for everyone must mean throughout a definite tinge, connecting them now with the negro, now with the Mongol, now with the Australian. He well anticipates (p. 23) that "the conclusions to which we are led will in many cases be novel; in some they will at first sight appear revolutionary or even absurd". With an evident foreboding he asks that judgment be suspended until the evidence is presented and the reader reaches the concluding chapter; but this chapter only makes the judgment surer and more forcible, for here the author has largely discarded all restrictions.

The incongruities brought out through the method used by Dr. Dixon—on the surface of things, if not always in the author's intention—are so great and so numerous as to be appalling. The Mongoloid type (p. 42) is already "traceable apparently in earliest Palaeolithic times in Spain, France, and Belgium"; the Neolithic crania of Mecklenburg in northern Germany are "composed primarily of Proto-Australoid and Proto-Negroid factors" (p. 75); the "Pigmy group may be in general considered as a very divergent section of the Palae-Alpine form" (p. 222); the Japanese (p. 290) are Palae-Alpine, Proto-Negroid, and Alpine—not Mongolic; but the Negrito, on the other hand (p. 375), are Mongoloid and Palae-Alpine; the Eskimo show largely the Caspian and Mediterranean type with a trace of the Alpine; the eastern North-American Indians disclose elements that are Proto-Negroid, Proto-Australoid, Caspian, etc., etc.

In the concluding chapter, the eight fundamental types of Dr. Dixon assume much more definitely the status of stocks of people, and we read of their "drifting", "crossing", "spreading". The data given in the body of the book are not cleared nor substantiated, but only summarized, rounded up, and supplemented by some reflections.

What the summaries are may be shown by one concrete example (pp. 482-483):

The distribution of the Caspian [northern white] type to-day is a curious one, since the areas of its concentration are very widely separated. The largest, and that in which it is present in greatest purity, is, paradoxically enough, that occupied by the Eskimo, the second most important one comprising northern and northeastern Africa. A third area extends along the southeastern coast of South America, while a last includes Scandinavia and Great Britain. As an important minority factor the type is very widely spread, here and there, along the western margin of Europe, around the southern end of the Caspian Sea, in northern India (where in places it is strongly dominant), in Tibet (?), in China, in some of the islands of Micronesia, in New Zealand, and in isolated places along the Pacific shores of America.

And there are worse examples.

However, Dr. Dixon has made a large and honest, even if evidently rather an ill-fated, effort. He has not given what can be accepted as

true generalizations or interpretations, yet the book is by no means all error. Numerous facts appear clearer than before, even though viewed differently from what other workers must regard them. And there is also many a good thought. There is a very good statement, for instance, on the "Nordic" race (p. 520). Perhaps some day the scales will fall off and then we may have the sound truth without the illusion. There is no easy show-all in human biology, just as there is no cure-all in medicine.

ALEŠ HRDLÍČKA.

La Mésopotamie: les Civilisations Babylonienne et Assyrienne. Par L. DELAPORTE, ancien Attaché des Musées Nationaux, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. [L'Évolution de l'Humanité, Synthèse Collective, dirigée par Henri Berr, VIII.] (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre. 1923. Pp. xiv, 420. 15 fr.)

THIS is a remarkable and admirable example of a type of handbook upon a recondite subject in which the French excel all other modern peoples. It belongs to a very elaborate series, every one written by a specialist, and it is understood that all are likely to be translated into English. The general editor, Henri Berr, has prefixed to this volume an introduction entitled "Les Sémites et la Civilisation", which sketches in eight small pages the whole field covered by the book with an almost uncanny skill in broad generalization. The general title of the book conforms to what seems now to be general usage, but is none the less unfortunate and ill conceived. To use the word Mesopotamia as a general term for the whole valley of the Tigris and Euphrates is a misnomer, for the word ought to be restricted to the region of the rivers Belikh, Khābūr, and Euphrates, corresponding to Aram-Naharīm or Naharin. This mistake has been avoided by the British authorities in taking over the mandate, by adopting the Arabic word Irak to cover the whole country.

Delaporte's book is divided into two main portions, "La Civilisation Babylonienne" (pp. 11-262) and "La Civilisation Assyrienne" (pp. 263-415), and the disposition of space which gives so much more to the former seems in good perspective. In the first part there are discussed: I. "Les Cadres Historiques"; II. "Les Institutions"; III. "Les Croyances et les Techniques"; and the same order is used of Assyria. Under I. there are brief sketches of "Les Pays et ses Ressources", "Habitants et Dynasties", while II. comprises "L'État et la Famille", "La Législation", "L'Organisation Économique", and III. discusses "La Religion, Les Arts, Les Lettres, et les Sciences". The only book in English which covers at all this same field is Jastrow's *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia, 1915), and the two books are mutually supplementary and complementary. Jastrow is much superior in illustrations, in the account of the decipherment, and, barring a few

minor inaccuracies and certain gaps recently filled by later discoveries, is also better in the sketch of the history. In all the rest Delaporte is distinctly an advance upon Jastrow, whose book, it may be said, does not appear in the bibliography, in which also many other important books do not find mention. American work, as is so often the case with Continental writers, is almost wholly missing, as, for example, all my own contributions! (*il n'y a pas de quoi rire!*) Very few German works appear, and English are rather scantily registered. Yet in spite of these gaps the book as a whole makes everywhere an impression of thoroughness, and many books must have been used which are not listed. The book is very free of errors of the press, but Niss (p. 403) should be Nies. We shall eagerly await the appearance in this same series of the promised volumes, *Le Nil et la Civilisation Égyptienne* by A. Moret, and *La Perse* by Clément Huart.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

The Cambridge History of India. In six volumes. Volume I. *Ancient India.* Edited by E. J. RAPSON, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xxiv, 736. Plates. 42 s.)

THIS volume contains an account of the history of India from the earliest times to the middle of the first century A.D., during all of which period the country itself does not furnish a single document with direct historiographic intent. Particularly the world outside of India, from which India was never separated by a Chinese wall and in which the Hindus must have been interested in some degree, receives no recognition in Indian records. The encroachments of the Achaemenidan Persian power took place during centuries in which Hindu intellectual life reached one of its summits. It is the period of early Buddhism. Hindu thought became important for all human thought to a degree only slightly less cogent than in the somewhat earlier time of the Upanishads—externally even more so, because Buddhism affected in due time all Eastern religion. Yet we have no allusion in Hindu writing to the political conditions of a period that threatened to turn India into a chain of Persian satrapies.

Many centuries after, the Mahommedan conquest of Persia drove a considerable number of Zoroastrian Parsis to India, into the hospitable bosom of a people related by blood and language. As far as we know the Hindus who gave them shelter, even at that late time, had no idea who these people were, and that they were sheltering their very own kin. It is not of record that the Hindus were ever conscious of the important fact that across the mountains to the northwest dwelt at all times a branch of their own stock—the other half of the so-called Aryans or Indo- Iranians.

Even more surprising is it that the impact of Alexander's conquests and the foundation of the comparatively permanent Graeco-Indian states in the northwest of India left no dent in the consciousness of the Hindus, such as might have induced historic narrative. Hindu art and architecture, Hindu science (astronomy) were affected profoundly by these events, but no Hindu writer alludes to them. The history of Greece in India is that of turbid Greek historiography combined with records of coins and archaeological objects. Even the heroic resistance to Alexander by the Hindu king whom the Greeks call Poros (we do not even know what his Sanskrit name was: Paarava or Parvataka?) has no echo in Sanskrit literature. Ingrained chauvinism prevented the Greek writers, not excluding Megasthenes, who visited repeatedly and peacefully the court of the Maurya king Chandragupta, from reporting with any degree of intelligibility the Hindu names of persons and places, and Hindu records do not correct this failure.¹

A fortiore Hindu literature of early times knows not the farther West. The term Yavana or Yona (Ionia) occurs frequently as designation of the Greece of Alexander, or Bactria; so does the name Alexandria (Alasanda of the Yonas). Babylon (Baveru), where Alexander died, is hardly mentioned in Hindu literature. Contact with Egypt is of the faintest. Such knowledge as India has of the West really accentuates the isolation of the great subcontinent—an isolation which is even more complete spiritually than it is politically or historically.

On Alexander's eastward march, at Taxila (Taksaçilā) the Greeks first noticed Hindu ascetics. Fifteen of them were sitting outside the city, naked and motionless, in a sun so hot that one could not walk on the stones with bare feet. Later on, one of them, whom the Greeks blunderingly call Kalanos, had himself burned* alive on a pyre, covered with gold and silver vessels and precious stuffs, in the presence of the entire Greek army. Kalanos must have been a Jaina ascetic. The highest interests of Hindu life are quite the reverse of national. Every Hindu that is worth while is engaged with the great problem of individual salvation. Caste is his prime concern during life; at the end he seeks that altogether individual salvation which, in one sense or another, means extinction, the only escape from the eternal round of existence. Such a state of mind is fundamentally incompatible with broad national feeling. India of old, indeed up to the present day when, for the first time, national aspiration eddies in from the West, was not interested in nationality. Individual kings, or even short-lived dynasties, rise to considerable power and some degree of permanence, but there is no real solidarity. We may safely connect with this the failure of Hindu literature to report connectedly, or systematically, or critically, any kind of secular historical event. The famous Maurya Emperor Açoka (250 B.C.), who adopted Buddhism, had edicts engraved upon rocks and pil-

¹ See the recent book by Dr. Otto Stein, *Megasthenes and Kautilya* (Vienna, 1922).

lars of his far-flung empire. These are the prime historical documents of early India, but even they deal largely with ethical and religious concerns. We must not forget, however, that two dozen hymns of the Rig-veda, or half a dozen chapters of the Upanishads throw really more light on the history of the human race than would many tomes of Oriental historical narrative.

These are, by and large, the conditions which confront an attempt to write the history of India from the beginning of her time to 50 A.D. Under the editorship of Professor Rapson of Cambridge, a distinguished group of English, American, and Continental scholars have compiled in twenty-six chapters, illustrated by many plates and maps, a sketch of India's history, beginning with its Indo-European prehistory outside of India. If these sketches are rather philological and archaeological, or, at best, describe Hindu institutions, the fault lies with the documents, and not with the writers. At any rate, we have before us a handy volume in which are gathered and sifted pretty much all things that concern the secular life of India in the pre-Christian era.

Naturally, the most permanent chapters of this composite treatise are those based either on archaeological evidence, or (rather paradoxically) on reports from the outside of India. Especially the chapters which deal with Alexander's conquests and its consequences are likely to remain fairly closed, because both Greek reports and archaeological evidence are not likely to be extended by any considerable future historic sources. Professor Bevan's chapter on Alexander the Great (XV.), and on India in Early Greek and Latin Literature (XVI.); Professor Macdonald's chapter on the Hellenic Kingdoms of Syria, Bactria, and Parthia (XVII.); and Professor Rapson's chapters on the Successors of Alexander the Great (XXII.) and the Scythian and Parthian Invaders (XXIII.) are really invaluable résumés, of precedent long and difficult researches, for which their authors cannot be thanked sufficiently. Chapters XVIII. to XX., by Dr. Thomas, deal with the Maurya period from Chandragupta to Açoka (305-250 B.C.). Here native evidence coagulates into something like a concrete body of facts not too amorphous for historical statement. The gracious figure of Açoka, this real emperor who had turned Buddhist, illumines India's early secular history more than any other. But he does not shine by conquests as much as by his edicts engraved upon rocks and pillars, which exhort his people to virtue, warn against sin, and plead for tolerance and love for humanity.

Buddha's death, around about 480 B.C., is still the first definite point in Hindu chronology. A century or two before that time ends the Vedic period. Of this we have no record from without, and no annals from within, except priestly annals, concerned primarily with religion and religious institutions. History here is incidental and meagre. Occasionally some country or some secular figure stands out: the land of the Bharatas (ancient Aryan India); Trasadasyu, the greatest of Puru

kings; King Janamejaya, whose elaborate horse-sacrifice is celebrated in the *Çatapatha Brahmana*; Janaka, the king of Videha, famed as father of Sītā, the heroine of the *Rāmāyana*, and patron of the sage Yājñavalkya, ever anxious for the wisdom of the Upanishads. If an Indian exploration society should ever dig through the thick crust of centuries that are piled upon the Vedic period, that might result in revelations similar to those of the Mycenaean and Minoan ages that were found at the root of Hellenic civilization. At present we have nothing but winged words which do not furnish a clear picture of the life of that early time, least of all of its political circumstances and secular events. So familiar a term as Rājā (*rex*) "king" is not clearly defined: was he a real king or merely a tribal chieftain? We know that the Vedic period was a cattle-breeding age, but there were also workers in metals, wagons, some kind of navigation, trade, gold and jewels. The meaning or scope of all such reports will remain vague until there come to light real properties that will standardize the statements.

The chapters on Jainism (VI.), Buddhism (VII.), and Epic Literature (XI.), as indeed every other chapter except those that are based on outside information (Alexander) or epigraphic testimony (Açoka), deal pretty uniformly with legend or institutional matters. Precious as are the suggestions, here and there, of historical events in the narrower sense, the entire great work is, after all, philological rather than historical—if we choose to make the distinction. In any case the *Cambridge History* is a scholarly and completely authoritative outline of what we know about secular India of early times. Aided by an elaborate index, it will remain for a long time the *vade mecum* that will guide both Indologists and historians along the ill-marked and labyrinthine roads of a land that may claim in important respects a first place in the records of civilized man.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

A History of Rome. By TENNEY FRANK, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University. [American Historical Series, Charles H. Haskins, General Editor.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1923. Pp. ix, 613. Library edition, \$4.50; educational edition, \$3.50.)

ALTHOUGH adapted for college purposes, this general survey of Roman history to A.D. 476 is written more for the general American reader than for the special student, and Professor Frank has been at great pains to interpret the various stages and aspects of Roman civilization to those who are acquainted with and interested in the problems of a modern democracy. In Roman society he sees the development of specifically Italian, *i.e.*, Indo-European, racial characteristics much less influenced by mixture with other racial strains than anywhere else in the ancient world. And he is particularly successful in interpreting

Roman character and the spirit of the political institutions of the Roman republic. However, his interests are by no means confined to politics, for the religious, intellectual, social, and especially the economic conditions of each period have been accorded very ample consideration. It is refreshing to find that one who is so familiar with Roman economic history does not feel that economic and geographic factors were the determining influences in the history of Roman society, and that he preserves a proper place for the influences of national and individual character, capacities, and ideals. In his treatment of the late annalistic account of the regal period and the early republic Professor Frank displays considerable charity. Although regarding Rome as an Etruscan foundation, which does not antedate 600 B.C., he considers the names of the traditional seven (Etruscan) kings to be authentic, and authentic also the core of the tradition concerning the reign of each as it appears in Livy. Furthermore he proceeds upon the assumption that the Livian account of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. depends upon the writers of the age of Fabius Pictor and that these had at their disposal, and used conscientiously, not merely the *fasti* and pontifical annals but also the texts of the laws, *senatus consulta*, and treaties of these centuries (pp. 587-588). Accordingly he accepts as authentic the Lex Valeria attributed to 508 B.C., the Valerio-Horatian and Licinio-Sextian laws, and other similar portions of the Livian narrative. But it must be borne in mind that the preservation of such laws and decrees is hypothetical and cannot be definitely established. They do not seem to have been at the disposal of Cato in the second century B.C.; and if they had been available for the earliest annalists it would be difficult to account for the differences which are found in the various versions of the early constitutional development of Rome which have come down to us. Chapter XXXII., which is devoted to a discussion of the causes of the decline of Rome, is particularly interesting. While admitting that we cannot attain finality on this point because we do not know the "invariable laws of cause and effect in any field where the human mind operates", the author nevertheless ventures to set forth those causes which seem to him to have the greatest probability. As the chief, he rates the over-rapid expansion of Rome. She annexed more than she could assimilate and so had to maintain her empire with large armies, which came to dominate the state and ultimately to drain its resources. A second important cause was the displacement of the Italian by a non-Italian racial element in Italy, which led to a complete transformation in Roman character and political capacity. Equally important was the existence of slavery on a vast scale, which brought about the disappearance of a vigorous, progressive class of free workers and weakened the national morale by degrading the arts, crafts, and trades in public esteem, and was also largely responsible for the infusion of the foreign elements into the citizen body. As subsidiary causes the author mentions the oppressive taxation under the Late Empire, the general industrial breakdown of the third

century, the failure of the state to deal properly with the problem of currency, the enervating and demoralizing effects of prosperity upon certain classes, and the lack of a stimulating *Weltanschauung*. In general the economic decline is regarded as dependent upon the decline of intellectual power and of racial vitality; the author does not believe that there was a great shortage of labor or serious lack of precious metals; and he emphatically discards Nietzsche's theory of the deteriorating influence of Christianity. It is inevitable that in a comprehensive work of this type opinions will be found which are bound to meet with disagreement from other scholars, but these will not prevent its being welcomed as a thoughtful and scholarly, as well as a very readable, work. Good maps and a selected bibliography of modern works bearing upon each chapter enhance its usefulness.

A. E. R. BOAK.

A Short History of the Near East from the Founding of Constantinople (330 A.D. to 1922). By WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1922. Pp. xvii, 408. \$3.00.)

THE condensation into manual form of the salient facts of sixteen hundred years of the intricate history of the Near East is indeed a delicate and perplexing task. Professor Davis is to be commended for the success which he has achieved from the standpoint of general outline and selection of material; considering the immense period of time under review the picture is well in focus. The Byzantine sections, especially, are good in their choice of material, the Justinian, Isaurian, and Comnenian periods receiving particularly skillful treatment. The rise of Islam, the Saracenic supremacy, and the growth of Turkish power are likewise well balanced. On the other hand, the survey of Turkish and Balkan history since 1683 is scarcely satisfactory. The author has indeed given us much more than a mere summary of political events, but a good deal of space seems wasted on trivial incidents and somewhat futile anecdotes at the cost of ignoring almost completely such vital factors as the economic penetration and financial domination from the West, and the social and economic development of the Balkan states since their liberation. Furthermore, even the briefest summary of events since 1918 should include some description of the rise and significance of the "new" Turkish nationalism.

From the standpoint of accuracy the book is disappointing. Numerous errors are discernible in the spelling of terms, Greek especially, and in geographical and descriptive details. A somewhat whimsical transliteration of proper names cannot but irritate a critical reader. More serious still are the positive distortions of fact produced by an apparent effort to enliven the narrative by means of impressive epithets and glittering generalizations. An exciting journalistic style may be necessary

to stimulate the sluggish intellect of the average undergraduate, but the effect is unquestionably to give an impression of superficiality and even of flagrant misrepresentation, which can hardly be a truthful reflection of the degree of scholarly detachment practised by the author. The prodigal use of inverted commas—the pages are literally sprinkled with them—is no doubt likewise designed to give piquancy to the style, a device hardly in keeping with the spirit of a sober historical manual.

It is most disconcerting to find that, in his interpretation of basic factors, Professor Davis has not risen above the conventional and poisonous theory of the secular quarrel between Occidentalism and Orientalism, Christianity and Islam. The ill-informed, biassed opinions, and superficial sentimentality of Europeans and Americans regarding the Turks and their Christian neighbors, together with the violent espousing of one side or the other, serve chiefly to maintain at fever heat the hatred between the Near Eastern peoples and to pander to their excessive conceits. It is to be regretted that Professor Davis is himself not sufficiently free from inherited predilections and emotional prejudice against Oriental civilization in general, and the Turk in particular, to assist materially in promoting among Americans a sane outlook on Near Eastern problems.

HAROLD L. SCOTT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Histoire de la Nation Française. Dirigée par GABRIEL HANOTAUX, de l'Académie Française. Tome XI. *Histoire des Arts.* Par LOUIS GILLET. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1922. Pp. 644. 48 fr.)

As in the other volumes of the series, here is an attempt to give the layman, in a readable volume to be written out of fullness of knowledge, a view of one great phase of French history from the earliest times to the present.

Readable it certainly is—rapid, vivid, colorful, even a bit too lyrical with its frequent recourse to the *glorieux, divine, sublime*. It seeks to emphasize the characteristically national in art, the natural flowering of the "French genius". A praiseworthy preoccupation, if it did not involve the old equation, repeated, alas, *mutatis mutandis*, by so many scholars of every nation: "French = admirable". Sometimes M. Gillet carries this to absurd lengths. In the dark ages, he says, France saves civilization; she conserves, assimilates: "Elle fait son métier de France" (p. 57). Among many other examples (for instance, pp. 98, 362, 406, 634) one particularly flagrant occurs in his summary of the Oriental hypothesis: "Des Français, comme toujours, avaient ouvert la voie."

Naturally one may expect that for certain periods the author's knowledge should be less adequate and his exposition less trenchant than for

others. His misunderstanding of the genesis of Gothic architecture and the essence of its fecund structured system is, however, scarcely excusable. He finds this in the ribbed groin vault (*croisée d'ogives*), which he supposes (pp. 96-98) to be a French invention. Only in an appendix does he notice "new studies" of their Lombard origin, mentioning the researches of Henry (!) Kingsley Porter. Now there is nothing novel about the idea that the Lombards invented the ribbed groin vault. Porter's remarkable work, in this regard, merely pushed its origin there back still further, to the middle of the eleventh century. Nor was the ribbed groin vault itself the differentia of the advance to Gothic. The Lombards tended to abandon it because of the lack of just those additional devices which made the Gothic possible: the levelling of vault-crowns by use of the pointed arch, the concentration of thrust by raising the *formerets*. These significant French devices were pointed out years ago by Viollet-le-Duc and Moore, and are mentioned in every competent textbook.

Perhaps the most successful presentation is that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here is abundant knowledge as well as sympathy, a skillful interpretation rising superior to the habitual judgments.

The treatment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is less sure. The author deplores their lack of a common credo, of a contemporary *style*, when doubtless the future will find them in possession of both. Perhaps the ignoring of Picasso may explain this failure for the most recent years. True, Picasso is not a Frenchman; but then neither was Glück, whose work is nevertheless included in the chapter on music.

A word about the illustrations: In contrast to the current use of half-tones, supposedly scientific, as for instance in Hourticq's *Art in France*, the method here is an interpretive one. M. René Piot, himself an artist of distinction, has drawn the principal monuments of architecture and sculpture in line, and paraphrased the paintings, tapestry, and glass in water colors. The result, in harmony with the type, is a piece of bookmaking which is once more a work of art.

FISKE KIMBALL.

Africa and the Discovery of America. By LEO WIENER, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at Harvard University. Volumes II. and III. (Philadelphia: Innes and Sons. 1922. Pp. xxii, 287; xxi, 402. \$5.00; \$6.00.)

THE first volume of this work has already been noticed in this *Review* (XXVI. 102); the present volumes raise further archaeological and philological questions. The author starts from a position which has been held by others, that there is a balance of evidence in favor of the supposition that the northeast corner of South America had been at least sighted in or before 1448. But he develops this enormously into an attempted demonstration of wide sociological influence, in pre-Columban

times, exerted by Africa on America. The first position is based on an interpretation of specific historical evidence; the basis of his attempted further demonstration is a mass of details in archaeology, folk-lore, and philology. But archaeologists and folklorists are notoriously conflicting and uncertain in their conclusions and hypotheses; their sea is less charted than even that of Columbus and the variations of their compasses are even less explicable than his. Philology has acquired, it is true, an outline of phonetic and structural laws—that is, we are coming in it to a fair division between the possible and the impossible; but from time to time philologists, even of eminence, are seduced into wild excursions, on the one hand, by vividness of external resemblance in words and, on the other, by their own hypotheses which lead them to grasp at connections and similarities of the most fantastic character. It would be hard to say whether the etymologies which joined Erin to Iran have done the greater historical mischief or the hypotheses which find the Semitic *El* in such names for God as the African *Le-za*. Have not both words an *e* and an *l* in them?

Professor Wiener's fundamental hypothesis is that the Arabs were the great carriers of civilization. He has already demonstrated, after his fashion, in his *Contributions toward a History of Arabico-Gothic Culture*, that the Gothic language is full of words of Arabic origin and that the European civilization and languages, up into Scandinavia, were deeply affected within fifty years by the Arab invaders who landed in the south of Spain in 710. (Perhaps a reference may not here be out of place to a longish notice of this book by the present reviewer in the *Nation*, CVII. 300 ff., Sept. 14, 1918.) It would seem that a look at the dates were enough to send such a hypothesis, built on a collection of the queerest etymologies, flying to the winds. It is an eccentric offshoot of that unhistorical magnifying of the Arabian civilization, which was so long most unhappily fostered by our encyclopaedias and popular books of reference. In his new venture Professor Wiener takes this Arabic influence down through and across Africa and finally across the Atlantic to mould pre-Columban America. That the Muslim conquest of North Africa carried Arabic words deep into Africa is certain. But, for older relationships and connections, it is curious that the hypothesis at present current among Semitists is of a drift in quite the opposite direction. We are now told that the early Semites, and primarily the Arabs, came up with their languages and ideas out of Africa.

Against all that, however, Professor Wiener sets his face, and his demonstration consists of a series of little treatises. In an elaborate archaeological and economic study he traces the movement of cotton westward. Then follows a still more elaborate treatment of the whole history of smoking, for ritual, for medicine, and for pleasure, and of the use of tobacco. This is most interesting and suggestive, but does not seem to fit very directly into the main thesis of the book. There is, then,

a similar treatise on bead-money, cowries, etc., beginning with the 154th Chinese radical and ending with wampum. Next we have a history of the use of copper and iron, beginning with Sumerian and ending in an equation of our "smiddy", at least in its Old High German and Gothic forms, with Arabic *samid*, "finely ground, smooth white flour". Smelting and grinding are apparently the same. Metal-working leads naturally to gypsies, so we have a treatise on them extending from Charlemagne to the valley of the Niger. But most fruitful of all is an equation, or combination, of fetishism and Sūfiism, which would greatly astonish the Sūfis, and which sweeps together all the ritual and vocabulary of faith and superstition from Arabia through Africa to the Caribs and America generally. Here, again, we touch tobacco as an ecstasy-producing incense. Finally comes a long treatment of Mandingo elements in Mexico, ending with the statement: "the African civilization was not transferred to America piecemeal but as an organic whole" (III. 351). *How* that came about is not made clear.

In all these treatises there are two elements, one the collection of archaeological, economic, and folk-lore material, and the other the etymologies. The material is often very interesting and amusing, although it is most confusedly presented. But the present reviewer, at least, would never dream of trusting it until he had verified it, point by point, *in situ*. This is because of the distrust excited in his, it may be biassed, mind by the etymologies. So far as his knowledge enables him to test Professor Wiener's philological method it is fundamentally unsound. In Arabic it is glaringly impossible. It has been said that with a little good-will one can find anything in an Arabic lexicon. Professor Wiener has a great deal of good-will.

D. B. MACDONALD.

Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, des Origines à la Suppression (1528-1762). Par le P. HENRI FOUQUERAY, S.J. Tome III. *Époque de Progrès (1604-1623)*. (Paris: Bureaux des Études. 1922. Pp. xiii, 648. 32 fr.)

ALL too readily one classifies. It is natural, because it is a saving of labor, to speak of "Jesuit historiography" as if it were all one, and yet anyone familiar with the work of living historians of the Society of Jesus must feel that their individual differences are more important than their common likenesses. At their head undoubtedly stands Hartmann Grisar, who has combined vast learning and much acumen with the urbanity and candor expected of the scholar. At the other extreme stand writers like Pollen and Campbell and Karrer, whose bias, being more conspicuous than their learning, will probably arouse a prejudice against them in the minds of many readers; for most men are negatively suggestible; they revolt from the too obtrusive thesis and respond favorably only to that small class of ecclesiastical historians who can honestly say *siamo istorichi poi cristiani*.

Half-way between the consummate ability of Grisar and the obvious defects of Campbell come a number of writers valuable rather for the new sources they have explored and brought to light than for any rarer gifts of style or of philosophic understanding. Father Fouqueray, lacking literary charm and synthetic command of the larger aspects of his subject, has yet rendered a great service to scholars by his painstaking erudition and exhaustive thoroughness. His volume of 650 pages covers but nineteen years (1604-1623) of the history of the Society of Jesus in France. As he interprets his subject it includes the story of the missions to Canada and Turkey. He also throws occasional light on the foreign policy of the government, and on the annals of the Church outside of France. For Henri IV., as a patron of his order, he has nothing but high praise, even suggesting that the king was the favorite of Heaven to the point of receiving a divine premonition of his sudden death. In speaking of Marie de Médicis he is but little more reserved, and he shows us the young Louis XIII. blossoming, under the tuition of Father Cotton, into a defender of the faith and a crusader against the Huguenots.

Though he calls the period treated "the epoch of progress", that is not because the Society was at this time, more than at any other, free from difficulty and opposition. A large and interesting portion of the volume sets forth the controversy over regicide following the assassination of the French monarch. The reason why the popular voice denounced the Jesuits as the teachers of Ravaillac is not mentioned by Fouqueray. It was that Mariana's book, which maintained that the murder of a tyrant was laudable, was put forth not only under his own name but with the express declaration that it was approved by learned and grave doctors of his order. Our historian labors hard to defend his society, first by proving that "the doctrine of tyrannicide was not of their invention", then by showing that Mariana's doctrine was purely theoretical, "and, so to speak, unworkable in practice", and thirdly by setting forth the vigorous repudiations of it by members of the order after 1610. The French Jesuits were finally driven to a declaration, regretted by their modern apologist, that they would agree to the doctrine of the Sorbonne even in matters relating to the Gallican Liberties. This undertaking, of February 22, 1612, highly displeased the pope.

The intervention of Cardinal Bellarmin and of James I. of England added fuel to the controversy. The royal scholar published a defense of the oath of allegiance, to which Bellarmin replied under a pseudonym in a work entitled *Responsio Matthai Torti*, which in turn led to the *Tortura Torti* of Lancelot Andrewes. Finally a Spanish Jesuit, Suarez, was deputed by the pope to set forth the correct Catholic doctrine in the premises. This was stated to be that a people had the right to depose and put to death an unjust king, but that if they were Christians they would act only on the advice of the pope. This book again made hard

the path of the Jesuits in France. But they finally overcame all opposition and attained a higher degree of influence than ever before.

PRESERVED SMITH.

A Short History of the British Commonwealth. By RAMSAY MUIR. Volume II. *The Modern Commonwealth (1763 to 1919).* (London: George Philip and Son, 1922; Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Company, 1923. Pp. xxxii, 814. 15 s.)

WITH the appearance of the second volume of the *History of the British Commonwealth*, Professor Muir's conception of his task becomes more clearly apparent. He has, it is evident, designed a history of the English-speaking peoples, set in a framework of world-politics. It is a great, even a colossal, enterprise to which he has set himself. He has not only written a history of Great Britain, social as well as political; a history of the British Empire; a history of British foreign relations; but he has included a considerable amount of the history of the United States, and of the separate histories of the British self-governing colonies.

It is, then, evident, as it was not so apparent before, why his second volume covers "only" the period from 1763 onwards. There is no question that he has not only undertaken a great task, but that, in a sense, he has conceived a unique undertaking. He has brought together in the space of two volumes—however imposing, for they include some sixteen hundred pages—an enormous amount of material, an extraordinary collection of facts, ideas, opinions, conclusions, generalizations, and relationships, making the history of Great Britain a kind of centre of world-history for the period which it covers in a view which sweeps mankind "from China to Peru".

There will, in consequence, be two very distinct opinions in regard to his work. The one is that such a task is beyond the strength and knowledge of any man; that it is, humanly speaking, impossible. The other is that, granting this for the sake of argument, it is one which should be undertaken in the interest of the conception of world-history, if not for that of the solidarity of English-speaking peoples. It may further be pointed out that, whatever the omissions and condensations—which he himself points out and deplores in his preface—he has not only brought together here in convenient form a huge mass of facts, but he has related those facts into a new form, and so, perhaps, given a new direction and a new meaning to the "History of England" of tradition.

There is neither time nor space in a brief review to point out what seem to a reviewer slips of knowledge or opinion here and there in this stimulating volume. It is only possible to explain the apparent purpose and scope of this unusual book. But this much is clear. To those who are engaged in the teaching of this subject, to those who are interested in it as either students or "general readers", this second volume must

prove a source of inspiration and reflection. It will, in a current and not wholly pleasing, though expressive phrase, "enrich" the study of English and Imperial, if not world, history in many ways; and it may be commended to those whose knowledge and opinions of the history of Great Britain and her empire, and of the world at large, are contained in more or less separate and unconnected compartments.

Genève et la Révolution: les Comités Provisoires, 28 Décembre 1792-13 Avril 1794. Par MARC PETER. (Genève: Imprimerie Albert Kundig; New York: George E. Stechert and Company. 1921. Pp. xv, 577.)

M. MARC PETER is the minister of the Republic of Switzerland at Washington. Before leaving home for his diplomatic duties here about two years ago, he had completed the manuscript of the book under review—an exhaustive study, based on the archives, of the fortunes of Geneva during the period of its government by the Provisional Committees of Administration and Safety, from December, 1792, to April, 1794. Naturally, as the author recognizes, the intensive study of the fortunes of a single city for sixteen months will be of local interest chiefly; yet we readily agree with him that the native city of Rousseau, Necker, Clavière, and Étienne Dumont played a part in the great Revolution "more important than its mere size would seem to warrant". In certain ways (by its geographical situation, its economic dependence on France, its long tradition of independence, and especially its struggles in the eighteenth century for the realization of civic *égalité*) Geneva announced rather than appropriated the revolutionary ideas of its powerful neighbor. Indeed, Albert Sorel goes so far as to say in his *L'Europe et la Révolution Française* (I. 142), "C'était en effet la Révolution française qui se préparait à Genève en 1782 et se répétait pour ainsi dire en raccourci sur ce petit théâtre". The King of France intervened effectively in 1782 to check the egalitarian movement in Geneva, just as the kings of Prussia and Bohemia made the ineffective gesture of Pilsen in 1792 to check that movement in France.

Passing over the great mass of detail in regard to the domestic fortunes of Geneva under the Provisional Committees, the general student of history will find the most interesting and instructive part of M. Peter's book in the clear differentiation between the essential nature of the revolution in Geneva and that of the great Revolution in France. There were resemblances and parallels that might give the superficial observer the idea that the former was a mere incident of the latter. Geneva had its Marat in Grenus. It had its turbulent clubs like Paris. Soulavie, the "enragé" Jacobin Resident, railed at the city as the refuge of counter-revolutionaries, just as Couthon railed at Lyons. The language of manifestos, decrees, appeals, and instructions from the Committees contained the inevitable rhetoric of the latter eighteenth century. But for all that, Geneva was not drawn into the vortex of French Jacobinism.

The city resented and resisted any interference with its autonomy by its powerful neighbor from the days when Kellermann was hovering on its borders with several army corps until it was finally overmastered in the later days of the Directory. There was, says M. Peter, "no anarchy substituted for sane and legal government, no Jacobin mummeries, no ridiculous affectation of the civism of the ape and the tiger".

What distinguished the revolution in Geneva from the Revolution in France was the fact that in the former case it was the successful vindication of an inveterate attachment to popular sovereignty (interrupted by the pompous autocracy of the Syndics and the timely intervention of reactionary neighbors). The Genevese were always "vieux athlètes de la liberté". France, however, had surrendered her popular liberties into the hands of her kings, and a violent effort was needed to get them back. While, therefore, revolution prevailed in France, the Genevan movement was really an evolution. Faction ran riot in France, but the Genevan Committees sought to govern with the co-operation of all parties in the state. Nor did the Committees in Geneva attempt to prolong a dictatorial power like the French Jacobins. They encouraged the completion of the Constitution, and promptly applied it when adopted. Unfortunately, it lasted only four years.

There are a few little slips in dates. Rousseau's fête is given variously as June 22, 23, and 28 (pp. 130, 131 notes). It was on November 19, and not November 9, 1792, that the decree was adopted by the Convention pledging the aid of France to any country that would rise against its king. And it was in October, not September, 1793, that the Convention suspended the Constitution of the Year I. and made "Terror the order of the day".

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

A History of European Diplomacy, 1815-1914. By R. B. MOWAT, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. (London: Edward Arnold and Company; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1922. Pp. viii, 308. 16 s.)

MR. MOWAT aims to provide the British public with a manual like those by Debidour and Bourgeois. As he writes with an easy style, it is regrettable that he has not risen to his full opportunity. Most of the book is sound enough, although the Polish question is practically ignored, and we should gladly substitute for the names of innumerable forgotten diplomatists some general statements of the policies of the several powers. But the treatment of the period after 1871, and particularly since 1900, is unsatisfactory, for of the voluminous new material only the *Life* of Disraeli and Pribram's *Secret Treaties* have been used. Perhaps the German Foreign Office files were published too late, but Hammann and Eckardstein have long since told of the negotiations in 1898-1901 for an Anglo-German alliance, which are not even mentioned;

while the German publication *Deutschland Schuldig?* and Siebert's collection of Russian documents would have reminded Mr. Mowat that Serbia and Russia were involved in the Bosnian crisis and that Albania was an issue in 1912-1913. The Belgian despatches edited by Schwertfeger, the memoirs of Bethmann and Tirpitz, and Lord Haldane's book are ignored; likewise the Kaiser's correspondence with the Tsar. For July, 1914, there are two references to the Kautsky documents, but Professor Fay's articles are apparently unknown.

Some errors may be noted. It is misleading to say that Palmerston "openly testified the warmest sympathies with the Magyars" (p. 122), for he maintained neutrality between them and Austria till Haynau's butcheries. The Russian demands upon Turkey in 1853 were based not so much on Article 14 of the Treaty of Kainarji (p. 97), which allowed a Greek church in Constantinople, as upon Article 7, which bound the Porte to protect the Christian religion. The Schleswigers were not "to a large extent Danish" (p. 175), nor was the constitution of November, 1863, "common . . . for all the territories of the monarchy". A wrong impression is given of Austro-Italian relations in 1866 by mentioning the offer of Venetia only after Sadowa (p. 157), whereas it was made before the war and then repeated; it is not made clear that it was Austria's reference of the Schleswig-Holstein question to the Diet which precipitated the war with Prussia (p. 191). The British government did not send a "special mission" to Berlin in the scare of 1875 (p. 220), and it was the Emperor, not Bismarck, who said, "People have been trying to embroil us" (p. 221). It was not England which procured the Serbs an armistice from the Turks in September, 1876 (p. 226), but Russia in October. It is not "unknown from whom came the suggestion that Italy should join herself to the Central Powers" (p. 241), and Austria was not "bound to fight for her allies if either of them was attacked singly by France" (p. 242). The Chino-Japanese war did not break out in 1896 (p. 262), and the statement that France "was fearfully isolated before 1896" (p. 237) is refuted by the mention two pages later of the military convention signed with Russia in 1892. King Edward's visit to the Tsar at Reval occurred, not in 1907, but in 1908 (p. 273), and opinions will differ whether the agreement about Persia "gave the unhappy and chaotic country seven years of peace and quiet". The French expedition was not withdrawn from Fez in 1911 (p. 286); the Lloyd George speech of July 21 was delivered not at a Lord Mayor's banquet, but to the Bankers' Association.

The book is noteworthy for its sympathy with France, in spite of the remark that "the prevailing habit in France is to regard our statesmen as much more subtle and clever than they really are, and seldom to take what they say at its face value" (p. 79).

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Louis Napoleon and the Recovery of France, 1848-1856. By F. A. SIMPSON, Fellow and Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. xviii, 396. 21 s.)

IN bringing out his second book on Louis Napoleon, Mr. Simpson has performed a valuable service for the students of nineteenth-century Europe. He has given us an intimate and personal view of the prince-president and emperor that has been totally lacking in other books on the Second Empire and its founder. For this work is not simply a history of France between the years 1848 and 1856, it is also a profound study of the personality and psychology of Louis Napoleon. In this respect, Mr. Simpson may be said to have followed in the footsteps of another recent biographer in nineteenth-century history, but in so doing he has happily observed scrupulously the limits of historical criticism and has not ignored the necessities of historical narrative. One could easily read Mr. Simpson's book without a previous acquaintance with the historical setting of the time. He has displayed a singular mastery in the art of combining in their proper proportions the political facts of the narrative and the purely personal story of his hero. And Louis Napoleon is a hero to Mr. Simpson, not however in the same sense in which he has been a hero to his more contemporary chroniclers. For Mr. Simpson has evidently consulted carefully all the available documentary evidence on the subject, favorable and unfavorable.

Nevertheless, there are places in the book where the author seems to have allowed his personal interest in Napoleon III. to overshadow the real judgment of history as to the third Napoleon's place in history. In his introduction the author discusses the relative importance of the first and second empires. To him the First Empire is an episode. Its victories and defeats were colossal but sterile as compared with the permanent results of the second. He deplores the practice of attributing to Napoleon I. the impetus for the nationalistic movements of the nineteenth century, declaring that "even for historians the time is approaching when it will be permissible to recognize that the most fruitful act of the First Empire was the begetting of the posthumous issue of the second", and he asserts that the Second Empire was the first régime to take seriously the idea of self-determination of nations (p. viii). While the last is undoubtedly true, surely there are other results of the first Napoleonic régime to justify its claim to at least an equality with the second! There are as well other instances where the biographer is inclined to be perhaps a little too lenient to Napoleon III. In his account of the preparations for the *coup d'état*, Mr. Simpson does not believe that the prince-president used the May Laws first as a means to conciliate his Assembly and later as an occasion for its overthrow and his own successful *coup d'état* of December, 1851. In this, he declares, there was no conscious conspiracy on the part of Louis Napoleon. Another point in favor of

Napoleon that should be noted because of its originality is the view of his early wars. Before the empire was declared in 1852, the president made his famous tour of the provinces. It was at Bordeaux that the first real mention of the empire was made by him: "L'empire, c'est la paix." Contrary to many writers, Mr. Simpson does not believe that, to the year 1856 at any rate, Napoleon ever used war as a bid for popularity. He asserts, and his argument is well supported by references to unpublished sources, that Louis Napoleon strove to remain true to the dictum *l'empire c'est la paix*. In the case of the Crimean War, he maintains the thesis that the emperor desired peace and exerted himself to the utmost to prevent a conflict (pp. 230-238). But does this argument hold for the affairs of Italy? It is somewhat disconcerting to behold this peace-loving emperor attempting to interest his reluctant guest at Boulogne, the Prince Consort, in plans for the freeing of parts of Italy and Poland at the very moment when France and England are engaged in the Crimean War that the European world undoubtedly had desired to avoid. Two generally unknown facts in regard to Napoleon's first year as president are happily related: his attempt to bring about an agreement on naval disarmament between France and England, and his efforts to hold a European congress on the subject of Europe's ills (pp. 40-41). On the other hand, Mr. Simpson is fair, he has criticism as well as words of praise for Napoleon. He avows his weakness and faults in dealing with his ministers, his error in appropriating Orleanist funds and properties, even though they were devoted to a benevolent purpose, and his strange and apparent neglect of ministry and government during the early months of the war.

Space prevents the reviewer from attempting any detailed summary of the contents of the book, but certain chapters should be mentioned as of considerable interest and value. Chapter III. gives an excellent account of the president's policy in regard to Pio Nono and the Roman Republic and offers a fair and lucid explanation of the pope's difficult position. Chapters IV. and V. relate in a very interesting and dramatic fashion the events previous and subsequent to the *coup d'état*, and the remaining chapters on the Crimean War and the Italian negotiations are admirably done.

The book is written in a thoroughly graphic and dramatic style with due regard always given to the facts of history, though here and there the style is spoiled somewhat by an attempt to pun or to use a striking phrase, as where (p. 14) the author, speaking of Louis Napoleon's German accent, relates how he had "to mind his *p*'s and *b*'s". The book is well documented, with references and notes and interesting illustrations—mostly reproductions of contemporary caricatures. In collecting his material Mr. Simpson has consulted hitherto unused sources in the Foreign Office, the collections at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the reports of the Procureurs Généraux at the Archives Nationales. There is

an interesting critical bibliography. It is a book that will be welcomed and read with interest by all students of nineteenth-century Europe.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Old Diplomacy and New, 1876-1922: from Salisbury to Lloyd-George. By A. L. KENNEDY, M.C., with an introduction by Sir VALENTINE CHIROL. (London: John Murray, 1922; New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1923. Pp. xxii, 414. 18 s.)

THIS book is not a systematic exposition of British policy, but as a commentary on men and methods it possesses considerable interest. The author—son and grandson of British diplomatists, and a correspondent of the *Times*—writes in defense of the professional diplomatist and seeks to show the unhappy results not only of the “new” diplomacy practised by Mr. Lloyd George, but also of the extreme pacifism of the Labor Party.

The ideal diplomatist was the late Lord Salisbury. He understood history, faced facts, knew what he wanted, never bluffed, avoided meddling, and had a high sense of England's honor. His realism was of the substantial kind that protects national interests and enhances national prestige. In his début at the Constantinople Conference of 1876-1877, he refused to follow the policy of the resident ambassador, with the consequences predicted by Sir Henry Elliot. Salisbury learned his lesson, and henceforth was guided by his expert advisers. Not so Mr. Lloyd George, who, obsessed by the idea that the old diplomacy had “landed us in the war”, has exhibited intense distrust of diplomatists and has sought to eliminate them by relying on conferences and special agents. The results have been far from satisfactory: alienation of France, prejudice to England's honor, sacrifice of prestige and interests in the East, deception of the British people about the Kaiser and the Bolsheviks; while “Germany has not been mulcted, nor has she been rehabilitated”. Mr. Lloyd George was perhaps representative of England, unsettled, unnerved, and demoralized by the war, but Salisbury always knew how to give a lead to his countrymen because he had convictions and was ready to fight for them. Midway between these two stands the tragic figure of Lord Grey, whom Mr. Kennedy admires for his poise, his fearless stand for England's honor. But he was “very ready to do anything that could honourably be done to preserve peace, except to fight for it”. He should have listened to Lord Roberts rather than to Lord Haldane; instead he trusted Germany, or rather Prince Lichnowsky. Whether Mr. Kennedy's vindication of the “old” diplomacy is entirely successful may be questioned, for he assumes the virtues and ignores the dangers of economic imperialism, but his case against the “new” diplomacy is overwhelming.

For the period before 1914 no new information is purveyed, but the account of Bulgaria's entry into the war, based on confidential documents,

is illuminating, especially as to the attempt to buy King Ferdinand. The verdict that "we had some scruples—too few for honour, too many for success", is apt. Not a little light is thrown on the Russo-Polish war of 1920, as the author chanced to be in Warsaw; the analysis of British policy reveals Mr. Lloyd George at his worst, for his promises of assistance were "empty phrases".

The statements that the Bulgarians are "Slavs of Tartar origin" (p. 32) and that "the agreement of 1904 closed France's era of colonial expansion" (p. 123) are misleading. Bismarck did not propose an Anglo-German alliance in 1887 (p. 67): he then sought to disarm suspicion of Prince William, and an alliance was not proposed till 1889. The United States was at war with Austria-Hungary (p. 309). But these slips do not detract from a stimulating book which aims to prove that "the old diplomatic machinery need not be scrapped, it needs only to be brought up to date", primarily by reliance on the League of Nations. It is argued that the League has made secret treaties "absolutely useless", because any member can repudiate a treaty that has not been registered. We hope so.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

British Colonial Policy in the XXth Century. By HUGH EDWARD EGERTON, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (London: Methuen and Company. 1922. Pp. xi, 259. 10 s. 6 d.)

A HISTORY of "colonial policy" which does but mention the Colonial Office is sufficient evidence that the British Empire during the past twenty-five years has undergone great changes. Starting with Chamberlain the plan of the work strives for unity but soon breaks up into a series of notes and quotations regarding each of the dominions. Then, as an afterthought, there follow briefly in part II. two chapters on the Government of Backward Races in Malaya and Africa. Furthermore the book practically omits the World War. This may be due to the publication of Keith's book on *The Dominions and the Empire during the War*. It may also reflect the mind of the author, who seems to cling to the idea that, in his treatment, the views of each government should be illustrated by quotation rather than that on a given subject all of the dominions thought practically alike. The result is an impression of disunited comment.

A further tendency is perhaps best illustrated by the chapter on the Foreign Policy of Great Britain as it affected the dominions between 1900 and 1914. Here there is brief mention of those international negotiations which specifically affected the territories of the colonies; but there is conspicuous omission of other negotiations which materially contributed to the making of the situation with which all the dominions were confronted in August, 1914. In similar fashion for the period since November, 1918, there is almost no mention of mandated territories nor

of the part played by the dominions in the negotiation of peace. The net result is that foreign policy is almost neglected as a whole. Yet that subject is to the front in the minds of dominion statesmen to-day. A last comment on the situation, as presented by the author, gives a feeling almost of apprehension regarding the future of the empire. To be sure, in the very last paragraph of the book we find an expression of optimism. It is the first that we could find, and even that is qualified. "Still, our last word must be one of hope. . . . In any case, the past is assured; and it is amongst the wonders of history that from this little island there has sprung" the British Empire. The author looks to the victory of the mandatory system of the League of Nations as proof of such optimism (pp. 250-251). In short throughout the entire volume there is a record of comment which does not enliven or cheer.

Nevertheless, if such negative record must be made, there remain the positive contributions for which all students must be grateful. These consist first of all in the fashion by which the speeches of the dominion leaders have been skillfully searched for quotation. One can gain almost a synopsis of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's philosophy of politics in the extracts made. Much the same is true of others. The life of dominion politics is made to course through the book, giving vigor and variety to the entire narrative. In the second place there are the useful chapters on the government of the backward races. Here is the record of patient achievement and of the building of a method of life which is "the outcome of a well-organized system of family and social relations" (p. 228). In the third place is the evident emphasis laid on the essential co-operation of the dominions. It is perhaps doubtful if the author sufficiently appreciates the strong national tendencies which at present dominate in Canada. Nevertheless, he does well in his chapter on Partnership or Separation to plead for greater measures of unity. Imperial unity has passed the time when projects for its improvement can come from Great Britain. The initiative along these lines must now come from the dominions. It is an open question whether the plan of Canadian diplomatic representation should be dismissed in such harsh terms. Certainly, however, the principle of closer co-operation between the dominions and the empire deserves all that may be said for it.

The British Empire is a mysterious body politic. The development of its history during even a quarter of a century requires frequent adjustment. This in itself is evidence of its vitality. At present we seem to have reached one of those stages when everyone is talking of further changes which seem to lie just around the corner; and certainly this book is a welcome contribution by a distinguished author to the history of the period.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Un Livre Noir: Diplomatie d'Avant-Guerre d'après les Documents des Archives Russes, Novembre 1910-Juillet 1914. Préface par RENÉ MARCHAND. Tome second. (Paris: Librairie du Travail. 1923. Pp. xxiii, 591. 20 fr.)

THE second volume of the book of R. Marchand is just as interesting and valuable for a historian as was the first, published a year ago. The source of the material is the same—the Russian archives, where the author had a free hand to rummage at leisure. There is however a certain lack of system in this volume, that can be irritating to the professional historian. Marchand keeps, as in his first volume, to the chronological order of documents; in some places there are evident gaps; moreover, in the appendix there are a number of additional despatches that have to be classified separately. All this makes the perusal of the volume a rather difficult task.

The main mass of material concerns the correspondence of the Russian Foreign Office with their ambassador in Paris; the telegrams and letters of A. P. Izvolski are very interesting and valuable for the right appreciation of the policy of the Russian government during those fateful years preceding the Great War. Most amusing is the picture Izvolski gives us of some French statesmen; opinions might differ very much as to the ambassador's policies, but no one will deny, after reading this volume, that he had a wonderful power of observation and knew quite well the characters of the men he had to deal with in Paris. There is however one strange element in the activities of the statesmen of those days, apparent especially in Izvolski's secret letters, which never were meant for publication, namely, that while Russia was trying to extend her claims and aspirations in the Near East, her ally, France, was making every effort to keep her in leash and to dissuade the Russian statesmen from pressing their claims too much on the weakening Ottoman Empire. Russia's doings in Turkey were a source of great anxiety for the Frenchmen. In the Russian position, of course, there is nothing new; it was not the first time that the Tsar's government chose an opportune moment of Turkish weakness to spread Russian influence over Near Eastern territories and matters. But on the other side we find new light thrown on the pre-war attitude of France, strangely but constantly connected with one big name: Poincaré, Pichon, Barthou, and many other familiar names are frequently mentioned, but none seems to have played any such prominent rôle in the building up and strengthening of the Franco-Russian alliance as Poincaré; and besides, with a very evident object—steady preparation for the coming conflict with Germany. The reader will put aside this volume with the inevitable conviction that Poincaré long before 1914 had one idea on his mind, the war with Germany. And of course his plans required that Russia should be able to act very energetically; hence, the French did not want Russia either to spend herself in the East, or to call forth any conflict that would bring

about troubles or hasten the clash with Germany at a wrong moment. In the middle of the volume there is published a report of Kokovtsev and some other correspondence concerning a Russian loan that the Tsar's ministers wanted to float in Paris. These documents give a most vivid picture of the French pressure exerted on Russia with that one object in view, a war with Germany. At times the Russians were even losing patience with the French, so little did the latter mind the Russian interests; they were willing to give the money, but only on condition that Russia would increase her army and build new strategic, but otherwise quite useless, railways.

The correspondence from London is the weakest part of the volume; most of it is known already and published on a better system in the Siebert volume. On the other hand, the reports of Sazonov to the Tsar on the general political situation and on personal interviews he had abroad are most instructive. In the last part of the book the reader will find some new details concerning Russian policy in the Near East and the Chinese loan of 1912. It is interesting to note that in the discussion of the Turkish question there appears already the name of Chester; the Russians seem to have considered his claims favorably, with the exception of the Sivas railway, which they wanted for themselves. We may repeat, that for the modern history of Eastern Europe both volumes of Marchand will always remain a valuable source of information.

S. A. KORFF.

Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919. By DJEMAL PASHA, formerly Governor of Constantinople, Imperial Ottoman Naval Minister, and Commander of the Fourth Army in Sinai, Palestine, and Syria. (London: Hutchinson; New York: George H. Doran Company. 1922. Pp. 302. 18 s.)

DJEMAL PASHA played a great rôle in the government of the Young Turks; he was one of the four leading figures, sharing the responsibility with the better known men, Talaat and Enver; the fourth man in this group was Djavid, their financial expert. Sad memories are left behind them, though in 1908, when they first came to power, the whole world hailed them with great enthusiasm, as the liberators of Turkey, who succeeded in deposing the bloody Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid. The memoirs of such a statesman, consequently, have a decided historical value; it is interesting to hear his side of the story, no matter how prejudiced and partial the author might be. Unfortunately in some places of his narrative Djemal becomes very bitter and personal, especially in citing Morgenthau and Mandelstam, the two best known critics of the Young Turk régime. The volume of these memoirs can be divided into two uneven parts: the first concerns the Great War and its antecedents, the second relates to the Asia Minor campaign, when Djemal commanded the Turkish troops fighting against the English. The last chapter of the book

deals with the Armenian question and contains an extremely weak apology for the misdeeds of the Turkish government. Djemal cannot deny the terrible massacres, but his arguments of justification and explanation seem utterly inadequate; they only help to prove how absolutely impossible the Turkish rule over Christian and non-Mussulman minorities always was and will be, whatever party should come to power or whatever its intentions might be. There is little that is new in the second half of the volume; most of it deals with the purely military events. In the first part of the book the reader will find, on the contrary, some interesting additions to the history of the origins and sources of the Great War. The first chapter, devoted to the time when Djemal was governor of Constantinople, just before the war broke out, is interesting because of the light it throws on the author himself; it reveals his ruthlessness toward political enemies, his readiness to resort to any means, and willingness to take the responsibility for all such measures. He is responsible for the policy of the Young Turks no less than his more famous colleagues Talaat and Enver; the interesting psychological fact is that Djemal does not shirk this responsibility. Chapters II. and III. are the most important in the book, giving us many interesting details about the political and diplomatic transactions of the Turkish government. Djemal's story begins with the marvellous recovery of Adrianople in 1913, when Turkey succeeded, after the second Balkan war, in getting back much of the previously lost territory and in making tentative arrangements with the Bulgars for mutual assistance. In this last respect, the project of an agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria amounted to nothing less than an "offensive and defensive alliance", as Djemal frankly admits (pp. 52 ff.). The Bulgars, however, began to hesitate at the last moment, making the transactions drag out indefinitely. Then follows the narrative concerning the German mission, that so much alarmed the other powers, the arrival in Constantinople of General Liman von Sanders and the beginning of negotiations for a German-Turkish understanding. Djemal is never tired of repeating that the main enemy was always Russia; the Young Turks cannot forgive the English for having suddenly changed their front and made friends with their greatest enemies, the Russians. Here is the only explanation, from Djemal's point of view, of Turkey's friendship with Germany; it is interesting to note that at that time even some Englishmen could not appreciate the real meaning of this sudden and drastic change of policy of the British government. Djemal quotes, for instance, a rather piquant incident with the English admiral, Limpus, who continued to advise the Turkish government, while the German negotiations were already well started and England had the Russian Entente on her hands, whereas Limpus was still giving his advice against Russia! Djemal goes to some length in explaining that the Turks first asked France for assistance and only after the failure of this attempt turned toward the Germans. By the time war broke out the alliance with Germany was an accomplished fact,

but as Turkey was not ready with her army, the Turkish government endeavored to keep up for several weeks a sham neutrality until at last the Germans practically forced her into the war, by deliberately planning and carrying out naval attacks against the Russians in the Black Sea. It was the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, under the German admiral Souchon, which brought about this result, against the wish of the Turks. The latter, probably, would have been content to drag out their false neutrality for many months longer. It did not consort with the German plans, however, and thus Turkey became the adjunct of the Teuton powers.

S. A. KORFF.

Seaborne Trade. Volume II. *From the Opening of the Submarine Campaign to the Appointment of the Shipping Controller.* By C. ERNEST FAYLE. [History of the Great War based on Official Documents, by direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] London: John Murray; New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1923. Pp. xv, 424. 21 s.)

IN calling attention to the appearance of the second volume of this work, the opportunity should not be missed to remind readers that it is one of the admirable results of the formation of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence, which the British authorities had the foresight to organize during the early part of the World War, thus offering an excellent example which our own government, to its disgrace, has completely neglected. In the United States the task of gathering and tabulating facts and figures connected with the Great War has been left to individuals or groups appointed by the several governmental departments, miserably undermanned and working with little or no co-operation. The publications of these American historical sections, while in many cases (though not all) excellent, have not, as in the case of the British Historical Section, been produced in accordance with a general plan, and are therefore far less valuable to the historian.

The maritime portion of the British organization was placed under the eminent naval historian, Sir Julian Corbett, who produced a work in three volumes (the third volume is about to appear) describing the actual war activities of the Royal Navy under the title *Naval Operations*. This work is supplemented by a second, *The Merchant Navy*, by Mr. Archibald Hurd, in several volumes, one of which has already been published.

The third author in this admirable triumvirate is Mr. C. Ernest Fayle, whose task is to show how, and with what success, British shipping and British commerce adapted themselves to the requirements of a situation which imposed serious and unforeseen demands upon them, in order to meet entirely new difficulties and dangers. It is also his object "to trace the gradual growth and effects of State intervention, from the

first tentative experiments in freight and price restriction, to the later efforts to grapple with the root problem, by acceleration of construction, acceleration of turn-round, co-ordination of British and Allied demands, control of neutral shipping, and adjustment of demand to supply by the exclusion of unessential imports". This difficult and important task is the subject of Mr. Fayle's really extraordinary work, the second volume of which we are now noticing, the first having been already reviewed in this *Review* (XXVI. 531).

The present volume covers the history of British seaborne trade from the outbreak of the submarine campaign against merchant shipping, in February, 1915, to December, 1916. A third volume will complete the record. The author shows both the effect of the submarine campaign on seaborne trade and the measures taken to keep open the ocean lanes for the importing of essential supplies, as well as how the ships necessary for this task were provided. It must not be forgotten that the carrying power of Great Britain was nothing less than vitally important to the success of the Allied arms, since without it neither France nor Russia nor Italy, deprived of the necessary munitions, material, food, and fuel, could have continued the struggle for longer than a few months. The spectacular results of the submarine campaign, that is, the actual losses dealt by it to British shipping, tend to blind us to the almost as important loss of carrying power arising from the redistribution of trade, deviations, port delays, and the general dislocation of economic effort. Modern war cannot be understood without a complete knowledge of all the economic problems and situations upon which absolutely depends the whole field of logistics, in a word everything that makes actual offense possible. It is for this reason that Mr. Fayle's work is of the highest importance. It is a monument to the fact that, from now on, war must be carried on by an entire people, civilian as well as military.

Statistical detail in this book has rightly been cut down to the minimum necessary to justify the statements made in the narrative, the result being that, while facts and figures are well substantiated, the work is very far from being dry reading. It is provided with two folding outline maps and a good index. Mr. Fayle announces that the third and last volume of his book is practically finished.

EDWARD BRECK.

Le Bolchevisme et l'Islam. I. *Les Organisations Soviétiques de la Russie Musulmane*, par JOSEPH CASTAGNÉ. II. *Hors de Russie*. [*Revue du Monde Musulman*, publiée par la Mission Scientifique du Maroc de 1907-1921, vols. LI., LII.] (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1922. Pp. xvii, 254; xiii, 254.)

It is well known what efforts Bolshevik emissaries have made to affect the Moslem world and also that different parts of the Moslem

world, even outside of the political sphere of Russia, have been deeply interested in the fact of the Russian Revolution and in the ideas which lie behind it. This last attitude is very intelligible. The entire Orient at the present time is suffering under what is at least a *malaise*, rising at times to actual nervous crises. It feels the continued incubus of the West upon it as it has not felt that pressure for long, and it is looking round for any possible deliverer. For half a century at least this situation has been chronic, but the war has made it acute. Behind it lies a deep recognition of difference between the West and the East, a difference that continues to weigh as an obsession even when western benefits to the East are fully recognized. For a further development of this fundamental present situation I venture to refer to my article in the *Yale Review* for January, on "The Near East Tangle". Yet in this opposition of East to West the East has always recognized that Russia was closely akin to itself—belonged, in fact, to the East. Orientals might not greatly trust the Russians, might quite specifically distrust them, but still they were of their own kind and they could and did mix with them on equal terms. This held even in the still sharper contrast of Islam and Christendom, especially after Russia had abandoned the effort to make its Moslem subjects Orthodox Christians, as well as loyal Russians, and had recognized that they must be allowed to follow their own linguistic and social forms of life.

The reactions, then, of the different Moslem communities, both inside and outside of Russia, to the Bolshevist ideas and discipline are of the highest value and suggestion for the nature both of Bolshevism and of Islam. And the collection of materials on that subject, published in these two volumes—carefully kept down to such a collection, framed in an irreducible minimum of statement—is full of light on the recent history of parts of the world still in obscurity even for professed Orientalists. The first part of the first volume is a general study of the coming of Bolshevism as it affected Russian Moslems and was received by them. Almost immediately the problem of Moslem particularism *versus* communism was raised. Islam is a state-system quite as much as a religion; Moslems are delighted to be free, but freedom has little meaning for them if it involves co-citizenship with non-Moslems. Moslems, too, are individualists to a degree, both religiously and economically; in their history we see the paradox working of acceptance of an agreement reached by an automatic consensus of individual judgments and yet the preservation of these individual rights of judgment. So they thought that the revolution meant local autonomy and they found that the old centralization in Moscow still held. There follow historical and constitutional sketches of the different Moslem "republics"—those of the Caucasus, of Azerbaijan, of Batum, of the Tatars of Kazan, of the Crimea, of the Bashkirs, of the Kirghizes, of the Turkomans, of Khiva, Bukhara, and Turkestan generally. In each, history ran the same course: joyous revolt, driving out of the old government, autonomy. Then came

the grip of Sovietic centralization with commissars appointed from Moscow. Then uprisings against these, with varying success, and, finally, for the present, crushings under Red armies. The details varied with the economic and racial character of the population in each district. Mountain tribes tended to hold their own; city proletariats, as in Baku, went over solidly to communism; the scattered tribes of remoter Turkestan are still unsubdued. Yet, amid all the destruction, the economic exploitation by Russian speculators has ceased and local autonomy has increased; the soil is again in the hands of the indigenous populations. That Bolshevism can neither assimilate nor permanently affect Islam is becoming evident. The two reasons in the nature of Islam are working themselves out; it is within a ring-fence of its own and a Moslem state is a church functioning as a state.

The second volume deals with the Bolshevik propaganda addressed to Islam outside of Russia. First, the attitude of the Russian emigration—both that under the Tsars and that under the Bolsheviks—on its Moslem side. This is broken, impotent and idealistic. Second, communism in the Dutch East Indies; there, if anywhere in Islam, it has secured a hold because of the unity of the population. Third, in Persia; there the working has largely been political, arising out of the Anglo-Russian conflict, in which the Bolsheviks have inherited the Russian tradition. Of course, there are also the complications of an agrarian question, workmen's unions, and the omnipresent oil. Fourth, the relations between the Russian government and the Turkish government at Angora; they are pure opportunists on both sides and any fixed alliance would be in the teeth of their historical attitudes and of their religious and economic principles. A glance is cast at the communist movement among the Moslems of British India; the racial confusions there, as contrasted with the Dutch East Indies, are so great that its progress has been very slow. Finally, there is an interesting biographical appendix on the parts played in and since the Paris Commune by individual Orientals and Orientalists in communistic propaganda. These were evidently born adventurers and wanderers of one kind or another—soldiers of fortune, travellers, linguists, newspaper men. There are seven sketch-maps and a few other illustrations. As a picture of the present situation these volumes cannot be too highly recommended.

D. B. MACDONALD.

The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: a Study in the Contact of Civilisations. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (London: Constable; Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1922. Pp. xv, 420. 18 s.)

AMONG the efforts which have been made in recent years to satisfy the desires of the reading public for an explanation of the course of events in the Near East, some have been based upon too scanty knowl-

edge, while others have been seriously vitiated by a blind and unreasoned bias in favor of or against some particular nation or religion. Nor have books been lacking which were founded upon deliberate propagandist intentions in which a desire to display the exact truth played little part. It is distinctly refreshing to find a discussion which may rightly be criticized from none of these points of view. Professor Toynbee is a man of scholarly disposition, trained in historical method, experienced during the recent Great War in some of the motives and methods of Western diplomacy, acquainted by years of historical study with the past history of the Near East, and made aware of immediate present conditions by several months of travel and inquiry on the spot. Some persons may affirm that he has fallen into error in a usual way by becoming a partizan of Turkey. A juster estimate would be that having been originally somewhat prejudiced in favor of Greece, from his reading and conversations, he found upon personal investigation that many current beliefs in the West in regard to Greece and Turkey contain an admixture of error which has exalted the position of Greece unduly; therefore Professor Toynbee is obliged to say more things in favor of Turkey than of Greece, while at heart he maintains the absolutely impartial and unbiassed attitude of seeking the exact truth.

As indicated in the subtitle of the book, the author considers his task to be at foundation a study of the interaction of civilizations, of which the national organizations known as Greece and Turkey, England and France, etc., are representative. He uses the phrases Near Eastern and Middle Eastern civilizations to indicate in the one case what might be called Greek Orthodox Christendom and in the other case Islam. These, regarded as parallel and rival entities, are confronted by Western civilization, which is regarded as a unit, independently from its internal differences of a religious or political character. It is pointed out that the Near Eastern and Middle Eastern civilizations broke down successively because of internal weaknesses. Some 250 years ago the West began to act markedly upon the former and only about 150 years ago upon the latter. The former has had to a far greater degree the sympathy of the West, but the latter also has been profoundly influenced by it. The two are fighting each other with weapons which have been both literally and figuratively derived from the West. Each has its own place, and the proper attitude for the West is to assist both toward stability and progress and not to support either in attempts to dominate the other by force. The West has been far too indifferent as regards all non-western societies.

Professor Toynbee has a remarkable faculty for clear discernment of the inner meaning of situations and for exact effective expression. His style of narration avoids the stilted chronological form. In this he is aided by the fact that he is not primarily interested in direct narrative, but rather in the interpretation of events in the light of his main thesis of the contact of civilizations. So far as the book is a connected his-

tory, it deals in detail with the period in the relations of Greece and Turkey which began with the occupation of Smyrna by the Greeks, May 15, 1919. At various points, however, in order to explain current situations, the writer carries the story back even as far as ancient times.

Professor Toynbee is thoroughly convinced that the authorization of this occupation by the Big Three at Paris was a great mistake, which gave to current Turkish nationalism all its strength. The West should not have tried to support the Near East against the Middle East. There was a distinctly false identification of Greece with the West and progress, and of Turkey with the East and stagnation. The ordinary contrasts of Christianity and Islam, and of Europe and Asia, and of civilization and barbarism, especially as applied to these two countries, he holds to be invalid. The reasons he advances are cogent and his positions are illustrated abundantly from recent events (pp. 328 ff.).

The judgments which he passes upon important personalities are vivid and interesting, as, for example, upon Mr. Lloyd George, M. Venizelos, M. Sterghiadis, and Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Professor Toynbee may be regarded as the foremost living authority on the subject of atrocities, after his investigations of those in Armenia and Belgium during the recent war. He was able to witness in Anatolia a considerable number as perpetrated by the Greeks. He is unable to affirm that the Turks are in this respect at all more culpable than the Greeks. In fact he is inclined to charge the whole matter of atrocities rather to conditions than to character. He believes that they recur naturally when nationalities are intermixed (p. 16), and when minorities are supported from outside, under the condition of instability of frontiers (pp. 259 ff.). Strange to say, he does not regard any Near Eastern people as inherently prone to commit atrocities.

The best test of the general justice of Professor Toynbee's conclusions is that, though the book was written a year ago, there is nothing in the events since which involves a need of revision. He practically predicted the expulsion of the Greeks from Anatolia by the Turks, and the compulsory exchange of population which has followed (p. 147). It would be very interesting if his advice should be followed as between the Greeks and Turks, to the effect that, since their interests are parallel and common rather than separate and antagonistic, they should endeavor to reach an understanding. In fact he comes near to recommending that they should combine to a certain extent to resist the encroachments of the West. He has little sympathy for the enforcement by the West of its ways upon the Near Orient, and he believes that ultimately the non-western peoples of the world will recover their self-direction.

Points in the book to which exceptions might be made are the adoption of the theory of climatic variation as a highly influential historical source (p. 340), and the omission, from the reasons which led Mr. Lloyd George to back Greece, of the general attitude of the British government under his administration, in which was shown a fear of the increase of

Slavic power in Europe (p. 74). When this statesman's actions toward restricting the access of Poland, Jugoslavia, and Bulgaria to the sea are taken into consideration, as well as the more recent moves of Britain toward keeping the straits open for her fleet, it seems probable that he believed it would be possible to erect Greece, as supported by Britain, into that buffer state against the recovery of Russia which during two or three generations had been embodied in Turkey. It conveys an exaggerated impression to say that the Ottoman conquests in southeastern Europe before 1500 A.D. "were largely made at the expense of French and Italian rulers" (p. 116). The beginnings of the Ottoman deportation of Greeks in the spring of 1916 cannot have been caused by the setting up of M. Venizelos's new government at Salonika in October of that year (pp. 142, 365).

Errors of historical fact appear to be practically non-existent in this book. Some errors of observation charged upon Mr. Toynbee by the Greeks are discussed by him in various notes and appendixes. The book concludes with a table of dates, reciting events from November 5, 1914, to March 26, 1922, and a list of books subdivided according to the subjects and chapters of the text. The writer did not attempt to enumerate items in a vast mass of appropriate primary material.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Records of the Moravians in North Carolina. Edited by ADELAIDE L. FRIES, M.A., Archivist of the Moravian Church in America, Southern Province. Volume I., 1752-1771. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, State Printers. 1922. Pp. 511.)

THIS well printed and illustrated volume of records from the archives of the United Brethren in North Carolina is more than a mere collection of historical materials. To be sure, that alone would have been a contribution, in view of the importance of the carefully preserved archives of the principal settlement of the "Unitas Fratrum" in the South. But the materials are so well selected, translated, and edited, that the volume, eminently readable, becomes a valuable record of human experience.

The pioneers of Bethabara-Bethania-Salem were not spared any of the hardships of frontier life—hard labor and scant supplies, ravages of typhus and other fevers, Indian wars, factional hostilities between "regulators" and legitimate representatives of the law. A miracle indeed, that they were not ground to pieces between the conflicting elements, as were so many of the non-resistant groups contemporaneously in other American colonies and throughout the war-ridden world. A dove among

vultures seeking prey, the settlement remained true to its message of peace. If there is in the national heart of America something opposing her own Roman imperialism, a deep-seated longing to become a peace-bringer to the world, that tendency is due to such examples as Wachovia in her own colonial history.

The Unity of Brothers in the Wachovia district, through tact, good leadership, and real service established themselves in the good-will and gratitude of their fellow pioneers. We read how Brother Kalberlahn extends his medical aid to distant settlements, that a house is built to harbor the numerous sick persons brought to him for treatment, that a garden is planted with healing medicinal herbs. Skins are brought from neighboring settlers to be fashioned into clothing by the Moravian tailor, and the potter is compelled to bake clay a third time to meet the growing demand for earthen vessels, while the gristmills and sawmills are busy all the year round. Not the least attraction was the "Fremden-Stunde", a religious service held in English, especially planned for visitors; and far-famed even in the early days was the Easter service, and the vocal and instrumental music.

The annual register of guests was at least four times as long as the list of members, and included conspicuous names, among them Governor Tryon, his wife, and retinue. Friend and foe went in and out, and never departed hungry, as is illustrated by the oft-quoted description of Bethabara by the three hundred Cherokees who passed through on their way to the Ohio—"The Dutch fort, where there are good people and much bread". At another time, when the Cherokees were hostile and palisades had been set up to defend the settlement, they reported that they had seen a great town, where there were a great many people, and a great bell rang often, and during the night, time after time, a horn was blown, so that they feared to attack the town, and made no prisoners. At this period Bethabara harbored a large number of refugees from neighboring settlements.

The "Memorabilia" (*Kirchen-Buch*), prepared by the minister, and read by him at the closing service of the year, furnish us with a summary of the notable events of the year. Preceding these, the Diary of Bishop Spangenberg gives us a detailed account of his search for and survey of the 100,000 acres selected for settlement, September, 1752-January, 1753. There are also the church diaries, with entries day by day, likewise prepared by the ministers (not printed in their entirety), which give us an unsurpassed view of the daily duties of the pioneers and also of the religious life of the brethren. Lastly diaries of individuals are included, as that of the "Doctor", with its romance and tragedy, the Travel Diary (1762) of a sea and river trip from Philadelphia to the Cape Fear River, or the diary of the surveyor Reuter, interesting for its human and religious experiences.

The editor has given us but the first volume of the records to be published from the Moravian archives. It is to be hoped that the successful

beginning will encourage her to overcome readily the difficulties and laboriousness of the work yet remaining.

ALBERT B. FAUST.

The Papers of Sir William Johnson. Prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, JAMES SULLIVAN, Ph.D., Director and State Historian. Volumes I. to III. (Albany: University of the State of New York. 1921-1922. Pp. li, 931; xv, 900; xiv, 997. \$7.50.)

IF we except the periods of actual warfare and the military leaders, there was scarcely any official in British North America before the united opposition leading to the Revolution who exercised so important an influence over so large a part of North America as Sir William Johnson, sole superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern colonies. From the point of view of economic development and of international relations particularly, it would be no exaggeration to say that the permanent intermediary between the whites and the Iroquois, negotiator of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, probably had a greater influence on the destinies of this continent from 1755 to 1770 than any other single American of that time. In that period our one line of communication with the great West lay through the valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk and by way of the lakes. It must be kept open or the vast interior of America might be lost, but it passed directly through the country of the Six Nations and it was exposed through most of its length to a flank attack by the French and their Indians. It was these two facts that had made Albany for generations the centre of all important negotiations with the Indians, for the northern colonies at least, even at a time when these negotiations were in the hands of the incompetent Albany commissioners. The critical character of Indian relations at the time of the French and Indian War made a change necessary, and these relations in the north were entrusted to Colonel William Johnson, while John Stuart was made superintendent for the southern colonies. But for geographical and other reasons the office of southern superintendent never came to have the great importance of that in the north.

As sole superintendent for the north, Johnson was responsible for the most important Indian negotiations, and to him no doubt mainly belongs the credit of holding the wavering Six Nations to the side of the English at a time when their defection would have been almost fatal to the English cause. With the return of peace and beginning of the great westward movement of the whites, a problem hardly less difficult had to be met in preventing the encroachment of the settler upon the Indian hunting-grounds from destroying the fur trade and antagonizing the natives, without at the same time unduly checking the occupying of the tillable land. The insatiable land-hunger of the settlers made possible only one outcome, of course, but the government which Johnson served

was even more interested in a trade which required a wilderness for its continuance, and hence upon Johnson fell the difficult task of reconciling, temporarily at least, these conflicting demands. Added to these was the troublesome problem of the cutthroat competition of the Indian traders themselves and the unspeakable abuses in their treatment of the natives. These problems had troubled the administrators for years in Canada as well as in the English colonies, and now upon Johnson fell the burden of both.

Johnson's service as superintendent began in 1755 and continued to his death in 1774. The bulk of the papers of which these three volumes are a first installment consist of letters to and from Johnson—chiefly in regard to the matters just mentioned, together with some minutes of Indian conferences and some papers on military affairs, particularly the expedition against Crown Point in 1755, of which Johnson was commander-in-chief, and a few of a more private nature.

If Parkman is right in saying that the struggle between England and France for this continent is the most momentous it has ever known, it would be hard to name any man of our colonial period whose official papers are more important for the historian than those of Sir William Johnson, and a study of them shows that Johnson, if not a great man, was a very able one. Though probably not in the very first rank of eighteenth-century Americans, he was only a little below it.

Up to the year 1911 there were in the State Library at Albany twenty-six volumes of the Johnson manuscripts, consisting of between six and seven thousand separate papers written between 1738 and 1808, but mainly from 1745 to Johnson's death in 1774. Of these less than half survived the fire, and many of those surviving remained legible only in part. Many had been printed before that time in the *New York Colonial Documents*, in Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan's *Documentary History of New York*, and elsewhere, and a great number of the originals were in the Public Record Office in London. In addition to these Hugh Hastings, former state historian of New York, had transcripts made of a part of the papers, but unfortunately not with the accuracy that modern historical scholarship demands. With the aid of these and the excellent calendar of Dr. Richard E. Day, published in 1909, the great gaps and omissions in the surviving manuscripts have been filled so far as they ever can be, and we have in these three volumes probably about all that can ever be recovered of the papers of Sir William Johnson from 1738 to 1762.

The difficulty of the editors' work can be appreciated only by one who has worked in these manuscripts both before and after the fire of 1911. It was a work requiring an extensive search for existing materials and a nice discrimination in their use, on account of their variety and uneven merit and of the bad condition of the manuscripts. Credit for the excellence of this edition, under such difficult conditions, belongs as well to Mr. Van Laer, the archivist whose skill has saved from utter

loss what remains of the manuscripts, as to Mr. Paltsits and Mr. Holden, who began and carried partly through the work of preparation for the press. But the scholarly character of the work in its finished form is no doubt very largely due to its present editor, Dr. James Sullivan, the present state historian of New York. In fact every requirement of modern scholarship seems to be met in the care with which these papers are transcribed and in the way in which their varied sources are distinguished and indicated for the use of future historians.

It is a cause of gratification to historians that papers of such fundamental importance have at last been edited in a manner fully worthy of them, but this feeling will always be tempered with disappointment that this could not have been done before the irreparable losses in the fire of 1911.

C. H. McILWAIN.

The Foundations of American Nationality. By EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. [*A Short History of the American People*, vol. I.] (New York and Chicago: American Book Company. 1922. Pp. xii, 614, xl. \$2.60.)

PROFESSOR GREENE'S treatise is the first work written in text-book form that adequately represents the "new learning" in colonial history. It not only states the colonial case fairly, but leaves the distinct impression on the mind of the reader that the writing of colonial history is a progressive organic process and not in that state of petrification which characterized it twenty-five years ago. The book is therefore different in content and spirit from the older text-books of the conventional type. In its method of presentation—the knitting together of all parts of the subject into a readable whole—it reaches a high level of historical treatment, and can be read by the public at large with enlightenment and profit, for it presents the truth of the colonial story as nearly as it is possible to do at the present time. The work improves as it advances and attains to a breadth of vision and spaciousness of view that are refreshing after the limitations of the older narrow and contracted version. The author brings us into touch with large issues, which he handles with regard to their relations with the surrounding world, and in consequence has produced a book—rare in our colonial literature—which a foreigner can read with interest and attention.

Professor Greene appreciates the fact that our history as a people begins, not with the explorers and the aborigines, but with the old world from which the colonists came and with which they were in more or less frequent contact throughout our entire colonial period. From the old world to the new and from the older new to the newer new, even on into the period after the Revolution, he traces the handing on of ideas and institutions and their adaptation to new circumstances and condi-

tions. His method of treatment is comparative and therefore expansive and even international. The colonies are not treated as separate entities; the area of the Old Thirteen is not dealt with in isolation; New England is not overemphasized; the South is no longer merely a "neighbor" of Virginia; and the West Indies are not lost to sight below the horizon. The Old World, the Atlantic basin, the coast of Africa, as well as the new West and the migrations thereto, are all brought well within the focus of the picture. The treatment is fair, well balanced, and accurate; a careful reading has brought together but a small sheaf of errors. All racial and sectional elements are weighed and their importance determined without prejudice; the religious factors are specified and treated with unusual fullness; personalities are not intruded unduly; and overlaudation is conspicuous by its absence. The writer's sympathies are naturally with his own country, and he "has felt justified in emphasizing those aspects of colonial experience which seem most significant for the subsequent development of the American nation"; but there is no attempt to be "patriotic" merely for patriotism's sake or to twist the facts to satisfy anybody's pride. Professor Greene deems it no part of the historian's business to defend or palliate measures of any kind, either British or colonial, and he wastes no space in efforts at justification or condemnation. Probably the politician and the after-dinner speaker will wish that he had "seen red" more often and it may be that the literary epicure will wish more spice with his meat, but happily the spirit of frenzy is foreign to the purpose of the work and in such a treatise there is no place for mere dexterity, smartness, and epigram. Finally, Professor Greene has mingled in proper proportions other features of history than the political—the commercial, industrial, and social. No chapters are specially assigned to these topics, but they are treated as integral parts of every chapter, taking their place naturally in the development of the subject.

The book is the work of a scholar, mentally alert, open-minded, and progressive, and its contents, though not presented in a manner that is particularly graphic or dramatically exciting, are admirable in the sanity and good sense which they exhibit and in the close approximation which they attain to the ultimate truth of our early history.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

The Declaration of Independence: a Study in the History of Political Ideas. By CARL BECKER, Professor of History in Cornell University. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1922. Pp. ix, 286. \$2.50.)

PROFESSOR BECKER adds to admirable technique in the art of book writing a mastery of the apparatus of historical scholarship and a grasp of the subject-matter under discussion which together make *The Declaration of Independence* a model history of its kind. The book is charac-

terized by an attractive literary style well adapted to the particular problem of historical exposition which the subject presents, by commendable self-restraint in the omission of unnecessary detail, by skillful marshalling of the facts necessary to establish his conclusions, and by sound and closely reasoned deductions from these facts. There is a refreshing absence of dogmatism. The author does not even feel it incumbent upon him to pass judgment upon the truth or falseness of the doctrine of natural rights which forms the central theme of his history. In fact he asserts that the question is essentially meaningless and unprofitable for the historian to discuss.

Four of the six chapters of the volume adhere closely to the thesis as expressed in the subtitle *A Study in the History of Political Ideas*. The fourth chapter, Drafting the Declaration, and the fifth, the Literary Qualities of the Declaration, mar somewhat the logical unity of the work by a digression from the central theme. This venial offense is more than offset by the scholarly, and one may believe definitive, account of the making of the Declaration as a document, contained in chapter IV., and by the charming critical essay on the literary qualities of the Declaration which constitutes chapter V.

The first chapter contains a thoughtful and convincing analysis of the Declaration of Independence. Professor Becker emphasizes the careful adherence of the authors to the main purpose of the document, which was to justify to the world the decision made on July 2. He calls attention to the striking fact that Parliament is not once mentioned, although for ten years the Acts of Parliament had been the chief object of colonial animadversion and the position and powers of Parliament in the British system of government had been a leading subject of constitutional discussion in the colonies; also that the infractions of the rights of Americans as British subjects are not referred to, although they were the stock complaints of the pre-Revolutionary period. These significant omissions, the author contends, were the result of a desire to maintain consistency with the compact theory and not primarily to avoid the difficulties of defending a weak constitutional position.

The second chapter gives an admirable account of the historical growth of the political philosophy of the Revolution, while the third traces the struggle in the colonies between the doctrine of the restrictive interpretation of the British constitution and that of natural rights for the privilege of defending the rights and liberties of the colonists and shows how and why the latter emerged victorious from the conflict.

The last chapter contains a fresh and valuable treatment of the aftermath of the Revolutionary political philosophy. In it Professor Becker traces with a sure touch the reactions and responses of later European and American thought to the theory of natural rights. He shows the modifications of the eighteenth-century conception of natural right and higher law which sectionalism, nationalism, and industrialism have favored in the nineteenth century.

But the space allotted to this review does not permit of a more extended description of the contents of the book, which merits thoughtful reading by all serious students of American history and political philosophy.

MARSHALL S. BROWN.

The Constitution of Canada; an Introduction to its Development and Law. By W. P. M. KENNEDY, M.A., Litt.D., Assistant Professor of Modern History in the University of Toronto. (London: Humphrey Milford; New York: Oxford University Press. 1922. Pp. xx, 519. \$9.00.)

THIS is an interesting contribution to an increasing body of literature growing up around the historical development of the Canadian constitution. The literary style is vivacious—frequently entertaining—thus distinctly sustaining the interest of the reader. Indeed, the easy flow of the narrative and the facility with which the problems of Canadian national development are successively disposed of are apt to carry one over many a knotty point with scarce a consciousness of its existence. "The aim of the book", according to the author, "is to trace the stream of development: . . . to seek the causes which gave energy and purpose to the constitutional evolution: . . . to judge by historical standards the gradual expression of a people's political life in constitutional forms, and to estimate them in the light of their constructive contribution to human history." That, it is true, does not commit one to anything very definite, and many quite irreconcilable treatments of the facts of Canadian history might take shelter under such a roof-tree. Frequent flashes of light are thrown on historical situations and personal factors, but one misses the well-articulated presentation of constitutional development. This is particularly notable in the rather lame transitions made between distinctive periods in the national history. The most satisfactory treatment is that accorded to the periods from the Conquest to the Quebec Act, and from the reunion of the provinces in 1840 to the completion of responsible government under Baldwin and Lafontaine in 1848. But no adequate explanation is given of the rapid disintegration of that government—the strongest before Confederation. No period contributed more to the permanent problems of Canada, more thoroughly insured the deadlocks preceding Confederation, or more persistently threatened us with schisms and deadlocks for the future, than the period from 1791 to 1840, yet none is more inadequately treated, from the point of view of the fundamental nature of its determining factors. Too often, when one looks for the promised effort "to judge from historical standards" one is met, in one form or another, with the ancient evasion, it is useless to discuss what "might have been", when you are faced with "what is"—as though the "might have been" may not most vitally determine what may be. Space does not permit of more than a passing reference to the

more analytical chapters, XXII. to XXV., which deal with the existing government in its Dominion and provincial spheres, and which bring together in convenient form much useful information as to the functioning of the Canadian constitution as a "going concern". Here, with the exception of the exercise of the Dominion power of disallowance of provincial acts, not sufficient notice is taken of the operation of the "custom" as distinguished from the "letter" of the constitution—custom does not always follow British precedent. The final chapter on the Imperial Tie contributes a suggestive discussion of a problem very much under consideration at the present time. Incidentally the author takes the trouble to exhume Austin's theory of sovereignty, apparently for the personal satisfaction of re-interring it.

ADAM SHORTT.

A History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, with an Account of the other Banks which now form Part of its Organization. By VICTOR ROSS. In two volumes. (Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1920; 1922. Pp. xvi, 516; xiii, 595.)

THESE two portly volumes present a contribution to the history of banking in Canada which is welcome in a field where there has been a dearth of material. At this time, moreover, when developments in the United States indicate that forces are aligning for a mortal struggle over the question of branch-banking, it is of interest to trace the beginnings and growth, the policies, the success, and the significance of one of the three most influential banks in a country where the system of branch-banking has become thoroughly established.

The book is the result of collaboration of the author with high officials of the bank. The expressed purpose is not merely to submit to the reader certain facts from the records, but also to picture the conditions under which the banks concerned had their origin and development, and the enormous influence which they in turn exerted in stimulating and moulding the commercial and industrial progress of Canada. The whole gives the impression of a narrative of achievement told by one on the inside and therefore well informed and deeply in sympathy with what has been accomplished. This point of view is consistently retained. Records are drawn upon and are supplemented by the more vivid testimony of those who themselves have had an active part in the unfolding of the plan of development. As men and events, government legislation, and other banks are drawn into the narrative, they are criticized frankly from the viewpoint of the bank. Personal experiences and many amusing incidents are recited with good effect, such as the Dawson teller's identification of strangers by means of certain Masonic signs. A calm, assured pride in achievement, not unpleasing, runs throughout the book. The subject-matter is well organized and the arrangement is good, although frequently the author includes details which are of slight interest to the general reader.

Volume I. concerns itself with the five banks taken over eventually by the Canadian Bank of Commerce. In the case of each bank the conditions are portrayed which resulted in the founding of the institution. Its fortunes and service to the community are traced through the years, until the situation finally arises which constrains the directors to amalgamate with a larger bank. Reasons urged at the time of such action are cited, and in each case the financial basis for the transfer of assets is stated. An interesting feature of these discussions is the author's comment upon the psychology of bank amalgamations, the evident study given in each case to local sentiment, to the attitude of mind of the directors of the smaller bank, and the tactful expression of appreciation for the great service rendered by the corporation about to surrender its charter.

A significant remark upon the inevitable shifting of control of Canadian banks to the two great financial centres may cause Americans to wonder whether, in the event that branch-banking forces recognition in this country, we shall develop such concentration of banking control in New York.

Volume II. is given over to a history of the Canadian Bank of Commerce proper. The institution was born in 1867, when business conditions were extremely inauspicious, but a vigorous management insured success from the first year. The various important stages in development, the decisions upon policies of moment, are made to stand out with due prominence. Connections established with the Bank of Scotland in 1870 made possible the lucrative business of the New York Branch begun in 1872. Several other American branches were opened in later years. In 1893 the growth to the west began with the branch at Winnipeg. In 1900 the purchase of the Bank of British Columbia, a western bank with a London branch, gave added impulse to the northwest movement, and in the years following the agricultural area of the middle West was dotted with branches. At about the same time (1901-1911) the bank enlarged its field toward the east and the northeast through purchase of old established institutions there.

Certain chapters are given wholly to special phases of the bank's history. A chapter on the Romance of Banking helps to take away the curse of the struggle for profits and emphasizes the human side of the great corporation. The chapter on the Legislative Development of the Canadian Banking System contains information more generally familiar, and is of interest chiefly because it reflects the attitude of the bank toward such issues as government examination of the banks' condition, fixed reserves for banks, etc.

Appendixes at the end of volume I. contain some very interesting contributions on early treasury notes of Nova Scotia, some rare currencies of Prince Edward Island, including the so-called Holey Dollars, and various documents of interest to a more limited public.

The appendixes following volume II. gather together the material upon special topics such as the archives department, the branch clearings system, and the like, while numerous plates scattered through the book add materially to the fullness of the presentation.

To the student of economic history the book has the value of an intimate sketch of the bank's influence and share for over fifty years in realization of Canada's commercial, industrial, and agricultural potentialities. The student of banking sees in the work not so much a contribution to our knowledge of banking principles as a record of accomplishment, with a glimpse at the attitude which a powerful bank assumes toward its great problems of policy and methods. Not the least illuminating, if correct, is the impression conveyed of the high sense of responsibility for the safety and integrity and the ethical standards of their bank which seems to characterize the managers of the chartered banks to the north of us—some notable exceptions to the contrary notwithstanding.

In conclusion, the reader, upon the basis of the facts offered in the *History*, may not feel qualified to determine whether the service of the banks of Canada is "incalculably more valuable to the people than it is profitable to the shareholders"; but he will gladly receive the work of Mr. Ross as a contribution to the history of banking in Canada.

WALTER R. MYERS.

MINOR NOTICES

Main Currents in World History. By L. CECIL SMITH, M.A. (London, Rivingtons, 1922, pp. xvi, 384, 8s. 6d.) This book offers to the student and the adult reader a brief, concise, and readable outline of the most significant currents in world-history. The title of the book, however, is more ambitious than the contents, inasmuch as the author confines his description of the ancient and medieval world to fifty pages and makes the merest mention of countries outside of Europe save as they have been brought into contact with European expansion during the last four hundred years.

The main theme of the book is the political development of modern nations. The author believes that the only alternative for nationalism is anarchy and that H. G. Wells's "Cosmopolitanism, as opposed to Internationalism" is a delusion. On the other hand he adopts some of Wells's practice of referring to events and persons according as they are welcome or distasteful to the author. For example, he mourns over the separation of the American colonies from Great Britain as a calamity and repeatedly advises his readers "in the interests of Anglo-American friendship, the less said about the past the better" (pp. 155, 163, 164); he wonders if a violent revolution is ever worth the price (p. 204); opines that it is easier for historians to criticize and abuse statesmen for making the treaties of 1815 and 1919 than it was to have made them (p. 233); and questions whether "education can be extended to the many without losing its virtues" (p. 265).

The book was written distinctly for British consumption by a man who has long had a strong attachment for British imperial policy, which was doubtless deepened by the catastrophe of the World War. While it may be natural under these circumstances for a British historian to have fallen into a complacent national vein, it is to be regretted that an otherwise excellent book is not likely to appeal to an American as well as a British audience.

GEORGE F. ZOOK.

The Founding of the Roman Empire. By Frank Burr Marsh, Ph.D., Adjunct Professor of Ancient History in the University of Texas. [University of Texas Studies.] (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1922, pp. vii, 329, \$2.65.) Professor Marsh provides us with a fresh account of the period from the Gracchi to the death of Augustus which incorporates the fruits of his wide and discriminating study of recent discussions of the various special problems. The book abounds with acute observations on detailed points, such as: that the character of ancient shipping gave the Italian grazier protection from overseas competition (p. 35), that Marius's resort to the principle of voluntary enlistment was in part a political move to escape the odium of a general conscription (p. 44), that under the Marian system it required a popular leader to create an army (p. 46), that had Brutus and Cassius won at Philippi the only result would have been to change the personnel, not the character, of the future government, for the power of Brutus and Cassius no less than that of their opponents rested upon the favor of the soldiery (pp. 189 ff.), that the decision of Augustus to limit the extent of the Empire is to be explained in part by the absence of the economic motives for imperialism with which we moderns are familiar (p. 234). There are some surprising omissions. Professor Marsh tells us, for example, that in the second century the quaestorship "was almost always held . . . at 30 or thereabouts" without noting that this minimum age was fixed by the Lex Villia Annalis of 180 B.C. . . . He remarks that the proconsulship was "probably not a wholly new device" in the time of the Hannibalic War (p. 27). One would like to know the reason for the "probably". According to our sources it was first resorted to in the Second Samnite War. One misses also a reference to the part played by the *equites* in forcing the Senate's hand in the Jugurthine War (p. 43), to the campaigns of Augustus in the Balkans in 35-33 B.C. (p. 242), and to Oldfather's well-known contention that Augustus never contemplated extending the Roman boundary to the Elbe (p. 259). More serious is the absence of all mention of the judicial reforms of Sulla and the inadequate account of the administrative innovations introduced by Augustus in the administration of the city. The reader feels the lack very frequently of a justificatory foot-note, and a critical bibliography would have added very much to the value of the work. Professor Marsh's main contributions, which are discussed in careful appendixes, are that Caesar's Gallic

command began on March 1, 59 B.C., and a demonstration of the fact that Augustus made much greater use of nobles in his service in the latter part of his principate. The first contention seems well supported, although the reviewer is not prepared to give it his unqualified assent. The importance of the second fact, it seems to him, Professor Marsh greatly overemphasizes.

DONALD MCFAYDEN.

Les Martyrs d'Égypte. Par Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J., Bollandiste. [Extrait des *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XL.] (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, 1923, pp. 221.) This is not a history of the Egyptian martyrs, nor a collection of *Acta et Passiones*, but a critical discussion of the sources of early Egyptian hagiography. The background of the lives of the martyrs is described in the first chapter, which contains a survey of the persecutions in Egypt and an examination of the data and the lists of martyrs in the works of Eusebius.

The general character and extent of the sources for the lives of the Egyptian martyrs are to some extent familiar to readers of the *Analecta Bollandiana*. Constant reference is also made to the various *Bibliothecae Hagiographicae* published by the Bollandist society. In order to classify and to determine the critical reliability of the sources, Father Delehaye first examines the lists of Egyptian martyrs found in the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* and in the Greek and Coptic *Synaxaria*. The names furnished by these and some other lists form the basis for the examination of the *Passiones*. These *Passiones* are found in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. Only the first three classes are discussed. An illustration of the legendary character of the Coptic documents is shown by the detailed examination of some which are typical of the whole class. An appendix contains the text of the *Passiones* of Paphnutius, of Psotius, and of Dioscurus.

The same qualities of critical acumen, breadth of learning, and sureness of method which distinguish all the works of Father Delehaye are in evidence here. Because of the fullness and variety of his knowledge he has almost achieved the impossible in making a critical discussion of sources interesting. The work is an indispensable guide not only to the history of the martyrs of Egypt, but to the history of the foundation and early development of the Egyptian church.

PATRICK J. HEALY.

Études de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse. Par E. Vacandard, Aumônier du Lycée de Rouen. Quatrième Série. (Paris, J. Gabalda, 1923, pp. viii, 268, 7 fr.) The readers of the first and second series of *Études de Critique et d'Histoire Religieuse* by M. Vacandard will be somewhat disappointed in this fourth series. The author is a man of genuine learning and sound, critical scholarship, but the articles are distinctly less important in substance and slighter in treatment than those

in his earlier series. The opening article, "L'Apostolat de Saint Pierre à Rome", is a résumé of an article by M. Paul Monceaux and the author adds nothing of his own. It is little more than a brief statement of well-known arguments, the value of which will always remain in dispute. In hardly more independent relation stands the article "La Papesse Jeanne" to Döllinger's *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters* and articles by Vernet and by Father Thurston. "La Prophétie de Malachie" is a very curious study of a prediction regarding the succession of popes made by St. Bernard's friend, according to those who support the authenticity of what seems a very apocryphal document. The treatment of "Sainte Geneviève de Paris" is careful and is an excellent introduction to the critical study of her life. M. Vacandard knows how to be critical and reverent at the same time. "La Fausse Jeanne d'Arc" is a refutation of a brochure by Grillon de Givry setting forth that the maid of Orleans was not burned at Rouen but escaped and was subsequently married. The essay on this revival of an old fable witnesses therefore to what religious or anti-religious prejudice will bring against the soundest history. The history of the text and the liturgical use and music of *Salve Regina* will be of interest to liturgiologists. The question as to the author of the *Imitatio Christi* is very carefully examined, the various modern theories as to its authorship are scrutinized, and after deciding that the claims for Gerson or Gersen are not well founded, M. Vacandard reaches the conclusion that, in spite of all attempts to overthrow his claim to authorship, Thomas à Kempis is probably the author. The volume concludes with an essay on Pierre Corneille, in which the influence of education at the hands of the Jesuits and his spiritual and religious development are described *con amore*. It goes without saying that any work by M. Vacandard is work well done, but this volume seems to be of less permanent importance than others in the same collection.

J. C. A.

The Laws of the Earliest English Kings. Edited and translated by F. L. Attenborough, M.A., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, pp. xii, 256, 15s.) The laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings have hitherto been accessible in English form only in an edition prepared by Benjamin Thorpe and published in 1840. Excellent as Thorpe's translation was in its day, it is no longer abreast of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and has been completely displaced by the later edition prepared by F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. It would seem, however, that English readers should not be wholly dependent on a foreign translation for knowledge of their ancient laws; and Mr. Attenborough's undertaking is therefore one that deserves the highest praise. The present volume includes all the laws published in old English times to the death of Ethelstan. It is to be hoped that the plan calls for at least one more volume carrying the work down to the close of the Saxon period. In preparing his edition Mr. Attenborough

has omitted everything that does not seem necessary to an understanding of the laws with which he deals. Latin versions are included only where the original Anglo-Saxon has been lost. Variant readings are indicated in foot-notes. The translations have been made with great care; the linguistic problems are discussed in a relatively long series of scholarly notes. In the interpretation of difficult passages the editor frequently disagrees with Liebermann; but he is always careful to state the opinion of the great master as well as his own. Frequently the disagreement is of slight importance only, but occasionally it is fundamental, as in the case of the term *drihtinbeag* which occurs in the earliest Kentish law. Literally this means a payment due to a lord. "Liebermann hesitates to believe that the king was the personal lord of every freeman", and translates the word as "Herrsbergeld"; Mr. Attenborough construes it to mean a fine for the infraction of the king's "seignorial rights". It is quite possible that neither is entirely correct. The reviewer is pleased to add that the volume is provided with a carefully prepared and exceedingly useful index.

L. M. L.

Ireland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. By Robert Dunlop, M.A., Lecturer in Irish History in the University of Manchester. (London, Humphrey Milford; New York, Oxford University Press, 1922, pp. 224, 7 s. 6 d.) This brief outline has much to commend it. The author is a student of Irish history whose published contributions to the subject testify to his knowledge and ability. He provides occasional bits of fresh information and a few comments so illuminating as to stimulate our desire for more evidences of his interpretative capacity; moreover, he succeeds, to a considerable degree, in his effort to be impartial: indeed, one marvels at the detachment of the Britisher to whom, "historically, Ireland is as remote . . . as ancient Egypt", though the latter has been brought closer to us than we once dreamed. On the other hand, there are various reasons why Mr. Dunlop's work—well done as it is in many respects—cannot be endorsed without qualification. While inevitable in a short popular sketch, it is unfortunate that certain departures from accepted views cannot be supported by citations from the authorities; also, it is a pity that, in spite of his attempt to leave out all non-essentials, there appear—at least in the first half of the book—all too many names of turbulent chiefs and of battles in which they figured. Such perplexing and somewhat inconsequential matter is doubly unwelcome in a book of this character, since it usurps space that might have been devoted to a fuller treatment of the non-political aspects of Irish life and to the events of recent years. More serious still, the author, in his efforts to condense and simplify, has failed to elucidate adequately various complicated and vexed questions, sometimes doing, though unintentionally, less than justice to one or the other of the parties involved.

A. L. C.

Somerset Historical Essays. By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Fellow of the British Academy, Dean of Wells. (London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1921, pp. viii, 160, 10 s. 6 d.) In this volume Dean Robinson has published a group of essays and important appendixes (ten in number), all of which deal with problems in the ecclesiastical history of Somerset in the Middle Ages. The greater part of the volume is concerned with matters of local interest, only three of the papers having a definite interest for the larger subject of English history. In his discussion of William of Malmesbury's work *On the Antiquity of Glastonbury*, the author concludes that in preparing this account the great chronicler used the very best evidence at his disposal. The most extensive paper in the series is an essay tracing the career of Peter of Blois, who was attached to the chancery at Canterbury in the second half of the twelfth century. Though the net results of this study are not great, it does serve to illustrate the great variety of business transacted at a metropolitan see in that century. The most important essay in the collection deals with Bishop Jocelyn and the Interdict in the days of King John. In this study the author comes to the conclusion that the bishop and his brother Hugh supported the king "until the king's personal excommunication made it impossible for them to serve him any more". Dr. Robinson appears to believe that the interdict was not taken very seriously by the masses in England. The subject is one of real importance, and Dr. Robinson has at least shown the need of a more thorough study of this entire episode.

L. M. L.

Registres du Conseil de Genève. Publiés par la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève. Tome VIII. *Du 28 octobre 1514 au 30 juin 1520.* (Geneva, Kundig, 1922, pp. vii, 624, 20 fr.) There is much raw material of significance for linguist, student of social and economic conditions, and writer of political history, hidden in these apparently dry records of the serious and resourceful city fathers picking their ways with watchful eyes and ears through winding, narrow, not over-clean streets from either the lower town by the lake, or the more aristocratic heights, every Tuesday and Friday to the Hotel de Ville, overlooking city wall and gate and low-lying *faubourgs*; or on Sunday at the sound of the great bell, leading grave burghers, sometimes to the number of 300, to the cloisters of the cathedral for the meeting of the general council. Few there will be that find time to read through nearly 500 pages of bad Latin, often giving formal and repetitious details of elections and municipal police. The investigator will do better to turn to the excellent index, under such items as interest him, in order to get at the way in which a city-state of so much influence during the later centuries was carrying on its struggle for liberty and developing its social and economic character. Under "Cridae" (cries, publications) and "Crida" (public crier), for example, the index cites over a hundred

items of sumptuary legislation of this pre-Reformation time, prohibiting blasphemy, games of dice or cards, vagabondage or idleness, making of cakes ("pro bono publico"!); forestalling of eatables and drinkables, unseemly songs or dances—the jazz of 1515 being described as bobbing up and down in public to the sound of a drum. Under "Macellarii, bocherii, carnifices", are the significant instances of renewed failures to regulate prices and weights in face of the resistance of the meat-packers of three centuries ago; or under "Mulieres" like evidences of inability to cope with the social evil. The financial accounts of the bishop of Geneva reveal 48 cases of fines paid by the clergy for illicit relations during two years. The political struggles may be traced through the index-headings "Savoie, Charles III.", "Friburgum (Fribourg)", "Berthelier", "Bonivard", "Franchesiae et libertates civitatis", "Eygue-nots"; and elections of councils and burghers, under "Consilium", "Electiones", and "Burgenses creati".

This volume, like its predecessors, the product of the devotion and scholarship of a banker, a physician, and a bibliophile, all skillful archivists, and backed by the state and the Genevan societies of history and archaeology, of sciences and arts, is a felicitous example of what an enlightened public sentiment and private enterprise combined can do in providing the solid material upon which comparative social history may some time rest.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

Geist und Staat: Historische Porträts. Von Willy Andreas. (Munich and Berlin, Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1922, pp. viii, 195, \$1.00.) At first glance it seems an incongruous group of portraits that Professor Andreas has brought together in this little volume. Castiglione, Bacon, Père Joseph, Maria Theresa, Marwitz, and Engels belonged to different generations. No two were moved by a common patriotism. One is puzzled to conceive what manner of German this professor of history may be who decks the walls of his study with the portraits of these six widely dissimilar individuals. Indeed they are striking personalities that look out from the likenesses which are reproduced in the volume. Perhaps the author's eye has been caught, now by one, now by another, as he has strolled by some print-shop, and so mere chance has grouped them before his eyes. Then as he has meditated on the rise and fall of states and the varied changes in forms of government (what student of history has not in these recent years?), he has found his imagination weaving about the portraits before him the stirring scenes amid which each of the six moved, and he has sought to fathom the varied thoughts behind those six singularly different pairs of eyes that look out from these pictured faces with such marvellous clairvoyance. The author has envisaged each personality sympathetically and revealed the political concepts of each with accuracy and spirit. The reader must imagine himself seated beside the professor in his study,

gazing at the portraits with him and listening while he skillfully depicts the scenes and thoughts which each of these characters has called to his mind. Whether or not one grasps all the professor's thought—perhaps even he has not entirely integrated his conceptions—one is grateful to him for a more intimate acquaintance with six extremely interesting historic personages.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

The Life of Sir Robert Moray, Soldier, Statesman, and Man of Science (1608-1673). By Alexander Robertson, M.A., B. Litt., late Lecturer in History in the University of Sheffield. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. xiii, 223, 12s. 6d.) Prefixed to this conscientious and exhaustive study is a memorial notice of the author, who fell in the first battle of the Somme—another poignant reminder of the sacrifices made by the gild of scholars in the vast hecatomb of the World War. The work is the fruit of two years of research as a Carnegie scholar at New College, Oxford, where the late Alexander Robertson received the degree of B. Litt. in 1913. Based on a thorough examination of the sources and literature relating to the subject, including many unprinted documents exploited in France and Holland as well as in the British archives, the resulting biography presents a figure, not very outstanding to be sure, but nevertheless of varied and not insignificant activity in stirring times; for Sir Robert Moray was successively "Colonel of the Scottish Guards in the French service, agent between Charles I. and the Scots in 1646, one of the leaders in the Glencairn Rising, deputy for Lauderdale in the administration of Scotland, and . . . one of the founders and first president of the Royal Society".

Although possessed of poetic gifts of no mean order and known among his intimates as a fashioner of brilliant witticisms the author has, in the present work, rigidly confined himself to a close and sometimes minute sifting of the evidence patiently acquired and to a plain setting forth of the facts with no flights of fancy and few stylistic adornments. In his section on the manuscript sources he honestly states that his investigations into the French archives, the Lauderdale Papers, and the journals and charters of the Royal Society have done little more than amplify and confirm the findings of such authorities as S. R. Gardiner, Dr. Osmund Airy, and G. W. Weld. The biographer's thoroughness and caution leave little for the critic to suggest. However, it might have been well to discuss Clarendon's treatment of the negotiations of Montreuil in 1646, somewhat at variance with Robertson's; and surely Professor Charles Sanford Terry's admirable monograph on the Pentland Rising should not have been overlooked.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Calendar of the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle. Volume VII. (London, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1923, pp. xxxviii, 857.) The first volume of the *Stuart Papers* appeared in 1902, and all of them have been ably edited by the late Mr. F. H. Blackburne Daniell. These seven volumes of letters and memoranda have shown how widespread were the Jacobite intrigues, not only in the British Isles but on the Continent as well. The seventh volume covers the last half of the year 1718. It is largely concerned with the preliminary preparations for the marriage of the Old Pretender with Princess Clementina Sobieska, and with negotiations by which the Jacobites sought to bring about peace between Peter the Great and Charles XII. and immediately thereafter secure the co-operation of Russia, Sweden, and Spain in overthrowing the Hanoverian dynasty. It is probable that an intensive study of the diplomacy of this period may suggest that the Jacobite plans were less visionary and came nearer being crowned with success than we are usually led to suppose. Alberoni, the Duke of Ormonde, and the Earl of Mar are very conspicuous throughout the volume, and considerable space is devoted to the battle of Cape Passaro. Several letters also indicate that Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, was directly concerned with Jacobite schemes after his release from the Tower. The editors sadly inform us that, while the *Calendar* has been finished to April, 1720, the necessity of strict economy has caused the indefinite suspension of the rest of the work.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

L'Incident Hohenzollern: l'Événement, les Hommes, les Responsabilités. Par Henry Salomon. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1922, pp. 267, 9 fr.) When the Allied and Associated governments insisted on putting into the Treaty of Versailles a statement of Germany's responsibility for the World War, they "started something". In the ensuing controversy, both the French and German governments have recognized the necessity of extending the researches and publication of documents back to 1871. But the developments of the period thus opened to study arise out of another war, the origins of which must also be taken into consideration. The greater part of the present work is devoted to a capable assessment of responsibilities for this earlier conflict. The evidence is not as complete as in the later case; and the author advances a plea for the revelation of more. He himself makes some new contributions from the Austrian archives.

The principal figures in the drama of the Hohenzollern candidacy are passed in review—Prince Anton, Bismarck, the German and French sovereigns, Ollivier, Gramont—all judged with impartial severity. The heaviest verdicts fall upon the German Chancellor and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. But Bismarck's support of the candidacy, M. Salomon asserts, was designed to provide a "countermine against the projects of . . . the French emperor" (p. 173). Obviously, the tally of evidence is not complete without a closer examination of those projects

than is attempted in this work. One cannot pass judgment on the events of July, 1871, by themselves any more than on those of July, 1914—as the French government realized in starting the monumental *Origines Diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871* with the year 1863. But still other wars lie behind. Where can one stop short of the Ariovistus incident? One might content oneself, varying the date, with the statement (p. 130): “On ne fait pas la guerre tout seul, et malgré les ambitions allemandes, celle de 1870 n’aurait pas eu lieu, si les Français ne s’y étaient pas prêtés.”

JOSEPH V. FULLER.

Effects of the War upon French Economic Life: a Collection of Five Monographs. Edited by Charles Gide, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Paris. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Preliminary Economic Studies of the War*, edited by David Kinley.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. 197, 6s.) This little book contains five brief studies by French economists covering the period from the outbreak of the war to the end of the year 1919. A sketch of the Merchant Marine is by H. Mazel; Professor Albert Aftalion contributes one paper on the Textile Industry and another on Commercial Policy; Professor Bertrand Nogaro has achieved a remarkable feat in condensing into eighteen pages the Effect of the War on French Finance; and Professor William Oualid traces the labor movements caused by war and by demobilization. Each paper states concisely the new problems that had to be solved and enumerates in its respective field the measures taken by the government. There is a pervading tone of commendation of the policies adopted, but limitations of space admit of little discussion. In the main there is an avoidance of forecasts of the future and little attempt is made to estimate the permanence of the effects of the war and of the policies they called forth. In every case there has been an obvious effort merely to present a terse and colorless statement of the facts that each writer has deemed to be of outstanding importance.

THOMAS WALKER PAGE.

Financial Policy of Czechoslovakia during the First Year of its History. By Dr. Alois Rašín, Minister of Finance for Czechoslovakia. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Economic and Social History of the World War*, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (Oxford, Clarendon Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. xvi, 160, 7s. 6d.) The late Dr. Rašín left at least two legacies to the world: first, financial stability to Czechoslovakia, an example for other new states to follow; secondly, the book now under review. One of the first of the new series to appear, the work is mainly divided into three parts, the currency question (with all its ramifications), national finance, and economic measures. A brief but valuable historical introduction precedes, and a

still briefer conclusion follows, the main discussion. One learns the way out of some difficulties confronting new states amid post-war conditions and how to differentiate between these states according to the wisdom shown in facing those problems. The Austro-Hungarian and the restored Czechoslovak currency, reserves, property taxes, the Peace Treaty and international exchange, and the banking work of the ministry comprise part I.; studies of the budget, governmental undertakings, the taxation system, and national debt follow. The last part, beginning with the liberation of the financial system, discusses joint-stock companies, the housing problem, and the transition to freedom of trade and competition.

Characterized by great clarity, with the material well organized for study or references, the book treats every pertinent topic with apparent frankness and with full consideration for the political as well as the economic conditions involved. Useful statistical tables are appropriately placed; there is an adequate index.

ARTHUR I. ANDREWS.

America's Race Heritage: an Account of the Diffusion of Ancestral Stocks in the United States during Three Centuries of National Expansion and a Discussion of its Significance. By Clinton Stoddard Burr. (New York, the National Historical Society, 1922, pp. x, 337, \$4.20.) This is a small book, intended for popular consumption. Mr. Burr's motives are those of public spirit, for he is deeply concerned over the magnitude and quality of the immigration from southern and eastern Europe into the United States, and believes that it threatens the greatest danger to the nation. Also, he has not spared pains in statistical computations; but his arguments rest on sandy foundations. He has accepted with implicit confidence the pseudo-scientific doctrines which have been widely promulgated respecting the extraordinary superiority of the Nordic race above all others, and the strange readings of history which have been used to support those doctrines. "Northwest Europe from that day forth [from the subsidence of Mongol invasion] was assured a breed of pure-blooded Nordic white people." "Of course the upper classes of Prussia are descendants from the conquering Teutonic Knights, and are therefore of pure Germanic blood." In the north of Italy "the Nordic strain was responsible for the glories of the Italian Renaissance". Columbus's discovery "was at least an important link in the chain of Nordic accomplishments; for if he was a north Italian he probably owes his pioneering spirit to the blood of ancestors through whose veins ran the partial strain of Goth and Lombard". "Probably all our 'old stock' was derived from the Nordic districts of the British Isles, and this is true also of a majority of our later immigrants from the United Kingdom." "The wealthy Southern colonists were of the bluest blood." "The Huguenots were not really Latin, but of the Norse blood of Rolf the Granger [*sic*] and his Vikings." "The early German settlements of Pennsylvania and later emigration is known to have drained southern Germany of much

of its finest Nordic stock; and the Huguenots of France, who were forced out of their country, composed the purest Nordic type of gentry to be found in that period." "Thousands of Belgians (many of them speaking a joint Flemish-Walloon dialect) are settled in Wisconsin." "The true creoles (descendants of the French nobility who escaped the Revolution in France)."

Arguments based on such ignorance of history deserve little attention, and the present-day ethnology is equally unsubstantial. A writer who seriously thinks it possible to compute that, of the total white population of the United States, 80,984,319 may be held to be of Nordic race and 4,978,178 of Alpine, puts himself out of court at once.

History of the James River and Kanawha Company. By Wayland Fuller Dunaway, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. CIV., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1922, pp. 251, \$2.75.) This study is one of the "sad words of tongue or pen": it tells the story of how on two occasions Virginia bet on the wrong horse. Beginning immediately after the Revolution, or contemporaneously with New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, the Old Dominion planned to capture the commerce of the Ohio Valley by facilitating transportation between her eastern and western waters. She was then advised by John Ballendine to build a canal; but George Washington preferred the judgment of James Rumsey and magisterially prescribed improved steam navigation. When in the early 'thirties the Rumsey plan had failed and it was necessary to begin *de novo*, Virginia was urged by some of her most respected public men, Wilson Cary Nicholas, Wyndham Robertson, and John Brockenbrough, to adopt a railway; but now she listened to the persuasive eloquence of Joseph C. Cabell and voted for what had meanwhile become an obsolescent instrument of commerce—a canal. Who may say what might have been the economic, nay the political, consequence if, as was possible, Virginia had anticipated either the Erie Canal or the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad? As it is, her taxpayers are still paying the interest on millions which represent no more than the memory of a generous hope.

Dr. Dunaway has sustained a laborious research with success, and beyond question has achieved his desire to make a contribution to the history of his native state. One regrets only that apparently he failed to appreciate how Jefferson played the part of Mephistopheles to Washington's Faust in the inauguration of the Patowmack and James River Companies. If he had done so he would have avoided a new rehearsal of that chapter of Washington mythology which had its beginning in 1856 when John Pickell published his romantic book.

A map might courteously have been provided with the otherwise complete critical apparatus, for not all Dr. Dunaway's readers will have convenient access to the internal improvement edition of the Nine Sheet

Map and some of the key place-names mentioned in the text have disappeared in present-day usage.

The Religious Experience of John H. Noyes, Founder of the Oneida Community. Compiled and edited by George W. Noyes. (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923, pp. xiii, 416, \$2.50.) For the purposes for which it is intended, this is a belated book. The author, apparently a relative of John H. Noyes, attributes to the latter's religious experience and opinions an importance and value which few readers will ascribe to them. The mode of approach to religious thought, the methods of theological inquiry, have changed too greatly to permit any large number of persons to be interested in the meditations and controversies of a very young man of keen but ill-balanced mind who was pondering these subjects, with much self-satisfaction, a hundred years ago. Nor will Noyes's subsequent career (for the present volume goes only to his twenty-seventh year) make these youthful experiences seem important even to those who on grounds of economic study are interested in the Oneida Community. Yet by judicious skipping the reader interested in understanding the American mind of about 1830, in some of the queerest manifestations which were then so abundant, will find in the little volume a great amount of entertainment and even of instruction. It will seem to him incredible that any considerable number of persons so thought and acted; but they did. He who would imagine the American people of 1830 must compel himself to imagine a people among whom many thousands could be persuaded to follow even so shabby a prophet as Joseph Smith.

Argonauts of '49: History and Adventures of the Emigrant Companies from Massachusetts, 1849-1850. By Octavius Thorndike Howe. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, 1923, pp. v, 221, \$3.50.) This book contains an account of the part played by Massachusetts in the migration to California in 1849, and makes a valuable contribution to the rich and varied literature that has sprung up around the Gold Rush. It has been prepared, the author tells us, "largely from the records left by the Argonauts themselves, from their private letters, their log books and the minutes and journals of their companies, none of which have yet been published and most of which are in private possession".

This reliance upon primary sources, which the author draws upon for numerous and lengthy quotations, constitutes one of the chief merits of the book. The most outstanding contribution which the author makes to the story of the Gold Rush, however, lies in his account of the part played in that movement by the *organized company*. Long before this volume appeared, it was of course well known that scores of companies were organized in the Atlantic states to facilitate the passage to California and to carry on mining operations after the companies reached

the Sierras. Howe is the first writer, however, to treat the story of the Gold Rush from the standpoint of these companies or to give a detailed account of their organization, membership, and experiences. Though the book deals only with the companies originating in Massachusetts, the author has found it possible to secure the records of 124 such organizations from that one state alone.

The arrangement of the material in the book is sometimes rather haphazard and confusing; there are certain mistakes in the spelling of proper names; the bibliography, curiously enough, consists in part of the "Length of Passage of Massachusetts Company Vessels Sailing to California in 1848", and, finally, there is no index.

These shortcomings, however, are of minor significance compared to the real merits of the book. If Howe makes no attempt to deal with the larger national aspects of the California migration of 1849, he at least has added much to our knowledge of the contribution made by Massachusetts to that movement and of the part played by the organized company. New England and California alike will find the book especially valuable.

Virginians of Distinguished Service in the World War. Arthur Kyle Davis, editor. [Publications of the Virginia War History Commission, Source Volume I.] (Richmond, the Commission, 1923, pp. xxvi, 243.) Partly as a help toward the preparation of the history of Virginians in the World War, in four volumes, which is contemplated by the commission named, partly for its own sake, the Commission puts forth an alphabetical list of Virginians who have received, for services connected with this war, any of the various American or foreign military orders, such as the distinguished service medal, citations by commanders, or the croix de guerre. The volume records 1127 honors awarded to 763 Virginians by the officials of fifteen nations. The material has been gathered together with extraordinary industry and energy and constitutes an impressive record, of which the whole state, as well as the compiler, may well be proud. As the editor well says, "The deeds are out of Dumas, but the names are out of the directory". From Earl D. Gregory, of Chase City in Mecklenburg County, who was awarded a Congressional medal of honor and the French croix de guerre with palm, for capturing a machine gun and three of the enemy and then capturing a 7.5 centimetre mountain howitzer and, entering a dugout in the immediate vicinity, single-handed capturing nineteen of the enemy (all as one morning's work!), down to the least picturesque of participants, all varieties of heroism and devotion to duty are chronicled, by printing, under the name, the text of the citations, with references to the sources of information.

COMMUNICATION

University of Colorado,
BOULDER, COLORADO, May 4, 1923.

The Editor of the American Historical Review:

I wish to ask for a small portion of your valuable space to correct an historical inaccuracy not unimportant and, I hope, not without interest in the review of my book, *Rome and the World Today*, published in your April number (p. 525).

In view of the complimentary expressions used in this review it may seem ungenerous to find fault with it; but the reviewer's assertion that I am demolishing a man of straw when I disprove the charge of hypocrisy against Augustus Caesar except as it was based on the fact that "the Principate was an elaborate farce" is so in conflict with the facts that I feel that his statement should not go unchallenged. From Tacitus and Gibbon down to the present day most of the writers of classical history have apparently delighted to expatiate on the insincerity and hypocrisy of Augustus on grounds other than that stated by the reviewer; and many of them have repeated, parrot-like, the charge of Gibbon "that at the age of nineteen he assumed the mask of hypocrisy which he never afterwards laid aside". Whether the Principate was an "elaborate farce" or in fact a farce of any kind, may well be questioned, in view of the fact that it was a form of government which existed for three hundred years and under which over one hundred millions of people enjoyed for two hundred years a period of peace and prosperity and protection of personal rights unequalled in any similar period of the world's history. But aside from that question an examination of almost any conventional Roman history will clearly establish that the charge of hypocrisy against Augustus is not based upon the nature of the government that he established.

Very truly yours,

HERBERT S. HADLEY.

HISTORICAL NEWS

During the sabbatical absence of Professor Dutcher the work of examining the current French, German, and Italian journals and pamphlets for the purposes of this section of the *Review* has been kindly undertaken by his colleague Professor H. M. Wriston. Professor Dutcher now resumes the function. Grateful acknowledgment is made of Professor Wriston's assistance. It may also be desirable that readers should be reminded of the constant service maintained for many years by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, in making for the American part of this section the needful notes from the local historical journals and similar current materials.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Writings on American History for 1920, issued as a supplementary volume to the *Annual Report* for 1920, was put through the press somewhat in advance of the Report itself, and is now about ready for distribution. All members wishing to receive a copy should notify the assistant secretary at 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C. The Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Essay on *Commercial Policy in the French Revolution: a Study of the Career of G. J. A. Ducher*, awarded to F. L. Nussbaum is, we understand, about ready for distribution. Orders for the book should be sent to the assistant secretary, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.

In a previous issue it was stated that, in order to bring the *Annual Reports* up to date, it was planned to issue the report-matter for 1920, 1921, and 1922 in one volume. It now appears that exigencies of the Government Printing Office stand in the way of this consolidation, and therefore the *Annual Report* for 1920 will appear in separate form; but it is expected that those for 1921 and 1922 will be conjoined.

PERSONAL

Henry P. Johnston, for many years professor of history in the College of the City of New York, died in retirement at Middletown, Connecticut, on March 2, at the age of eighty. He was the author of three excellent books on the history of the Revolution, *The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn* (1878), *The Yorktown Campaign* (1881), and *The Battle of Harlem Heights* (1897). He also edited the *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (1890-1893).

M. Henri Hauser, professor of economic history in the University of Paris, has been serving as exchange professor in Harvard University during the second semester of the academic year just past.

Professor W. C. Abbott of Harvard University will be absent in Europe during the first half of the year. Assistant Professor R. P. Blake of the same university will spend the year in Oxford, on the exchange of tutors recently established between Harvard College and University College. Professor G. M. Dutcher supplies Mr. Abbott's place.

By way of correction of an announcement in our April number, it may be mentioned that circumstances have prevented Professor Charles M. Andrews from making use of his leave of absence, and he will remain in New Haven during the coming year.

Professors James T. Shotwell and David S. Muzzey of Columbia University will be on sabbatical leave during the year 1923-1924. Upon return of the latter he will be transferred from Barnard College to the graduate chair of recent American history in Columbia. Professor C. J. H. Hayes of the same university will also be on sabbatical leave during the second half of the year.

Professor Alexander C. Flick, of Syracuse University, has resigned his position there in order to assume the duties of state historian of New York in succession to Dr. James Sullivan.

Professor Paul van Dyke, who for the past two years has been director of the Paris branch of the American University Union in Europe, returns to his duties at Princeton in September. Professor Dana C. Munro, who has been spending several months in Syria and Palestine, has returned to America, and will teach in the summer session of the University of California.

During the coming year at the Johns Hopkins University Professors David M. Robinson and Tenney Frank will conduct graduate courses in Greek and Roman history, Professor R. V. D. Magoffin having accepted the position of head of the department of classics in New York University. Professor Henry M. Wriston, of Wesleyan University, will deliver the Albert Shaw Lectures in American diplomatic history.

Dr. James A. Robertson has been made professor of American history in the John B. Stetson University and corresponding secretary of the Florida State Historical Society, with residence chiefly in Washington, and with duties chiefly connected with the editing of that society's publications.

Professor Henry E. Bourne of Western Reserve University has been given leave of absence for the year and will spend it in Europe.

Professor Harlow Lindley, of Earlham College, has been made director of the Indiana Historical Commission, and will hereafter be

mostly in Indianapolis, though retaining the headship, and a general supervision, of the department of history in Earlham College.

The trustees of the University of Porto Rico have made arrangements in the department of history and social science whereby Professor Frederick M. Cutler has charge of history alone, economics, political science, and sociology being given into the charge of an additional teacher.

We note appointments and promotions as follows: C. H. Haring of Yale, to be professor of Latin American history and economics, succeeding Julius Klein, in Harvard University; R. H. George of Union College, to be associate professor of history in Brown University; A. L. P. Dennis to be for a year professor of history, and W. L. Langer of Harvard, to be assistant professor of history, in Clark University; L. W. Lancaster of Pennsylvania, and E. P. Chase of Harvard, to be assistant professors of history in Wesleyan University; G. G. Andrews of Union College, Nebraska, to be assistant professor of history in Cornell University; John Musser of New York University, to be associate professor of history; J. M. Gambrill and E. M. Early of Columbia University, to be associate and assistant professors of history respectively; C. R. Hall and W. P. Hall of Princeton, to be associate professors of history, and S. J. Howe, to be assistant professor of history; Miss Elizabeth F. Rogers of Smith College, to be chief professor of history in Wilson College; C. P. Higby of West Virginia, to be associate professor of modern Continental European history in the University of North Carolina; R. S. Cotterill, to be professor and head of the department of history, T. P. Martin to be professor of history, and Dupré Smith of Princeton assistant professor, in the University of Louisville; A. T. Volwiler of Pennsylvania, to be professor of history in Wittenberg College, Ohio; P. W. Slosson, to be assistant professor of history in the University of Michigan; P. W. Townsend and J. C. Andressohn, to be assistant professors of history in the University of Indiana; C. S. Boucher of Texas, to be professor of history, C. F. Huth, jr., and A. P. Scott, to be associate professors, and Einar Joranson and J. F. Rippey, assistant professors, in the University of Chicago; J. D. Hicks of the North Carolina College for Women, to be professor of American history in the University of Nebraska; R. F. Arragon of Harvard, to be professor of history in Reed College, Portland.

The following appointments for summer schools are noted: Professor Theodore Collier of Brown University is to teach in Clark University; A. E. R. Boak of Michigan and J. F. Baldwin of Vassar, in Cornell University; Carl Becker of Cornell, in the New School for Social Research in New York City; J. D. Hicks of the North Carolina College for Women, in Syracuse University; A. T. Volwiler of Pennsylvania, in the Johns Hopkins University; J. S. Bassett of Smith College, in the University of Chicago; A. C. Krey of Minnesota, in the University of

Michigan; C. W. Alvord of Minnesota and C. S. Boucher of Texas, in the University of Wisconsin; Clarence Perkins of North Dakota, P. W. Slosson of Michigan, and H. S. Lucas of the University of Washington, in the University of Minnesota; A. H. Sweet of St. Lawrence University, in the University of Colorado; C. R. Fish of Wisconsin, in the University of Washington; S. B. Harding of Minnesota, in the University of Oregon; and D. C. Munro of Princeton, in the University of California.

GENERAL

In connection with the Renan centenary, an International Congress of the History of Religions is being organized by the Société Ernest Renan, to be held at Paris from October 8 to October 13. It will be a purely scientific meeting, and topics of religious controversy are to be excluded from the discussions. The topics to be handled include methods of study, prehistoric religions, religions of the ancient East, of the Hebrews, of India and Persia, of China and Japan; Celtic, German, and Slav religions; Islam; Christianity; the teaching of the history of religions. The president of the congress will be Professor Charles Guignebert. Circulars of information may be obtained from the editor of this journal.

The annual Pulitzer prize of \$2000 for the best book upon the history of the United States has been awarded to Mr. Charles Warren for his book entitled *The Supreme Court in United States History*; the prize of \$1000 in biography was awarded to *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, by Burton J. Hendrick.

In 1919 the Norwegian Nobel Institute, of Christiania, proposed for international competition, with a prize of 5000 Norwegian crowns, the theme, An Account of the History of the Free Trade Movement in the Nineteenth Century and its Bearings on the International Peace Movement. The committee wish it to be announced that, of the nine essays submitted before the appointed date in 1922, none was deemed of sufficient merit to receive the prize, though one, written in English, and regarded as the best, will be published by the Institute.

Messrs. George Routledge announce the preparation of a series of more than a hundred volumes bearing the general title *The History of Civilization*, incorporating translations of M. Henri Berr's *L'Évolution de l'Humanité*, of which the first volumes have been already reviewed in this journal. There will however be some original volumes, the first volume of the series being *Principles of Social Organization*, by the late W. H. R. Rivers, of St. John's College, Cambridge.

It is announced that the house of Félix Alcan, of Paris, will in the autumn of 1915 begin the publication of an *Histoire Générale depuis l'Antiquité jusqu'à nos Jours*, in twenty octavo volumes of about 400 pages each. The general editors are to be Professors L. Halphen of

Bordeaux and Ph. Sagnac of Lille, each of whom contributes two volumes, while others are by Professors H. Hauser, P. Jouguet, P. Roussel, etc.

A new edition of Ranke's *Weltgeschichte* (8 vols., Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1922) has been brought out recently; also, a second revised edition of Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* (9 vols., Leipzig, Verlag des Bibliographischen Instituts, 1922).

From the creation of a School of Slavonic Studies at King's College the University of London has advanced to the establishing of a chair of Central European history, more especially devoted to "the history of the area covered by the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the Balkan States, with the exclusion of Greece". To this chair Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson was most deservedly elected. His inaugural lecture, printed as a pamphlet by the university, *The Historian as a Political Force in Central Europe*, is a learned, wise, suggestive, and highly profitable discourse.

The principal papers in the April number of the *Historical Outlook* are: Geographic Influences in Pacific History, by Professor W. H. Ellison; Nationalization of the Democratic Party, by Professor E. D. Ross; and the Third Year of the League of Nations, by Professor E. McK. Eriksson. Those in the May number are: Young Russia in Czecho-Slovakia, by Professor Lucy E. Textor; and Military Conscription, especially in the United States, by Professor F. M. Cutler. The June issue has an entertaining "Hour in the Renaissance" by Professor E. H. Wilkins of Chicago.

The April number of the *Catholic Historical Review* acquires exceptional value from the papers read at the New Haven meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association. The proceedings of this third annual meeting are described in full, and are followed by Professor R. H. Lord's presidential address on Belgium: a Study in Catholic Democracy; by Professor F. A. Christie's paper on Aspects of the Catholic Social Movement; that of Father Francis S. Betten, S. J., on the Knowledge of the Sphericity of the Earth during the Earlier Middle Ages; that of Dr. John J. Rolbiecki on Dante's Views on the Sovereignty of the State; that of Dr. Leo F. Stock on the United States at the Court of Pius IX., and other papers.

In the *Journal of Negro History* for April there are addresses on the Teaching of Negro History by J. W. Bell, and on Negro Biography by Paul W. L. Jones, a master's dissertation on Haiti and the United States by George W. Brown, and an elaborate and interesting biography of Paul Cuffe, 1759-1817, negro sea-captain and pathfinder in negro colonization, by Henry N. Sherwood.

History for April presents a presidential address by Professor T. F. Tout on the Place of the Middle Ages in the Teaching of History; a

paper on Local History: an Exeter Experiment, by Professor W. J. Harte, and a survey of recent text-books on the history of Greece and Rome, by Norman H. Baynes. The Historical Association, we observe, which just before the World War had a little more than a thousand members, now has nearly five thousand. The "historical revision" in this number is a statement respecting the great fire of London, by Miss E. Jeffries Davis, based on W. G. Bell's recent monograph.

The *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* undertakes to fill the gap between its tome XV. (1914) and its tome XVII. (1921) by presenting at least its bibliography of ecclesiastical history (broadly interpreted) for the years 1914-1919. Accordingly it brings out (Louvain, Librairie Universitaire, 1923, pp. 352) the first fascicle of such a bibliography, embracing both sources and subsequent literature, and including 6238 items, arranged in the manner customary in its annual bibliographies heretofore published.

Of special interest to students of history is the third volume of *Gesammelte Schriften* of the late Professor Ernst Troeltsch, of Berlin, which contains his work *Der Historismus und seine Probleme* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1922, pp. xi, 777).

Some valuable contributions to the history of ideas and the movement of opinion are contained in *Staat und Welt: eine Geschichtliche Zeitbetrachtung* (Berlin, Elsner, 1922, pp. vii, 302) by Dietrich Schäfer, *Die Welt des Mittelalters und Wir: ein Geschichtsphilosophischer Versuch über den Sinn eines Zeitalters* (Bonn, Cohen, 1922, pp. 124) by Paul L. Landsberg, and *Kritik der Oeffentlichen Meinung* (Berlin, Springer, 1922, pp. xii, 583) by Ferdinand Tönnies.

The new edition of the *Metodología y Crítica Históricas* of Father G. Villada, S. J. (Barcelona, J. Gili, pp. 383 and pl. 25), beside the usual material of such works, contains in the portion devoted to heuristic many data useful to historians who work in the archives and libraries of Spain.

Among the more recent works in the field of the relations between geography and history may be noted the second revised edition of *Leitlinien der Allgemeinen Politischen Geographie: Naturlehre des Staates* (Berlin, Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger, pp. viii, 199) by Alexander Supan, prepared by Erich Obst; *Landschaft und Kulturentwicklung in Unseren Klimabreiten* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, 1922, pp. 165) by Siegfried Passarge; the first volume of *Traité Comparatif des Nationalités* (Paris, Payot, 1921, pp. 228) by Arnold Van Gennep; and *La Géographie Linguistique* (Paris, Flammarion, 1922, pp. 200) by A. Douzat, which is a popular summary setting forth the results embodied in the well-known *Atlas Linguistique de la France* and in the later works of the same group of French scholars.

Professor Walter Libby, professor of the history of science in the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh, has published an elementary but well-planned and clear account of *The History of Medicine in Its Salient Features* (New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1922).

The first volume of a revised and enlarged edition of Philippson's *Neueste Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (Frankfort, Kauffmann, 1922) has recently appeared.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. G. Everett, *The Problem of Progress* (Philosophical Review, March); C. Richet, *Qu'est-ce que la Civilisation?* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15); D. T. Starnes, *Purpose in the Writing of History* (Modern Philology, February); A. P. Usher, *Soil Fertility, Soil Exhaustion, and their Historical Significance* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); Sir F. Pollock, *A Plea for Historical Interpretation* (Law Quarterly Review, April); L. Thorndike, *The Historical Background of Modern Science* (Scientific Monthly, May).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Messrs. Putnam have published in their *Every Day Life* series *Every Day Life in the New Stone, Bronze, and Early Iron Ages*, by Marjorie and C. H. B. Quennell.

An illustrated book on *Tutankhamen: Amenism, Atenism, and Egyptian Monotheism* (London, Martin Hopkinson), by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum, gives the known facts about that king's life, and also the historical details respecting the religious changes and controversies of his time.

The introductory portion of Professor Jean Capart's important *Leçons sur l'Art Égyptien* (Liège, 1920), chiefly concerned with architectural origins and the artistic ideas of the Egyptians, has been translated into English by Mr. Warren R. Dawson and published by Allen and Unwin under the title *Egyptian Art: Introductory Studies*.

Under the editorship of Dr. Carl Clemen a collection of original passages from the Greek and Latin authors relating to the history of religion is being published in small volumes in Bonn (A. Marcus and E. Weber). The first is *Fontes Historiae Religionis Persicae*, edited by Dr. Clemen; the second, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*, from Homer to Diodorus, edited by Theodor Hopfner.

Les Rapports des Grecs avec l'Égypte de la Conquête de Cambyse, 525, à celle d'Alexandre, 331 (Paris, Geuthner, 1922), by D. Mallet, is a valuable study for its correlation of a considerable amount of somewhat unfamiliar materials. For the next period, Wilhelm Schubart gives considerable attention to economic, social, and cultural matters in *Aegypten von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf Mohammed* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1923, pp. iv, 379). A more specialized study for the Hellenistic period

is *La Vita Publica e Privata degli Ebrei in Egitto nell'Età Ellenistica e Romana* (Florence, 1922), by A. N. Modona.

Professor Rudolf Kittel has published the fourth revised edition of the second volume of his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Gotha, Perthes, pp. xvi, 570), which deals with the period closing with the Babylonian exile. A later period and a somewhat wider geographical area are surveyed by C. F. Jean in *Le Milieu Biblique avant Jésus-Christ* (vol. I., Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. xxi, 339).

Professor Karl Julius Beloch in the third volume of the revised edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1922, pp. xii, 652) brings the narrative down to the conquests of Alexander. In the first volume of his *Griechisches Staatsrecht* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1922, pp. xii, 443) Ulrich Kahrstedt makes a thorough and careful study of Sparta. Two well-written popular manuals on Greek civilization and culture are *La Civilisation Hellénique, Aperçu Historique* (2 vols., Paris, Payot, 1922, pp. 160, 160) by Maurice Croiset, and *La Sculpture Grecque* (*ibid.*, pp. 156) by Henri Lechat. Léon Rey has published the first volume of an important ethnographical study recording his *Observations sur les Premiers Habitants de la Macédoine* (Paris, Boccard, 1922, pp. 176).

The study of early cultures in the western portion of the Mediterranean basin is advanced by a new edition of Rufus Festus Avienus, *Ora Maritima, Periplus Massiliensis, saec. VI. a. C., adjunctis caeteris Testimoniis anno 500 a. C. Antiquioribus* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1922, pp. 138), edited by Adolf Schulten, who has also written *Tartessos: ein Beitrag zur Aeltesten Geschichte des Westens* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, 1922, pp. vii, 93).

The latest studies of Professor E. Pais are published in *Storia della Colonizzazione di Roma Antica*, vol. I., *Prolegomeni, le Fonti, i Libri Imperiali Regionum* (Rome, Nardecchia, 1923, pp. xxxviii, 379), and in *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il Dominio Romano* (2 vols., *ibid.*). Professor Conrad Cichorius of the University of Bonn has published a collection of *Römische Studien* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922, pp. vii, 456). Professor Stéphane Gsell has summarized his larger work in a small volume entitled *L'Algérie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, Champion, 1923).

The Oxford University Press will shortly publish an edition of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, presenting both Latin and Greek texts, with introduction, translation, commentary, notes, and appendixes, by Dr. E. G. Hardy, principal of Jesus College.

George Wissowa has published a tenth edition of Ludwig Friedlaender's *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms* (vol. I., Leipzig, Hirzel, pp. xxxiv, 490). The second and third volumes have ap-

peared of the revised edition of Otto Seeck's *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1922).

Friedrich Knoke has issued a thoroughly revised edition of *Die Kriegszüge des Germanicus in Deutschland* (Berlin, Weidmann, pp. xi, 512). C. Barbagallo is the author of a study on *Tiberio* (Florence, Le Monnier, 1922) and P. Faider of *Étude sur Sênèque* (Ghent, Van Rysselberghe and Rombaud, 1922, pp. 326).

Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre (Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. 152), edited by J. B. Chabot, contains a careful arrangement intended to present a fairly satisfactory historical narrative. The volume is excellently illustrated. Another contribution to the history of the Roman Empire in Asia is *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kriege zwischen Römern und Parthern* (Berlin, Schwetschke, 1922, pp. 136), by A. Günther.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Naville, *L'Égyptologie Française pendant un Siècle, 1822-1922* (Journal des Savants, September, November); V. Ehrenberg, *Vom Sinn der Griechischen Geschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVII. 3); W. Judeich, *Griechische Politik und Persische Politik im V. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Hermes, LVIII. 1); H. Bolkestein, *Fabrieken en Fabrikanten in Griekenland* (Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 1923, 1); W. S. Ferguson, *The Lex Calpurnia* (Journal of Roman Studies, XI. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: G. Krueger, *Works of Ecclesiastical History published 1914-1920 in Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian Countries* (Harvard Theological Review, XIV. 287-374).

Professor Eduard Meyer has published the second volume of *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* with the subtitle *Die Entwicklung des Judentums und Jesus von Nazareth* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1922, pp. viii, 462).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

No. 29 of the S. P. C. K. *Texts for Students* presents Latin text and English translation of the pontifical decree of 449, known as the *Tome* of Pope Leo the Great.

The alumni of the University of Chicago have undertaken a definite movement to present its library with valuable and useful medieval manuscripts. By a financial expenditure of some \$7500 they have given the university a remarkable manuscript of the *Novellae Constitutiones* of Justinian of about the middle of the thirteenth century; an English Benedictine manuscript of the same century containing a *Liber de Novem Scientiis* and a body of Cistercian sermons; an English manuscript of about 1075, somewhat remarkable artistically, and containing *Miracula Sanctae Virginis* and others; a *Registrum Brevium*, temp. Edw. II.; and a reference volume of the same period embracing Magna Charta and

other statutes. Further gifts of manuscripts helpful in humanistic research are intended.

As tomus XXXVI.-XXXVII. of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, finally closing the gap which the war caused in their series, the Bollandist fathers have issued a volume (pp. 319) of *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, translations from Georgian into Latin, which Father Paul Peeters carried out as a task possible under the conditions which afflicted Belgium in war-time, and adapted to pacify the mind. The documents are four medieval lives—of Sts. John and Euthymus, of St. George the Hagiorite, of St. Serapion, founder of the monastery of Zarzma, and of St. Gregory, founder of Khandztha. The Georgian texts, published in 1882, 1901, 1909, and 1911, are in the first three cases from manuscripts at Tiflis (one of them apparently "conveyed" not long before from the monastery of the Iberians on Mt. Athos); the manuscript of the fourth is in the library of the patriarch of Jerusalem. The society has also published volume VI. (preface and index, pp. 244), the completing volume, of Canon Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum*.

Important contributions to the institutional history of the medieval Church are made in *L'Élection des Évêques par les Chapitres au XIII^e Siècle* (Paris, La Vie Universitaire, 1922, pp. 78), by A. Despreux, and *Les Origines du Vicaire Général, Étude Historique et de Droit Canon, avec Documents Inédits* (Paris, Picard, 1922, pp. 153), by Édouard Fournier. A thorough study of the history of indulgences has been provided by N. Paulus in *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter vom Ursprunge bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., Paderborn, Schöningh, 1922, 1923).

The position of Mohammedanism and its culture in the tenth century is dealt with by Professor Adam Mez of Basel in *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, Winter, 1922, pp. iv, 492).

Some recent monographs dealing with the reign of Frederick II. are *Das Kaisertum Friedrichs des Zweiten, nach den Anschauungen seiner Staatsbriefe* (Berlin, De Gruyter, 1922, pp. 111), by Wolfram von den Steinen, *Staatsbriefe Kaiser Friedrichs des Zweiten* (Breslau, Hirt, 1922, pp. vii, 104), by the same, and *Federico II. e le Correnti Spirituali del suo Tempo* (Rome, Bardi, 1922, pp. 124), by A. De Stefano.

Professor Julián Ribera has now followed up his study of medieval Andalusian music in *La Música de las Cantigas*, recently noticed in these pages, with the first fascicle of a work in which he applies his discoveries and methods of interpretation to the music of the troubadours and trouvères, *La Música Andaluza Medieval en las Canciones de Trovadores y Troveros* (Madrid, 1923, pp. 31 of text, 73 of music). In it he transcribes 130 songs from the Chansonnier of the Arsenal, that of Saint Germain des Prés, and MS. no. 844 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. As in his earlier work, these researches belong to the broad history of medieval Europe and not to the narrow limits of any art or literature.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Pirenne, *Un Contraste Économique: Mérovingiens et Carolingiens* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, April); Dom U. Berlière, *Honorius III. et les Monastères Bénédictins, 1216-1227* (*ibid.*); J. W. Thompson, *The Development of the Idea of Social Democracy and Social Justice in the Middle Ages* (American Journal of Sociology, March); O. G. von Wesendonk, *Ibn Chaldun* (Deutsche Rundschau, January); Malcolm Letts, *Law and Order in a Medieval Town* [Bruges] (Law Quarterly Review, April).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Macmillan Company has brought out a text-book of *Modern History* for use in secondary schools, by Carlton J. H. Hayes and Parker T. Moon.

Messrs. Herder and Company, of Freiburg, have just issued the ninth volume of Freiherr von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste*, narrating the pontificate of Gregory XIII., 1572-1585, and a seventh volume, 1572-1581, of Father O. Braunsberger's *Beati Petri Canisii S. J. Epistulae et Acta*.

Students of the natural history of revolutions should be interested in Dr. Alexander Cartellieri's *Geschichte der Neueren Revolutionen vom Englischen Puritanismus bis zur Pariser Kommune* (Leipzig, Dyk, pp. 229); and in Professor A. Vierkandt's article "Zur Theorie der Revolution", in *Schmoller's Jahrbuch*, XLVI. 2.

The Ford Lectures given in the spring of 1922 by Sir Richard Lodge, professor in Edinburgh University, have been printed by the Clarendon Press, *Great Britain and Prussia in the Eighteenth Century*.

Side-lights on international relations during the period of the French Revolution are furnished by Ludovic Fortolis in *Les Anglais en France: des Cachots de la Terreur aux Geôles de l'Empire* (Paris, Perrin, 1923), and by K. Kersten in *Ein Europäischer Revolutionär, Georg Forster, 1754 bis 1794* (Berlin, Seehof, 1921, pp. 93).

Friedrich Kircheisen has published the fourth volume of his *Napoleon I., sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Munich, Müller, 1922), and his wife Gertrude Kircheisen the second volume of her *Napoleon und die Seinen* (Munich, Georg-Müller, pp. 352).

Brief surveys of the political and of the cultural history of the last century are furnished in two works by Hugo Preller, *Die Weltpolitik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, Mittler, 1923, pp. ix, 217) and *Weltgeschichtliche Entwicklungslinien vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert in Kultur und Politik* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922, pp. 115).

The *Souvenirs de la Princesse de Ligne* (1815-1850, born Princess Hedwig Lubomirska), derived from her papers by Princess Charles de Ligne (Paris and Brussels, G. Van Oest), are records of youth

passed partly in Poland and partly in exile, and of married life which she spent mainly in Paris from 1842 on, as the wife of Prince Eugène de Ligne, Austrian ambassador. Portions of his diplomatic correspondence relating to the period of Louis Philippe and the revolution of 1848 are included.

L'Impérialisme Économique et les Relations Internationales pendant le Dernier Demi-Siècle, 1870-1920 (Paris, Colin, 1922, pp. 316), by Achille Viallate, is one of the most competent presentations of economic factors in the history of the last half-century which has yet been made in so concise a manner.

The Clarendon Press has published in a condensed form the first section of *Moltke's Military Correspondence, 1870-1871*, as originally brought out by the Prussian General Staff. The present installment (pp. 134), edited by Professor Spenser Wilkinson, extends to the battle of Sedan.

Comparative History, 1878-1914, is the title given to the work of William II., former emperor of Germany, which has been published by McBride in a translation by F. Appleby Holt.

The French Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a volume of *Documents Diplomatiques: Conférence de Washington* (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1923, pp. 208). Léon Archimbaud has based his account of *La Conférence de Washington* (Paris, Payot, 1923) very largely upon official documents, so that it may be considered as a fairly authoritative presentation of the French view with reference to the conference and its work.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Cuvelier, *Les Préliminaires du Traité de Londres, 29 Août 1604* (Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, April); L. Van der Essen, *Le Rôle d'un Ambassadeur au XVII^e Siècle* (*ibid.*); Duc de La Force, *L'Ambassade Extraordinaire du Duc de Mayenne (1612), les Fiançailles d'Anne d'Autriche* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1); L. B. Packard, *International Rivalry and Free Trade Origins, 1660-1678* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, May); F. Charles-Roux, *Une Négociation pour l'Évacuation de l'Égypte: la Convention d'El-Arich, 1800, I.* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXVII. 1); L. de Chauvigny, *Un Consul Général de France à Smyrne: Choderlos de Laclos* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); H. H. Bellot, *The Detention of Napoleon Buonaparte* (Law Quarterly Review, April); M. Gavrilović, *The Early Diplomatic Relations of Great Britain and Serbia, III.* (Slavonic Review, March); Charles Borgeaud, *Le Fédéralisme en Suisse et aux États-Unis, I.* (Revue de Genève, April); F. Masson, *L'Italie Libérée, 1857, 1862, Lettres et Dépêches du Roi Victor-Emmanuel II. et du Comte de Cavour au Prince Napoléon, II.-IV.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, 15, March 15); W. Platzhoff, *England und der Kaiserplan vom Frühjahr 1870* (Historische Zeitschrift,

CXXVII. 3); F. Salata, *La Questione Romana e la Triplice Alleanza secondo Nuovi Documenti Austro-Germanici* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); David Friday, *The Course of Agricultural Income during the Last Twenty-five Years* (American Economic Review, Supplement, March); E. M. Earle, *The Secret Anglo-German Convention of 1914 regarding Asiatic Turkey* (Political Science Quarterly, March).

THE WORLD WAR

In the history of the war undertaken by the historical section of the British Committee of Imperial Defence, the volume entitled *Principal Events, 1914-1918* (London, Stationery Office, 1922, pp. 393) is very useful because of an admirably complete chronological supplement and an index. In the history of the war prepared by the French General Staff entitled *Armées Françaises dans la Grande Guerre*, the first volume is devoted to the battles of the frontiers (Paris, Impr. Nationale, 1922, pp. xv, 485).

An English translation of the book entitled *G. Q. G.*, by Jean de Pierrefeu, who wrote the daily official communiqué of France from 1915 until the end of the war, and who in this describes the work of the French general headquarters and its staff, is published by Harcourt, Brace, and Company.

The press of the General Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, has issued in a stout volume of 910 pages, with accompanying maps, as a "Marne Source Book", the *German Offensive of July 15, 1918*, prepared by Colonel Conrad H. Lanza, U. S. A., and embracing American, French, and German documents, translated and ingeniously combined for thorough study of the operations in question. Most of the volume consists of documents hitherto unpublished, from the American and German military archives.

In the committee of the Reichstag which is investigating the causes of the German defeat, one of the subcommittees has published an important composite report on the offensive of 1918 by Colonel Bernhard Schwertfeger, General von Kuhl, and Professor Hans Delbrück, *Ursachen des Zusammenbruchs: Entstehung, Durchführung, und Zusammenbruch der Offensive von 1918* (Berlin, Hobbing). The first discusses at much length the question of political and military responsibility, the second the military basis of the German offensive, statistically considered, and Professor Delbrück the general situation and subject.

The New Zealanders in Sinai and Palestine (Dunedin, Whitcombe and Tombs), by Lieutenant-Colonel Guy C. Powles, from material compiled by Major A. Wilkie, is the third volume of the official history of New Zealand's effort in the Great War, of which previous volumes have been noted in these pages. The volume, which naturally deals with many picturesque events, will be of particular interest to the student of history

of cavalry operations, for, if the authors are right, the cavalry operations conducted in this theatre of the war exceeded in magnitude any that have been carried on since the days of Darius.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Général d'Amade, *Constantinople et les Dardanelles: l'Expédition de 1915*, II. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April).

GREAT BRITAIN

Many American students, and not only among those who are occupied with English history, but also many who are interested in the origin of the earlier American place-names, will wish to aid the survey of English place-names which has lately been begun, with the approval and encouragement of the British Academy. The English Place-Name Society has been formed to carry out this work, and will apply to it the co-operative effort of linguists, historians, palaeographers, archaeologists, and topographers, in such a manner as to insure an exceptionally scholarly and authoritative product. The minimum subscription is fifteen shillings, which will entitle members to receive the society's annual volumes. Subscriptions may be sent to the honorary secretary, Professor Allen Mawer of the University of Liverpool. Libraries can become members; we hope that many in America will do so.

Students having need of photographs of manuscripts in the British Museum can obtain gratis from the director the *Regulations for the Use of Photostat Apparatus in the Studio of the British Museum*.

A new *Cambridge Historical Journal*, planned to represent the activities and scope of the historical school of that university, and especially the work of research now progressing there, will be published by the Cambridge University Press under the editorship of Mr. H. W. V. Temperley, fellow of Peterhouse and reader in history in the university. The journal is to appear annually at first, the price of each number being six shillings.

The *Victoria History of the Counties of England*, which has been in abeyance for a considerable time owing to the war and its consequent difficulties, is to resume publication (St. Catherine Press). Mr. William Page will continue to act as general editor.

A recent study of the prehistoric period in Britain is *Ancient Man in Britain* (London, Blackie, 1923, pp. xv, 257) by D. A. Mackenzie.

Professor Jacques Chevalier, of the University of Grenoble, is the author of an elaborate *Essai sur la Formation de la Nationalité et les Réveils Religieux aux Pays de Galles, des Origines à la Fin du Sixième Siècle* (Paris, Alcan, 1923, pp. 437).

Dr. G. G. Coulton, fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, begins a series of three volumes entitled *Five Centuries of Religion* with a volume on *St. Bernard, his Predecessors and Successors* in the eleventh and

twelfth centuries (Cambridge University Press, pp. xlv, 578). The intention of the series is to deal primarily with religion in a medieval sense, namely, with the development of monasticism.

Messrs. Chapman and Dodd have published *The Worshipful Company of Grocers: an Historical Retrospect, 1325-1921*, by J. Aubrey Rees, based on unpublished material in the records of the company and of the city of London.

English Diaries: a Review from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century, with an Introduction on Diary Writing, by Arthur Ponsonby, M. P., has lately been published by Methuen.

Among the contents of the April number of the *Baptist Quarterly* is an article by Antonio Mangano on the Foreigner in America and one by W. T. Whitley on the Plantation of Ireland and the Early Baptist Churches.

The Alliance of Hanover: a Study of British Foreign Policy in the Last Years of George I., by Mr. James F. Chance, whose knowledge of the field has already been made known by his volume on *George I. and the Northern War*, is announced by Longmans.

James Greig, in editing the *Farrington Diary* (London, Hutchinson, 1922, pp. xx, 398), has furnished an important contribution to acquaintance with life in the cultivated circles in London at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Joseph Farrington, the author of the diary, was a member of the Royal Academy. His keen observations are of interest not only for artistic and literary history, but also in political matters.

M. Élie Halévy undertook ten years ago the making of an *Histoire du Peuple Anglais au XIX^e Siècle*. The first volume, then published, portrayed the situation in 1815, the second volume, *Du Lendemain de Waterloo à la Veille du Reform Bill* (Paris, Hachette, 1923), begins the real historical narrative, and considers events from 1815 to 1830.

Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill has published an exposition and defense of his management as First Lord of the Admiralty, *The World Crisis, 1911-1914* (London, Thornton Butterworth).

In the April number of the *Scottish Historical Review* there are two articles of importance, one by Professor P. Geyl, professor of Dutch history and literature in the University of London, on William II. (of Holland) and the Stuarts; the other, by C. A. Malcolm, on The Office of Sheriff in Scotland (first installment).

British government publications: *Calendar of Close Rolls*, Richard II., vol. IV., 1389-1392; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, XI., 1455-1464.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Commander H. D. Warburg, *Caesar's First Expedition to Britain* (English Historical Review, April);

R. G. Collingwood, *Hadrian's Wall* (Journal of Roman Studies, XI. 1); G. Macdonald, *The Building of the Antonine Wall* (*ibid.*); A. S. Cook, *Theodore of Tarsus and Gisleus of Athens* (Philological Quarterly, January); R. Lennard, *The Northmen in English History* (Quarterly Review, April); Egerton Beck, *Regulars and the Parochial System in Medieval England* (Dublin Review, April-June); E. R. Turner, *The Origin of the Cabinet Council* (English Historical Review, April); R. C. Wilton, *A Catholic Family in Penal Times* (Dublin Review, April-June); R. L. Schuyler, *The Britannic Question and the American Revolution* (Political Science Quarterly, March); G. C. Allen, *An Eighteenth-Century Combination in the Copper-Mining Industry* (Economic Journal, March); H. W. V. Temperley, *Canning, Wellington, and George the Fourth* (English Historical Review, April); Lord Ernle, *Victorian Memoirs and Memories* (Quarterly Review, April).

IRELAND AND THE DOMINIONS

(For Canada, see p. 816; for India, see p. 802.)

Professor R. A. S. Macalister has a new book on *Ireland in Pre-Celtic Times* (Dublin and London, Maunsell, 1922, pp. 139).

In *The Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*, Dr. F. Elrington Ball, son of a former lord chancellor of Ireland, reviews the appointments made by England to the judicial bench in Ireland, with biographical sketches of the judges and a survey of their work and of legal development during the seven centuries.

An important figure in Irish history of Cromwell's time is carefully treated by Dr. Archibald W. M. Kerr in *An Ironside of Ireland: the Remarkable Career of Lieut.-General Michael Jones, Governor of Dublin and Commander of the Parliamentary Forces in Leinster, 1647-1649* (London, Heath Cranton).

South Australian Land Exploration, 1856 to 1880, by Bessie Threadgill, of the University of Adelaide, is published by the board of governors of the Public Library, Museum, and Art Gallery of South Australia, as no. 3 of the series *Historical Compilations based upon the Study of Original Documents*. The work is in two parts, one of text and one of maps. The record of these explorations, whereby the haunting mystery of the interior was solved and the way opened for the advance of civilization, is a story of remarkable interest.

The December number of the *Victorian Historical Magazine* contains the third of the papers of Charles R. Long on Memorials to Victorian Explorers and Pioneers and the conclusion of Thomas O'Callaghan's account of Early Inns of Port Phillip and Victoria.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Laenen, *Het Iersche College te Antwerpen* (Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis, October).

FRANCE

Late in April there was founded at Paris a Société des Études Napoléoniennes, whose objects are indicated by its title, and which will take over as its organ the *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*. The dues of foreign members will be fifty francs.

The Library of Princeton University has acquired a set, in seven large folio volumes, of the manuscript minutes of the Commission de Liquidation, which from 1816 to 1818 adjudicated the minor questions of financial policy and the claims arising out of the Napoleonic wars. The manuscript includes the minutes for the sessions held between June 22, 1816, and May 21, 1818. The minutes of the first twenty sessions are unfortunately missing.

The *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises*, 1923, 1, has an interesting article by M. Henri Dehérain on the mission of the Baron de Tott and of Pierre Ruffin to the Khan of the Crimea in 1767-1769. M. F.-P. Renaut's monograph on the Family Compact in its relations to French colonial interests is continued from the Falkland Islands episode to the outbreak of war with Great Britain in 1778; but his whole narrative can now be read as a book, *Le Pacte de Famille et la Politique Coloniale Franco-Espagnole en Amérique, 1760-1792*.

The Marquis de Noailles has issued the first volume of *Le Comte Molé, 1781-1855, sa Vie, ses Mémoires*, the first volume carrying the narrative to 1816 (Paris, Champion, 1923, pp. 356). Another volume of the same period is the *Souvenirs du Général Comte de Rumigny, Aide-de-Camp du Roi Louis-Philippe, 1789-1860* (Paris, Émile-Paul, 1921, pp. xvi, 378).

An important contribution to the study of the relations between Church and State in France at the close of the nineteenth century is by the late Cardinal Domenico Ferrata, entitled *Mémoires: ma Nonciature en France* (Paris, Édition Spes, 1922, pp. 632).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Hessel, *Odo von Cluni und das Französische Kulturproblem im früheren Mittelalter* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVIII. 1); F. C. Palm, *The Huguenot System of Higher Education* (University of California Chronicle, April); F. Rocquain, *Henri III. et les Guises, la Journée des Barricades* (Revue Bleue, April 21, May 5); Pierre de Vaissière, *Les Marillac et Richelieu, la Journée des Dupes* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); F. C. Palm, *The Siege and Capture of La Rochelle in 1628: its Economic Significance* (Journal of Political Economy, February); H. W. C. Davis, *French Foreign Policy since 1789* (Quarterly Review, April); Comte Molé, *Le Ministère Richelieu, 1815, I.* (Revue de Paris, May 1); W. P. Cresson, *Chateaubriand and the Monroe Doctrine* (North American Review, April); G. Gautherot, *Deux Alliés de la Duchesse de Berry: le Duc de Modène et le Roi de Sardaigne* (Revue des Questions Historiques,

April); Guy de Montbel, *Le Mariage Secret de la Duchesse de Berry Journal du Comte de Montbel* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15, May 1); Marquis de Calmon-Maison, *Les Journées de Février 1848, d'après des Souvenirs Inédits* (ibid., March 15); R. Lévy-Guénol, *Les Fortifications de Paris, 1841-1860, 1871-1919* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); J. A. R. Marriott, *Napoleon III.* (Edinburgh Review, April); F. Lion, *Frankreichs Aeussere Politik 1870 bis 1914*, II. (Neue Rundschau, February).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

As volume XLV. of the *Archivio de la R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* the society presents a general index to volumes XXVI.-XL. (pp. 317).

Robert Davidsohn has issued the fourth volume of his *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, Mittler, 1922, pp. xii, 374), dealing with the earlier period of the city's cultural development. Another contribution to Florentine history is *Firenze dopo i Medici* (Florence, Bemporad, 1921), by Giuseppe Conti.

Among recent monographic contributions to the history of Sicily in the Middle Ages are V. Orlando's *Ricerche sulla Storia di Sicilia sotto Ferdinando di Castiglia* (Palermo, Montaina, 1922, pp. 214) and L. Genuardi's *Il Comune nel Medio Evo in Sicilia* (Palermo, Fiorenze, 1922, pp. 272).

Signor Giolitti's autobiography, translated from the Italian under the title *Memoirs of my Life*, was published in London in May, by Messrs. Chapman and Dodd.

Señor A. González Palencia, in his *Indice de la España Sagrada* (Madrid, 1919, pp. 360), has provided an instrument indispensable to all who have occasion to use the fifty-one quarto volumes of the *España Sagrada*.

Heinrich Finke has brought out the third volume of his *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur Deutschen, Italienischen, Französischen, Spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der Diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II.*, 1291-1327 (Berlin, Rothschild, 1922, pp. lx, 583), of which the first two volumes (1908) have been heretofore reviewed in this journal (XIII. 566).

Comte de Pimodan has written a life of the unfortunate queen *Louise-Élisabeth d'Orléans* (Paris, Plon, 1923, pp. xix, 393), wife of Luis I. of Spain, and daughter of the Regent Orleans.

La Dominació Napoleónica a Girona (Barcelona, *La Revista*, 1922, pp. 143), by Charles Rahola, is not only a study in local history of the period of the Peninsular War, but gives due credit to the reform measures undertaken in Spain by Napoleon.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Sthamer, *Die Verlorenen Regierster Karls I. von Anjou* (Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1923, II.); A. Pingaud, *Le Premier Royaume d'Italie: le Développement du Système Napoléonien*, I. (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); H. N. Gay, *Garibaldi e Filippo Colonna alla Battaglia di Velletri* (Nuova Antologia, March 1); M. Vaccalluzzo, *La Crisi di un Uomo Politico, Massimo d'Azeglio e il Trasferimento della Capitale* (*ibid.*, May 1); A. Morel-Fatio, *Les Allemands en Espagne du XV^e au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revista de Filologia Española, July, 1922).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Dr. Herbert Vossberg's *Luthers Kritik aller Religion* (Leipzig, Deichert, pp. 133) treats, with intelligence and care, not only Luther's expressions respecting various individual religions, but also his view of religion in general.

P. Kalkoff has made an exhaustive, though apparently not definitive, study of *Der Wormser Reichstag von 1521: Biographische und Quellenkritische Studien zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Munich, Oldenbourg, pp. viii, 436).

The Hansische Geschichtsverein of Lübeck, with Dutch aid, is about to publish the second volume of its *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hansa und der Deutschen Seegeschichte von 1531-1648*, ed. R. Häpke.

The history of Germany during the period of the French Revolution and of Napoleon is retold in Hartung's *Deutschlands Zusammenbruch und Erhebung im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution, 1792-1815* (Leipzig, Velhagen and Klasing, 1922). Beginning with the same period, but continuing the narrative to the present, Fritz Wuessing writes *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes vom Ausgang des Achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart: ein Sozial-psychologischer Versuch* (Berlin, Schneider, 1922, pp. viii, 315).

The latest contribution of Professor Michael Doeberl to Bavarian history is *Bayern und die Deutsche Frage in der Epoche des Frankfurter Parlaments* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1922, pp. x, 266). A biography of Ludwig II., *König von Bayern: sein Leben und seine Zeit* (Berlin, Engelmann, 1922, pp. xvi, 701) is by Gottfried von Böhm.

The Emperor Francis Joseph and his Times (London, Hutchinson, 1922, pp. 391) is a translation of Freiherr von Margutti's *Vom Alten Kaiser: Persönliche Erinnerungen an Franz Joseph I.* (Vienna, Leonhardt-Verlag, 1921, pp. 472). A volume of *Politische Briefe an einen Freund, 1882-1889* (Vienna, Rikola, 1922) by Kronprinz Rudolph has been edited by Julius Szeps. *Der Politische Nachlass des Grafen Eduard Taaffe* (*ibid.*, 1922) is edited by Arthur Skedl.

The first two volumes of *Geschichte Böhmens und Mährens* (Reichenberg, Sollors, 1922) carry the narrative respectively to 1419 and 1620. Another contribution to early Bohemian history is W. Wostry's *Das Kolonisationsproblem: eine Ueberprüfung der Theorien über die Herkunft der Deutschen in Böhmen* (Prague, Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, pp. v, 168).

Mgr. M. Besson, bishop of Lausanne and Geneva, has published a scholarly and interesting contribution to early Swiss history under the title *Nos Origines Chrétiennes: Études sur les Commencements du Christianisme en Suisse Romande* (Fribourg, Fragnière, pp. 142).

The second and concluding portion of volume XXXII. of the *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie of Geneva (Geneva, A. Jullien, pp. 245-731) contains some forty pages of journal for the important year 1589 kept by the syndic Jean Du Villard, an able and energetic citizen, and the monograph by Dr. Henri Naef, reviewed in this journal (XXVIII. 153), on the relation, or alleged relation, of Geneva to the Conspiracy of Amboise.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Stolz, *Die Verkehrsverbindungen des Oberen Rhein- und Donaugebietes um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins, n. s., XXXVIII.); G. Aengeneydt, *Die Okkupation des Kurfürstentums Hannover in 1803* (Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen, LXXXVII.); H. Ulmann, *Störungen im Vertragssystem Bismarcks Ende 1887* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXXVIII. 1); H. Rothfels, *Bismarcks Sturz als Forschungsproblem* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The situation in Holland at the outbreak of the war and the movement of opinion with reference to the war are embodied in *Aux Frontières de l'Idée: une Campagne de Presse en Hollande, Octobre 1914-Juillet 1915* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1922, pp. 212) by E. Giran.

Henri l'Aveugle, Comte de Namur et de Luxembourg, 1136-1196 (Paris, Champion, 1922, pp. 126), by F. Rousseau, and *Les Origines de la Fortune de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1921, pp. 114), by J. Cuvelier, are useful studies in the medieval history of the Low Countries.

Alfred d'Hoop has edited the third volume dealing with abbeys in the *Inventaire Général des Archives Ecclésiastiques du Brabant* (Brussels, Guyot, 1922, pp. 505).

Professor Léon Van der Essen has written a survey of the history of *L'Université de Louvain, 1425-1797* (Paris, Poisson, 1922, pp. 175).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Kiesewetter, *Klyuchevsky and his "Course of Russian History"* (Slavonic Review, March); Baron S. A. Korff, *Russia in the Far East* (American Journal of International Law, April); Prince D. S. Mirsky, *The Ukraine* (Quarterly Review, April); Comte W. Kokovtsov, *Cinq Ans de Dictature Bolchévique: le Bilan Économique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

The Ungarische Institut, founded in 1920 at the University of Berlin, brings out, as one of a series of such monographs, *Die Kenntnis der Byzantinischen Geschichtschreiber von der Ältesten Geschichte der Ungarn* (Berlin, de Gruyter, pp. 50), by Herbert Schönebaum, illustrating the period before the beginning of the occupation of Hungary in 895.

Two good monographs on Hungarian history are *Die Reformation in Ungarn bis 1565* (Budapest, Genius, 1923, pp. 485), by J. Zoványi, and *Geschichte der Ungarischen Juden, seit der Landnahme bis zum Weltkrieg* (Budapest, Hauptstädtische Verlagsanstalt, 1923, pp. 488), by L. Venetianer.

A contribution to the cultural history of Rumania is contained in *Une Famille de Boyards Lettrés Roumains au XIX^e Siècle, les Golesco* (Paris, Plon, 1921, pp. vii, 294).

The more recent developments in Turkish history are discussed from a Turkish point of view by Ahmed Muhiddin in *Die Kulturbewegung im Modernen Türkenum* (Leipzig, Gebhardt, 1921, pp. vii, 72).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. W. Seton-Watson, *Transylvania*, II. (Slavonic Review, March); A. F. Pribram, *König Milan von Serbien und die Geheimverträge Oesterreich-Ungarns und Serbiens, 1881-1889* (Historische Blätter, 1922, 3); Lady Grogan, *Bulgaria under Prince Alexander* (Slavonic Review, March); A. L. P. Dennis, *The United States and the New Turkey* (North American Review, June); L. E. Thayer, *The Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire and the Question of their Abrogation as it affects the United States* (American Journal of International Law, April).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A very important contribution to Mohammedan history is *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* (7 vols., Oxford, University Press, 1920-1921), containing extensive translations and annotations by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth.

Comte R. de Gontaut-Biron, who was associated with Georges Picot during his services as high commissioner, has narrated *Comment la France s'est Installée en Syrie, 1918-1919* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. iii, 358). A more recent view of the situation is afforded by Abdallah Sfer

Pacha in *Le Mandat Français et les Traditions Françaises en Syrie et au Liban* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. iii, 103), while an interesting discussion is contained in the anonymous *La Syrie et le Liban en 1921* (Paris, Larose, 1922, pp. 335).

In Trübner's Oriental Series Messrs. Kegan Paul are publishing a study of *Early Buddhist Monachism*, by Professor Sukumar Dutt, based on original researches, and describing life and learning in the ancient Buddhist monasteries.

Observations made during a journey in 1918 are recorded by Eric Teichmann in *Travels of a Consular Officer in Eastern Tibet, together with a History of the Relations between China, Tibet, and India* (Cambridge University Press, 1922, pp. xxiv, 288), though the historical account of political relations is also valuable.

Professor H. Cordier has begun the publication of a second edition of his well-known *Bibliotheca Sinica* (part I., Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. 160).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Wätjen, *Der Fremdenhandel in China nach dem Opiumkriege* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, January).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

René Millet is the author of an historical account of *Les Almohades: Histoire d'une Dynastie Berbère* (Paris, Challamel, 1923), a Mohammedan dynasty important in the history of both North Africa and Spain in the Middle Ages.

E. Levi-Provençal has written *Les Historiens des Chorfa, Essai sur la Littérature et Biographie au Maroc du XVI^e au XX^e Siècle* (Paris, Larose, 1922). A discussion of *Les Relations Franco-Espagnoles et l'Affaire du Maroc* (Paris, 1921, pp. 252) is furnished by J. Alengry. Captain Caussin gives a characteristic account of military experience in Morocco in *Vers Taza, Souvenirs de Deux Ans de Campagne au Maroc* (Paris, Fournier, 1922, pp. ix, 287). An official survey of the first ten years of French administration in Morocco published by the French residency is entitled *La Renaissance du Maroc, Dix Ans de Protectorat* (Paris, Maison du Livre Français, 1923, pp. 496).

A *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de l'Algérie après 1830* has been inaugurated with the publication by Gabriel Esquer of three volumes of *Correspondance du Duc de Rovigo, Commandant en Chef le Corps d'Occupation d'Afrique, 1831-1833* (Paris, Champion, 1923). An important study of government finance is *Les Impôts Arabes en Algérie; leur Suppression; leur Remplacement* (Algiers, Carbonel, 1922, pp. 152) by L. M. Troussel.

La Révolution Égyptienne (Paris, Vrin, 1921, pp. 277), by M. Sabry, and *L'Angleterre en Égypte* (Paris, Geuthner, 1922, pp. 416), by Juliette

Lamber (Madame Adam), are useful contributions as setting forth substantially the Egyptian nationalist point of view.

Kumbuke; Erlebnisse eines Arztes in Deutsch Ostafrika (Berlin, Dom-Verlag, 1922, pp. 328), by August Hauer, affords a good picture of the character of German colonization in East Africa, and also of the defense of that colony during the Great War.

French colonization in Western and Central Africa furnished the subject for *Études sur l'Islam en Côte d'Ivoire* (Paris, Leroux, 1922, pp. 502), by Paul Marty, *Au Congo: Souvenirs de la Mission Marchand* (Paris, Fayard, 1921), by Général Baratier, and *Une Étape de la Conquête de l'Afrique Équatoriale Française* (Paris, Fournier, 1922, pp. 260), published by the Ministry of War.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published vol. II. of its series of *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, edited by Dr. Edmund C. Burnett. This volume (pp. lxxiii, 638) embraces 795 letters and parts of letters, for the period from July 5, 1776, to December 31, 1777, which convey information regarding the doings of the Congress additional to what is contained in its Journals. The first volume of the series of *Proceedings and Debates in British Parliaments respecting America*, which the Department of Historical Research has long had in preparation, is now in the printer's hands. It extends from 1542 to 1689, and embraces all the materials which have been discovered relative to English, Scottish, and Irish Parliaments alike.

Among recent accessions of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress we note a group of some 13 letters to James Monroe from Beverley Randolph, Christopher Hughes, and others, 1785-1826; 6 letters of Andrew Jackson to William J. Duane, 1833; 11 of Thaddeus Stevens and 14 of Simon Cameron to William D. Lewis, 1836-1866; and papers of Charles J. Bonaparte and Robert C. Ogden. The Library has published for 1922 the usual annual pamphlet of its *Accessions of Manuscripts, Broad-sides, and British Transcripts*.

Source Materials for the Study of American History in the Libraries of Chicago, by George B. Utley, is reprinted from the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, vol. XVI, pt. 1 (1922).

The *Thirty-Fourth Annual Report* (1912-1913) of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Government Printing Office, 1922, pp. 281) is largely occupied with "A Prehistoric Island Culture Area of America", by J. Walter Fewkes, principally a report upon the prehistoric objects from the West Indies in the Museum of the American Indian (Heye Foundation) in 1914, but embodies also the results of personal investiga-

tion by the author in a number of the West Indian islands and in museums abroad. The author states that his aim has been "not so much a description of the specimens as a consideration of a highly developed insular culture peculiar to America as a whole preparatory to a comparison of it with that of the neighboring continent".

Bulletin 77 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is a study of the *Villages of the Algonquian, Siouan, and Caddoan Tribes West of the Mississippi*, by David I. Bushnell, jr. The author essays, by means chiefly of the earlier accounts of the Indians of this region, to describe their homes and ways of life. The work is richly illustrated with early drawings and photographs.

The contents of the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* include: the Blackgowns among the Abnakis, by Carmita de Solms Jones; the Rev. Samuel Southerland Cooper (1769-1843), by Ella M. E. Flick; and the Work of the Sisters of Mercy in the United States, Diocese of Little Rock (1851-1921), by Sister Mary Eulalia Herron.

In a small book in the historical series published under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus, *The Merchant Marine, "a Necessity in Time of War; a Source of Independence and Strength in Time of Peace"* (New York, Macmillan, pp. xi, 183), Rear Admiral William S. Benson, chairman in 1920-1921 of the United States Shipping Board, presents a brief history of our merchant marine mostly based on the works of Marvin, Spears, and Bates, but brought down to the present time by an account of recent legislation and the operations of the Shipping Board; with the history is mingled argument for government aid.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

More than 400 members of the four Inns of Court in London are associated with America by birth or residence, and almost all of these were persons to whom historical interest attaches. Mr. E. Alfred Jones prints in a limited edition (Arden Press, Stamford Street, London, S. C.) a volume listing all these and presenting biographical sketches of each.

The Allerton Book Company has brought out in its series of *American Explorers* Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada* (New York, 1727), in two volumes, with an introduction by Robert Waite; also Daniel W. Harmon's *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* (Andover, Vermont, 1820).

Mr. Harold Murdock's *The Nineteenth of April, 1775* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin), issued in a limited edition with copperplate illustrations, is an endeavor to examine afresh and restate the evidence as to what happened in the conflict at Lexington and Concord.

The Creation of the Presidency, 1775-1789: a Study in Constitutional History, by Charles C. Thach, jr., is a recent number of the *Johns*

Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Dr. Thach does not confine his study to the presidency as created by the Federal Convention of 1787, but devotes 75 of the 177 pages of text to an examination of the general political tendencies, of the state executive power, and of the national executive power in the period from 1776 to 1787; for the experiences of this period lie at the foundation of the ideas manifest in the Convention. Furthermore, the author holds that the first Congress under the Constitution had an essentially creative part in determining the character of the presidency and therefore devotes a chapter to a study of its proceedings relative to the office.

Danish-American Diplomacy, 1776-1920 (pp. 171), by Soren J. M. P. Fogdall (briefly noted heretofore), is a University of Iowa dissertation. Except in the matter of the Sound Dues and the transfer of the Virgin Islands, the history of Danish-American relations is a tame story, and Mr. Fogdall has neither the ripe knowledge nor the skill to make it otherwise. He has however investigated it with care and thoroughness, and produced a serviceable contribution. The subject will not have to be treated again, unless there are unsuspected matters in the old files of our Department of State. To these he was refused access, though permitted to use the corresponding archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Copenhagen.

Smith College Studies in History, vol. VIII., no. 1 (October), is *The Ship Subsidy Question in United States Politics*, by Marguerite M. McKee. In her study of the question the author finds four rather well-defined periods and phases up to the year 1914: that preceding 1845, a period of varied experiments in the aid of shipping; that from 1845 to 1865, characterized by a disposition to aid steamship lines for carrying the mails; that from 1865 to 1891, during which the interest lay particularly in establishing lines to South America and the East; and the period from 1891 to 1914, characterized by a large grant of power to the postmaster general for making mail contracts.

One of the chief collections of Lincolniana is that made by Mr. Charles W. McClellan of Champlain, New York, numbering over 3700 volumes and pamphlets, many autographs, broadsides, and other pieces. This collection has now been presented by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jr., to the John Hay Library of Brown University.

Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters, by Luther E. Robinson, is from the press of Putnam. *Abraham Lincoln as a Man among Men*, by G. Lynn Sumner, is a study of Lincoln's personal relations with the men who knew him (Harper and Brothers).

M. R. Werner is the author of a life of P. T. Barnum, the showman, which Harcourt, Brace, and Company have published with the title *Barnum*. The book is illustrated from contemporary sources.

Mr. Solomon B. Griffin, managing editor of the *Springfield Republican* from 1878 to 1919, has published a book of reminiscences, chiefly political, entitled *People and Politics Observed by a Massachusetts Editor* (New York, McDevitt-Wilson).

The firm of Scribner has published *From McKinley to Harding: Personal Recollections of our Presidents*, by H. H. Kohlsaat.

America of Yesterday: as Reflected in the Journal of John Davis Long, by Lawrence S. Mayo, is of especial interest because of the light cast upon men and measures during the Spanish-American War by this journal of McKinley's secretary of the navy.

D. Appleton and Company have brought out a volume entitled *The Ideals of Theodore Roosevelt*, by Edward H. Cotton, with a preface by Corinne Roosevelt Robinson.

The Bureau of the Census has published (Government Printing Office) a notable volume by William S. Rossiter, *Increase of Population in the United States, 1910-1920*, in which are presented invaluable statistical deductions respecting changes in the population of the states, counties, and rural and urban areas, and in sex, color, and nativity, between the thirteenth and fourteenth censuses.

The Haldeman-Julius Company of Girard, Kansas, has included in the *Ten Cent Pocket Series* (no. 125) the *War Speeches and Addresses of Woodrow Wilson*.

The historical section of the Army War College has prepared *Signal Corps and Air Service: a Study of their Expansion in the U. S., 1917-1918* (Government Printing Office, pp. viii, 128).

The report of Colonel Le Henaff and Captain Bornecque on the problems of transportation involved in the coming of the American army to France has been translated by George T. Slade for private circulation. The pamphlet (28 pp.) bears the title *The French Railroads and the War, Third Part: American Transportation*, and contains, besides an introduction by the translator, an informing preface by Colonel William J. Wilgus, the one member of the American railway commission sent to France in the spring of 1917 who remained attached to the transportation corps.

The *War Record of Dartmouth College*, by Eugene Francis Clark, is published in Hanover, New Hampshire, by the college.

A History of the American Legion, by Marquis James, with an introductory preface by Alvin Owsley, national commander, is published by William Green, 627 West 43d Street, New York.

The Amazing Story of Henry Ford, etc., is from the pen of James M. Miller and the press of M. A. Donohue and Company, Chicago.

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

The *Centennial of the Maine Historical Society* is commemorated in a pamphlet of fifty-one pages containing addresses delivered on that occasion by President K. C. M. Sills, of Bowdoin College, and Hon. Augustus F. Moulton, of Portland.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October–November contains a group of characteristically vigorous letters about New England matters from Captain Thomas Coram, the establisher of the Foundling Hospital in London, Franklin's accounts against the Massachusetts house of representatives as their agent, a series of letters of Barbeu-Dubourg, French scientist, to Franklin, and a paper by Harold Murdock on the British at Concord in April, 1775. The *Proceedings* for December–January includes an important article by Captain Thomas G. Frothingham on the Crisis of the Civil War—Antietam. The society has issued the fourth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, embracing the three sessions of the years 1722–1723. The beginning of the war with the eastern Indians and the efforts of the house to control and punish certain officers engaged in it, have the chief place of importance in the volume. A portrait of Jeremiah Dummer is prefixed. During the present year the society expects to publish, besides additional volumes of *Proceedings* and of this *Journal*, the second volume of the *Warren-Adams Letters* and the first volume of the *Winthrop Papers*, a series of great importance for early New England history whose publication has been provided for by a special fund. During the past year four more years of the photostat reproduction of the *Boston News Letter*, 1751–1754, have been distributed to twenty-two libraries widely scattered throughout the United States, completing the reproduction from the first issue of the newspaper in 1704 to the end of 1754. Seven subscribing libraries are receiving reproductions of North Carolina newspapers of date prior to 1800.

The April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* continues the paper of Francis B. C. Bradlee on the Suppression of Piracy in the West Indies and that of G. G. Putnam on Salem Vessels and their Voyages.

The Marine Research Society of Salem, Massachusetts, issued last autumn an illustrated volume on *The Sailing Ships of New England, 1607–1907*, of which all copies were sold within a few months. It now has in preparation a second volume, *Piracy along the New England Coast, 1630–1730*, of about 450 pages large octavo, and 40 or more plates, edited by George F. Dow.

The April number of the *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* contains an account, by Howard M. Chapin, of the Discovery of the Real Palatine Ship, of which there have been various traditions, and the sixth

of Professor Edmund B. Delabarre's papers on the Inscribed Rocks of Narragansett Bay, "Mark Rock" in Warwick.

Groton, Connecticut, 1705-1905, by Charles R. Stark, has been published in Stonington by the Palmer Press.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The January number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the New York State Historical Association contains a paper by A. T. Volwiler on George Croghan and the Development of Central New York, 1763-1800; one by W. R. Blackie on the Indians of New York and Vicinity; and one on Our Colonial Heritage of Community Medicine, by Elizabeth Tandy. There is also an account of the annual meeting of the association at Lake Mohonk, Sept. 26-28, 1922.

The April number of the *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* contains a paper by Caroline R. Williams entitled Material bearing upon the New Discoveries in Egypt; one by William L. Carver on the British Army Button in the American Revolution; and the concluding installment of the catalogue of American Revolutionary Diaries, by Dr. William S. Thomas.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for March prints the second part of the diary of Erastus F. Beadle upon a journey to and in Nebraska in 1857. The April *Bulletin* chronicles two important accessions of manuscripts, the original deed of the patroonship of Rensselaerswyck, 1630, and the unique manuscript of Hakluyt's "Particular Discourse of Western Discoveries", 1584.

The April number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* contains, besides continuations, a paper by Professor Charles F. Philhower on the Aboriginal Inhabitants of Union County, and one by Samuel C. Worthen on Witches in New Jersey and Elsewhere.

The New Brunswick Historical Club has printed in a pamphlet the record of a *Memorial Meeting for Austin Scott, Ph.D., LL.D.*, late professor of history in Rutgers College, and one of the founders of the American Historical Association.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has lately come into possession of the ledger, 1703-1708, of William Trent, an early Philadelphia merchant, and of the letter-book, 1771-1775, of William Smith, a Philadelphia broker.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains a eulogistic study, by Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, of Philander Chase Knox, American Lawyer, Patriot, Statesman, and a continuation of Mr. A. T. Volwiler's papers on George Croghan and the Westward Movement (1741-1782).

Recent *Papers* read before the Lancaster County Historical Society include Washington's First Visit to Lancaster and the Observance of his Death, by William F. Worner (December 1); Some Unknown Early Pioneer Notables of Lancaster County, by Eleanor J. Fulton (January 5); Early Lancaster County History in the Provincial Records and Archives, compiled by H. Frank Eshleman, read by Benjamin B. Lippold (February 2); and the Peach Bottom Railway Company, by D. F. Magee (April 6).

A History of Perry County, Pennsylvania, by Harry H. Hain, is published in Harrisburg by the Hain-Moore Company.

The April number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a paper by Robert Garland on the Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania, and one by I. F. Boughter on Western Pennsylvania and the Morrill Tariff.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* includes, besides continuations, some Abstracts of Old Baltimore County Records, by McHenry Howard, and some Maryland Items from Delaware Records, contributed by Rev. C. H. B. Turner.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* has for its principal content the concluding installment of William Tindall's True Story of the *Virginia* and the *Monitor*.

The April number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints a series of fourteen letters from John Marshall to his wife, 1797-1831. Among the other contents are some Additional Notes on the French and Indian War, by Charles E. Kemper, and an Account of the Manner of Taking up and Patenting of Land in her Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia with Reasons humbly offered for the Continuance thereof, sent to the Board of Trade about 1705 by William Robertson, clerk of the general assembly.

The April number of *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* contains a contribution by P. G. Auchampaugh of Buffalo, New York, upon the relations between John B. Floyd and James Buchanan; Famous Battles as a Confederate Private saw them, being a narrative by Samuel E. Mays; a continuation of the letters of James Monroe from the correspondence of Dr. Charles Everett; and some letters from the governor's letter-books (1781-1782), two of them being from Governor Nelson, five from Governor Harrison, one from Lieutenant-Governor David Jameson, and one from the treasurer, George Webb.

Mr. Charles Edward Burrell is the author of *A History of Prince Edward County, Virginia*, compiled mainly from original records and personally contributed articles (Richmond, Williams).

Studies in the History of North Carolina: a Programme for Women's Clubs, by R. D. W. Connor, has been issued as a University of North Carolina *Extension Bulletin* (vol. III., no. 3).

Professor R. W. Kelsey contributes to the July (1922) number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, in English translation, two letters of Swiss settlers in South Carolina, written by Antony Gondy and Samuel Dyssli, 1733, 1737, presenting sharply contrasting pictures of South Carolina. The first of these letters appeared in the original German in volume XXII. of this journal (p. 115). St. Helena's Parish Register, contributed by Joseph W. Barnwell and Miss Mabel L. Webber, is continued.

Under the direction of Mr. John B. Stetson, jr., and Mrs. Washington E. Connor, the new Florida State Historical Society is conducting a thoroughgoing search for Florida material in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Catalogue cards of all the papers relating to Florida in the section for the Audiencia of Santo Domingo have already been completed, and work on the section "Papeles de Cuba" has been begun. The work is being done by the competent hands of Miss Irene A. Wright. Circulars respecting Miss Wright's services of search in these archives and of copying, by typewriter or by photography, may be obtained from the editor of this journal, who is in a position to commend cordially her work.

The Formative Period in Alabama, 1815-1828, by Thomas P. Abernethy, is published by the Alabama State Department of Archives and History in its *Historical and Patriotic Series* (no. 6). The study is principally economic in character: an examination of the influences of geography and soil, origins of the immigrants and lines of migration, early agriculture, commerce, etc.; only so much of politics as is requisite for a proper understanding of conditions—that is, until 1824, when political questions (themselves largely economic) become an essential ingredient in the life of this frontier region; then the author traces the lines of political development. The study is closed with a chapter on religion, education, and the press, one on social conditions and slavery, and one of general conclusion.

Among the contents of the July (1922) number of the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* are: Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage (a study of his work, *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, Paris, 1904), by Miss Grace King; Politics in Louisiana in 1724, by Henry P. Dart; the Virginians on the Ohio and Mississippi in 1742, by Fairfax Harrison; the Municipal Elections of 1858, by John S. Kendall; and the Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana (1736-1737).

WESTERN STATES

An extra number (February) of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1920-1921. The following papers are included: State and Local History, by Clarence H. McClure; Popularizing State History, by Floyd C. Shoemaker; the Mohegan Indians East and West, by George A. Wood; the Character and Leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, by William O. Lynch; Ohio's German-Language Press in the Campaign of 1920, by Carl Wittke; the Attempt of New Orleans to meet the Crisis in her Trade with the West, by Erastus P. Puckett; and History in the State Normal Schools, by Walter B. Davison. Articles in the March number are: Old Franklin, a Frontier Town of the Twenties, by Jonas Viles; Kentucky Neutrality in 1861, by Wilson P. Shortridge; Céloron de Blainville and French Expansion in the Ohio Valley, by George A. Wood; and the journal of two westward journeys of John Filson, 1785, edited by Beverley W. Bond, jr.

The January number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is devoted almost exclusively to a monograph, Lincoln and Ohio, by Daniel J. Ryan. Mr. C. B. Galbreath furnishes an introduction.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society* contains the sixth installment of selections from the Gano Papers (1813-1814), which includes several letters from General Gano to General William H. Harrison.

The two principal articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are Personal Politics in Indiana, 1860 to 1880, by Adam A. Leonard, and the Family History of Robert Owen, by Arthur H. Estabrook.

A recent issue of the Indiana Historical Society's *Publications* is: *The Science of Columbus*, by Elizabeth Miller.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* combines the numbers for October, 1921, and January, 1922, into a single issue. Chief among the contents is a monograph on the Spoon River Country, by Josephine C. Chandler. Among the other papers are: a History of the Gallatin County Salines, by Jacob W. Myers; a Biographical Sketch of John W. Casey, by his daughter, Ella M. Kretschmar; and Early Schools and Churches of Edgar County, by Rose M. Scott.

As the first fruit of its projected history of *Illinois in the World War*, the Illinois State Historical Society has brought out *The History of the 33rd Division, A. E. F.*, in four volumes, by Lieutenant-Colonel Frederic L. Huidekoper. The narrative history, occupying some 300 pages, is comprised in volume I. and relates the history of the division from its

organization in August, 1917, to its demobilization in June, 1919. The period of training at Camp Logan, Houston, Texas, and departure for France in June, 1918, are briefly described in a single chapter; the several phases of the division's operations in France are related in a series of nine chapters, followed by one of conclusions and comment. The narrative is accompanied by about 150 pages of explanatory notes. Volumes II. and III. consist of appendixes of documents: diaries, journals, orders, plans, reports, correspondence, statistical records, decorations, etc. Volume IV. is a portfolio of maps.

Among the contents of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (January-April, nos. 3, 4) are the Cahokia Mission Property, by Joseph J. Thompson; Illinois' First Citizen: Pierre Gibault, by the same writer; and the Log Chapel at Notre Dame, by Mary E. Sullivan.

Kentucky Baptist History, 1770-1922, by Rev. William D. Nowlin, is published by the Baptist Book Concern of Louisville.

A special building erected at Ann Arbor for the William L. Clements Library was dedicated with appropriate exercises on June 15, when building and library were formally presented to the University of Michigan by Mr. Clements. The contents of this very remarkable library, the fruit of unstinted labor and expenditure on the part of Mr. Clements, and already one of the world's foremost collections of Americana, are partially described by him in a choice volume brought out on occasion of the dedication. A trait especially notable in the formation of the library is the extent to which the value of the books for history has been kept in regard; another, the acquisition of Lord Shelburne's papers.

The library of the late Henry Vignaud has been purchased jointly by the Library of the University of Michigan and by Mr. William L. Clements for the Clements Library of Americana. It consists of approximately 17,000 volumes and 40,000 pamphlets, relating chiefly to cartography, American ethnology, voyages of discovery and exploration, especially of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Spanish history, theology, philosophy, and law. The most remarkable part of the collection is a group of some 250 atlases which appeared before 1800, Mr. Vignaud's chief interest being in the development of knowledge of the earth's surface in the century preceding Columbus and in the contributions of the latter to that knowledge. The Americana will be placed in the Clements Library, the more general works in the library of the university.

The Detroit Historical Society has commenced the publication of a sixteen-page periodical, the *Detroit Historical Monthly*. It is planned to issue ten numbers a year, with title-page and index, each number to contain, besides items of current local interest, some original material of value to students of American history in other parts of the country. Historical societies, libraries, and individuals who may be interested in the *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, published by the Detroit Public

Library and distributed freely as part of its service, and who wish to obtain this larger publication also, are invited to become members of the society. A copy of the first (March) number, which contains a brief outline of the society's organization and history, will be mailed from the Burton Historical Collection upon request. The documents in the March and April numbers are chiefly concerned with the Ohio Company; there is also a paper, by Professor W. H. Siebert, on the Underground Railroad in Michigan. Vol. I., no. 9, of the *Leaflet* is devoted to Father Gabriel Richard, his educational programme, his legislative service, and the issues of his press. Noteworthy among recent accessions to the Burton Historical Collection is a collection of mercantile correspondence in French (estimated at over 18,000 items) chiefly of Philadelphia interest, covering approximately the years 1750-1830. The transactions recorded involve cargoes of dry-goods, coffee, and spices, to and from the West Indies and Europe. Dutilh and Wacksmith is the firm principally concerned. The notarial records of the French consulate at Norfolk, Virginia, 1784-1866, form another interesting group. They comprise many documents useful for vital records, wills, inventories, business transactions, certificates of residence, and are fairly complete to 1831. Chase family letters, 1836-1854, and over 300 items additional to the papers of Marshall W. Chapin, colonel of the 23d Michigan Infantry in the Civil War, contribute toward the series of papers of local families.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has in press, in the *Wisconsin Domesday Book* series, a volume of *Town Studies* dealing with twenty-three selected towns representing southern counties, and presenting in each case a concise history with especial emphasis on agricultural progress, all the data being drawn from records. Among the towns is New Glarus, the original Swiss settlement, begun in 1845. Plats of the twenty-three towns are presented, giving names of the landowners in 1860 and data of an agricultural and economic character from the censuses of 1850, 1860, and 1870.

The March number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* contains an essay by William E. Leonard, "Wisconsin" (characterized by the editor as "a poet's vision of Wisconsin, historical and actual"); the second of Dr. Joseph Schafer's articles on the Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin; a paper by Hosea W. Rood on the Grand Army of the Republic and the Wisconsin Department (to be continued); an historical sketch of Empire, a Wisconsin Town, by W. A. Titus; and Micajah Terrell Williams: a Sketch, by Samuel M. Williams. In the section of Documents are some letters (1847-1877) of Jakob and Ulrich Bühler, Swiss immigrants to Wisconsin, and the concluding installment of Frederick J. Starin's Diary of a Journey to Wisconsin in 1840.

A History of Langlade County, Wisconsin, by Robert M. Dessureau, has been published in Antigo, Wisconsin, by Berner Brothers.

The late Senator Knute Nelson, shortly before his death, presented to the Minnesota Historical Society some part of his political papers, and the society is endeavoring to gather about this nucleus a comprehensive collection of Nelson papers. Among the other accessions of manuscripts are large additions to the papers of the late Maria Sanford, and (as a loan) two diaries of Lewis Harrington, relating to pioneer conditions in 1855 and 1856.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin* announces that "two double numbers of the *Bulletin*, for February-May and August-November, 1922, which will complete volume IV., are to be published as soon as possible". Meanwhile numbers 1 and 2 of volume V. (February and May, 1923), together with an extra number for March, containing the twenty-second biennial report of the Minnesota Historical Society (1921-1922), have appeared. The February number, which is devoted to the fur trade, contains two articles on the subject, one, by Wayne E. Stevens, on the Fur Trade in Minnesota during the British Régime, the other, by Solon J. Buck, entitled the Story of the Grand Portage. There is also a Description of Northern Minnesota by a Fur Trader (George H. Monk, jr.) in 1807. The May number has an article by Elmer E. Adams on the campaign for Congress in 1882 between the late Senator Knute Nelson and Charles F. Kindred, and an account of the annual meeting of the society in January, 1923.

The State Historical Society of Iowa now has in press two volumes on *The United States Food Administration in Iowa*, by Ivan L. Pollock. This work will constitute a part of the *Iowa Chronicles of the World War* and will soon be followed by another volume of the series on *The Sale of War Bonds in Iowa*, by Nathaniel R. Whitney.

The principal article in the July (1922) number of the *Annals of Iowa* is one entitled a Young Soldier's Career, being the Civil War experiences of Captain E. D. Hadley, a New Hampshire soldier, afterward a resident of Iowa. This number contains also a report by Colonel S. A. Moore, Jan. 1, 1865, of the Hostile Raid into Davis County, Iowa, the preceding October.

The April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* has for its principal content a monograph by Alan C. Rockwood, a History of the Military Department of the State University of Iowa. The March number of the *Palimpsest* contains sketches, by Bertha A. Reuter, Jacob Van Ek, and J. E. Briggs, of James Wilson, secretary of agriculture under McKinley and Roosevelt. The April number includes a brief history of the war-ship *Iowa* (1896-1923). In the May number appears a brief account, by J. A. Swisher, of the agitation for the removal of the national capital.

The University of Iowa Extension *Bulletin* devotes some recent numbers to a series of Aids for History Teachers. No. 85 (February 1)

contains a paper by Louis Pelzer on Geographic Influences in the Franco-British Contest for North America, and one by Clara M. Daley entitled Putting History on the Map. No. 86 contains a discussion by Walther I. Brandt of the problem of the High School Library in History.

Articles in the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: New Light on Pattie and the Southwestern Fur Trade, by Joseph J. Hill; the second installment of the Memoirs of Major George B. Erath, edited by Lucy A. Erath; and a continuation of the Bryan-Hayes Correspondence.

The articles in the April number of the *Quarterly Journal of North Dakota* pertain wholly to the pioneer history of North Dakota. They are: the Pioneer Physician in North Dakota, by James Grassick; the North Dakota Bar of the Pioneer Days, by F. W. Ames; Early Politics and Politicians of North Dakota, by G. B. Winship; Tales of the Early Settlers, by J. H. Shepperd; Early Banking in North Dakota, by Samuel Torgerson; the Pioneer Farmer, by J. W. Scott; and Early Religious Activities, by C. H. Phillips.

The October-December number of *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days* contains a brief account, by J. P. Dunlap, of his pioneer experiences in Butler County.

The *Biennial Report* of the State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado for the period ending with December, 1922, gives interesting information respecting archaeological investigations at Chimney Rock and other prehistoric sites in southwestern Colorado, and concerning large efforts made by the society to collect diaries, letters, and other manuscripts illustrating the pioneer period of the territory and state.

The April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* contains, besides continuations, a paper by C. H. Hanford on the Orphan Railroad and the Ram's Horn Right of Way, and Memories of White Salmon and its Pioneers, by Albert J. Thompson.

The principal contents of the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are: Ewing Young in the Fur Trade of the Far Southwest, 1822-1834, by Joseph J. Hill; Recollections of Benjamin Franklin Bonney, by Fred Lockley; First Newspapers of Southern Oregon and their Editors, by George H. Himes; and excerpts from the Diary of Rev. George Gary (1793-1855), who spent the years 1844-1847 in Oregon in the service of the mission board of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Diary, which will run through several numbers of the *Quarterly*, is edited by Charles H. Carey.

For family remembrance Mrs. Edward H. Clark of New York has privately printed in handsome pamphlets a small group of *California Letters of William Gill* written in 1850 to his wife in Kentucky, and a group of biographical sketches entitled *Some Cousins in the Great War*.

The American Geographical Society has brought out volume I. of *Bering's Voyages: an Account of the Efforts of the Russians to determine the Relations of Asia and America*, in two volumes, by Professor Frank A. Golder. Volume I. contains the log-books and official reports of the first and second expeditions (1725-1730, 1733-1742), translated, with a chart of the second voyage, by Ellsworth P. Bertholf.

The first *Report of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii*, covering the period ending Dec. 31, 1922, describes interesting work in the accumulation of material for the history of the territory, the preparation of a revised school history, the progress made in respect to historical landmarks, and the collection of materials for a history of Hawaii's part in the World War.

CANADA

The first annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at Ottawa on May 24 and 25. Among the papers and addresses delivered were an appreciation of Francis Parkman, by Professor Basil Williams of McGill University, Montreal, of timely interest because of the forthcoming celebration of the centenary of Parkman's birth; an account of the historical origins of the Labrador boundary dispute between Canada and Newfoundland, by Dr. James White of Ottawa; a paper on the Spanish discovery of British Columbia, by Judge Howay of that province; and a scholarly study of political history—"La Fontaine, Rolph, et Papineau (Épisodes de 1838 et de 1843)"—by M. B. de La Bruère of Montreal. The subject to which most discussion was given in the business sessions was a plan for the preparation, in co-operation with the Public Archives of Canada and other organizations, of a series of popular skeleton lectures on Canadian history, to be accompanied by illustrative material, especially lantern slides prepared from authentic pictorial and map sources. As a suggestion of the lines which might be followed, the presidential address, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, on the North West Fur Company, was cast in such a form, and proved a unique and most interesting experiment in the combination of extracts from original narratives with wall maps, lantern slides, moving pictures, and phonograph records. The officers of the association were re-elected for the coming year: president, L. J. Burpee, Ottawa; vice-president, W. D. Lighthall, Montreal; secretary-treasurer, C. M. Barbeau, Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa; editor, J. F. Kenney, Ottawa; members of council: these, and A. G. Doughty, Ottawa; P. G. Roy, Quebec; G. M. Wrong, Toronto; C. Martin, Winnipeg; A. MacMechan, Halifax; F. W. Howay, New Westminster.

The *Canadian Historical Review* for December has an article by Professor Basil Williams, of McGill University, on a New Tendency in English Historical Study, describing the increased attention paid to the history of British foreign policy; a paper on Canadian Refugees in the

American Revolution, by Dr. Carl Wittke of the Ohio State University, and one on the Influence of the Crown in the Evolution of Responsible Government, by K. L. P. Martin of New College, Oxford; also an acute examination, by Sir Charles Lucas, of Sir Robert Borden's published views on the constitutional development of Canada. Some tables respecting the fur trade of 1767, from the Colonial Office Papers, are also printed.

In the *Tenth Annual Report* of the Waterloo Historical Society the item of most interest is a paper by Dr. H. M. Bowman on the Mennonite Settlements in Pennsylvania and Waterloo, with especial reference to the Bowman (Baumann) family.

AMERICA, SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

Señor José M. Ponce de Leon, of Chihuahua, puts forth in a small pamphlet of 81 pages a *Resúmen de la Historia Política de Chihuahua*, of which the last half is a chronology of the disturbing events of 1910-1919; he promises to issue before long a volume on the history of his state.

An interesting side-light on Central American history is furnished by A. Brindeau in *Histoire de la Mission Morave à la Côte des Mosquitos, Nicaragua, de 1849 à 1921* (Strasbourg, Hiller, 1922, pp. 141).

Señor Vicente Pardo Suárez, in *La Elección Presidencial en Cuba* (Havana, Rambla, 1923, pp. 299), gives some account of the four presidential elections which have thus far taken place in the republic, and argues warmly for provisions against re-election, for a completer separation of powers, and for other constitutional changes.

In *La Enmienda Platt, Estudio de su Alcance é Interpretacion y Doctrina sobre su Aplicación* (Havana, *El Siglo XX.*, 1922, pp. 152) L. Machado y Ortega gives an historical survey of Cuban affairs as the basis of his arguments that the United States has exceeded its rights in intervening in internal affairs in Cuba.

In compliment to the Brazilian centennial celebration of last September, the Venezuelan government has printed a *Resúmen Histórico de la Ultima Dictadura del Libertador Simón Bolívar* (Rio de Janeiro, *O Norte*, pp. 308), prepared nearly a hundred years ago, in the liberator's lifetime, by a Pernambucan associated with his campaigns, General José Ignacio de Abreu y Lima (1796-1869), which the Venezuelan minister to Brazil, Señor Diego Carbonell, found in the Archaeological and Geographical Institute of Pernambuco and of which he has edited carefully the Spanish text, prefacing Portuguese and Spanish discourses concerning the author. The memoir was written in order to be sent to Abbé de Pradt for the public defense of Bolívar's career. Respecting Santander the tone is hostile. R. Blanco-Fombona has edited a collection of *Cartas de Bolívar, 1825-26-27* (Editorial America, 1922, pp. vi, 510).

A book of great importance for the early history of the Spaniards in Peru, especially as regards missionary work, the labors of the Franciscans, and the organization of the Church, and a book which should have been noted earlier in these pages, is Father R. Levillier's *Organización de la Iglesia y Ordenes Religiosas en el Virreinato del Perú en el Siglo XVI.: Documentos del Archivo de Indias* (Madrid, Ribadeneira, 1919, 2 vols., pp. cxii, 714, 352), presenting a great wealth of documentary illustration.

The Chilean minister of foreign relations, Señor Ernesto Barros Jarpa, has collected a large amount of original material on the present negotiations over the Pacific problem between Peru and Chile in *Hacia la Solución: Apuntaciones al Margen de la Negociación Chileno-Peruana de 1921* (Santiago, Imprenta Universitaria, 1922, pp. 363).

Under the title *L'Argentine devant l'Histoire* (Paris, Plon, 1922, pp. 240) José P. Otero has issued the first volume of a new history of Argentina, which deals with events down to the establishment of the unitary republic.

Father Pablo Pastells and Father Bayle, S. J., have commemorated the fourth centenary of the death of Magellan by a large volume entitled *El Descubrimiento del Estrecho de Magallanes* (Madrid, Ribadeneira, pp. 896 and pl. 21), containing a detailed narrative of Magellan's discoveries in that quarter and of the subsequent expeditions thither in the sixteenth century, together with nearly 600 pages of documents hitherto unpublished.

New light on Drake's circumnavigation of the globe has come from an unexpected quarter. The first part of Juan de Castellanos's *Elegias de Varones Ilustres de Indias* was published in Madrid in 1589, the second and third not until 1850, and from the third part 220 leaves had been excised. These leaves, lately traced through the hands of Sir Thomas Phillipps, are found to contain a canto entitled *Discurso de el Capitán Francisco Draque*, and have been printed under that title, with notes and illustrative material (Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan). They supply much additional contemporary detail.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Ricard, *Le Problème de la Découverte du Brésil* (Bulletin Hispanique, January); Col. G. E. Boyle, *The 18th, or Royal Irish, Regiment in North America, 1767-1775* (Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, April); J. C. Fitzpatrick, *The Bands of the Continental Army* (Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine, April); Charles Moore, *Washington in the House of Burgesses* (*ibid.*, March); *id.*, *Washington's Family Life at Mount Vernon* (*ibid.*, May); T. T. Belote, *War Medals of the United States, issued by Individual States* (*ibid.*); Dumas Malone, *The First Years of Thomas Cooper in America* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); Maj.-Gen. John A. Lejeune, *A Brief History of the Marine Corps* (Marine





